



Australian  
National  
University

INDONESIA COUNCIL  
OPEN CONFERENCE 2019

A photograph of the Borobudur temple complex in Indonesia at sunset. The sky is a gradient of orange and purple. The silhouettes of several stupas and a large seated Buddha figure are visible against the bright horizon. The word "ANU" is overlaid in large white letters on the right side of the image.

ANU

CONFERENCE  
PROGRAM AND ABSTRACTS  
20-21 NOVEMBER

ANU College of  
Asia and the Pacific  
Indonesia Institute

We acknowledge and celebrate  
the **First Australians** on whose traditional lands  
we meet and pay our respect to the elders past,  
present and emerging.

# WELCOME TO THE INDONESIA COUNCIL OPEN CONFERENCE

On behalf of the ANU Indonesia Institute I welcome you to ANU, and to Canberra, for the 2019 Indonesia Council Open Conference. As you can see from the program, the conference includes a wide range of panels and speakers, showcasing the richness and diversity of the contemporary research landscape on Indonesia.

I particularly encourage you to attend the keynote speech on Wednesday afternoon, with the inspiring Laksmi Pamuntjak, and the plenary session on Thursday morning which focuses on the state and future of Indonesian studies.

The ANU Indonesia Institute, the organiser of the conference, is a body established in 2017 to coordinate the wide-ranging research, educational, and outreach work related to Indonesia conducted across the ANU. The ANU has a heavy concentration on Indonesia, with more than 115 academic staff conducting Indonesia-related research. The Indonesia Project has been publishing the Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies since 1965, and running annual Indonesia Updates since 1983. The Menzies library has an extensive collection of Indonesian materials: if you have the time, why not drop in during your visit?

I would like to thank the many ANU Indonesia Institute board members and volunteers who helped organise the conference, and the Sydney Southeast Asia Centre for co-sponsoring the keynote address.

I wish you a successful and productive conference. Please say hello if you see me in the crowd.

**Edward Aspinall**

Director, ANU Indonesia Institute



# GENERAL INFORMATION

## Conference venue

The conference will be held at Crawford School of Public Policy, Lennox Crossing, Acton, ACT, on the southern end of the Australian National University campus. The conference dinner (by separate registration) will be held at University House. An ANU campus map can be found at [anu.edu.au/maps](http://anu.edu.au/maps).

## Getting to the conference venue

### By taxi

Contact one of the following cab services to book a taxi:

Canberra Elite	13 22 27
Cabxpress	1300 222 977
Silver Service	13 31 00
ACT Cabs	(02) 6280 0077

Uber also operates in Canberra.

As a general guide, a taxi from Canberra Airport to ANU takes around 20 minutes and will cost approximately \$30-40, depending on traffic conditions.

### By bus

Canberra's public bus service, Transport Canberra, covers Canberra's major tourist sites and the suburbs. The number 53 bus stops directly in front of the Crawford School. More information can be found at [transport.act.gov.au](http://transport.act.gov.au) or contact Transport Canberra on 02 6207 7611.

### On foot

Allow around 30 minutes to walk from the Canberra city centre, or 15 minutes from New Acton, to Crawford School of Public Policy.

### Parking

Limited paid visitor parking is available on Lennox Crossing across from the Crawford School, on Liversidge Street, and in the University House car park. Please note that visitors may park in 'staff/permit only' zones after 5pm. Before 5pm, parking fees apply. Visitors can use the CelloPark app to pay for parking on campus via their mobile phone, following a one-time registration. Please refer to carpark signage for guidance.

## Conference website

More information, including the abstract book and copies of conference presentations and papers, will be made available on ANU Indonesia Institute website: [devpolicy.crawford.anu.edu.au/annual-australasian-aid-conference/2019](http://devpolicy.crawford.anu.edu.au/annual-australasian-aid-conference/2019).

## Dietary requirements

If you have advised us of any special dietary requirements, this information has been passed to our caterers. Please make yourself known to the catering staff during lunch and tea breaks and the conference dinner.

## Luggage storage

If you have luggage that you'd like to set aside during the day, please use Seminar Room 2. Please be advised that luggage will not be locked away and conference organisers do not take any responsibility for lost or stolen items.

## Lost property

Lost property can be handed in to the conference registration desk.

## Praying room

Praying room is at Gardener's Cottage, next to Stanner Building, just outside the main Crawford Building.

## Wifi

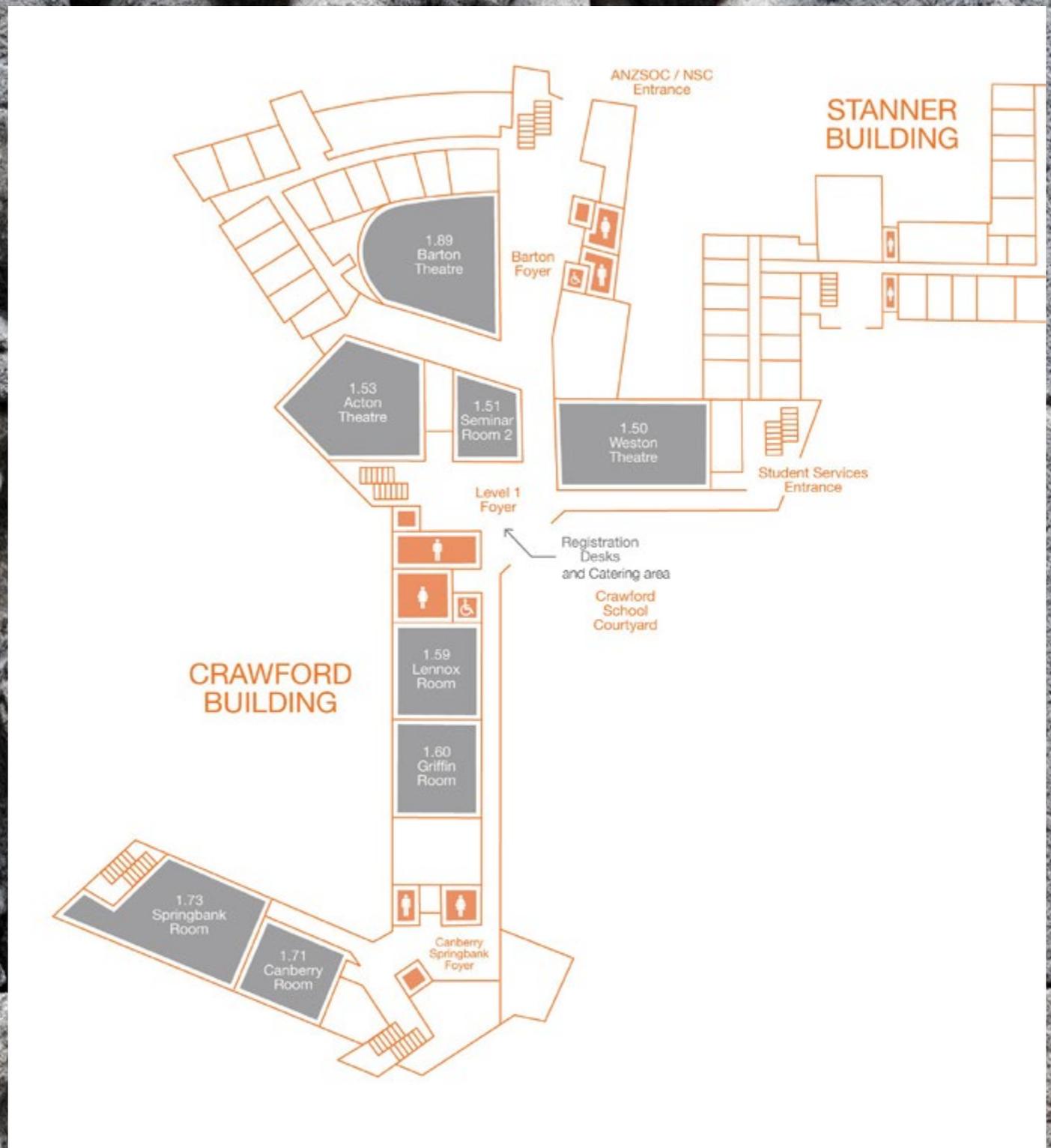
Free wifi internet access is available for conference attendees. The login details are:

Guest username: **ANU\_ICOC**

Guest password: **ICOC2019**

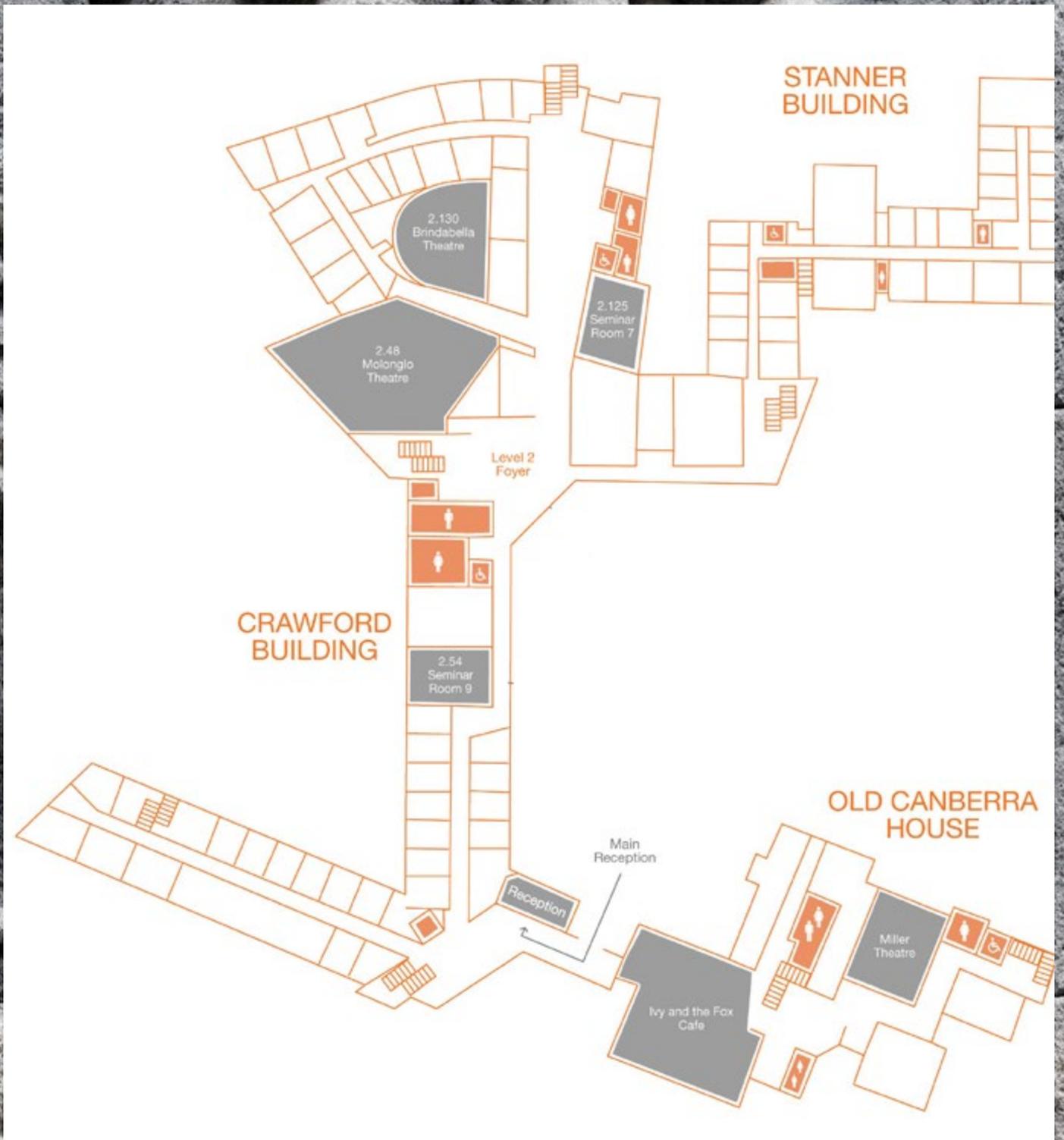
# CRAWFORD MAP

LEVEL 1



# CRAWFORD MAP

LEVEL 2



# TUESDAY 19 NOVEMBER

## POST-GRADUATE WORKSHOP

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Weston Theatre, JG Crawford Building #132, Lennox Crossing, ANU

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11am-12.30pm	Building an academic career: Australia, Indonesia and beyond	Chair: Eve Warburton, National University of Singapore Panel Edward Aspinall, ANU Burhanuddin Muhtadi, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah and Indikator Politik Indonesia Jacqui Baker, Murdoch University
12.30-1pm	LUNCH	
1-2pm	Research career beyond academia	Chair: Caroline Turner, ANU Panel Stephen Sherlock, UNSW Rachel Diprose, The University of Melbourne
2-3pm	Small group discussions	Facilitators
3-3.30pm	AFTERNOON TEA	
3.30-4.30pm	Getting published in journals	Chair: Arianto Patunru, ANU Panel Eva Nisa, ANU Marcus Mietzner, ANU
4.30-5pm	Getting the most out of academic conferences	Robert Cribb, ANU

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## RECEPTION DINNER

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Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia at 6 Darwin Avenue, Yarralumla

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6.30pm	Reception and welcoming dinner Dress code: Batik or business attire Participants to make their own way to the venue	<b>His Excellency Ambassador Kristiarto Legowo</b> has kindly invited ICOC 2019 speakers and postgraduate workshop attendees to a dinner reception at the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Canberra.
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# WEDNESDAY 20 NOVEMBER

## DAY ONE

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8-9am

### REGISTRATION

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9-10.30am

### SESSION 1

#### **Panel 1A at Acton Theatre** **Gender and identity**

Chair: Eva Nisa, ANU

"I waited so long until I got the chance to play in the soccer field!" Gendered play opportunities in Jakarta's public spaces

**Fitri Arlinkasari**, Queensland University of Technology, Universitas YARSI

Boys will be boys? Men's talk as homosocial engagement in male-dominated Whatsapp groups of cycling communities in Bandung

**Trisna Gumilar** and **Aquarini Priyatna**, Universitas Padjadjaran

Identity negotiation of Indonesian Muslim female students in the US and Australia

**Win Listyaningrum Arifin**, ANU

#### **Panel 1B at Brindabella Theatre** **Identity politics and multiculturalism**

Chair: Farid F Saenong, ANU

Ethnic mobilisation in Tanah Ulayat movements

**Song Xue**, Fudan University

In the name of piety: contesting (religious) citizenship practices in Yogyakarta

**Muhammad Khoirul Muqtafa**, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI)

Between unity and diversity: national identity and multiculturalism in Indonesia

**Budi Annaisa Sidi**, University of Otago

#### **Panel 1C at Griffin Room** **Constitutionalism and the courts in Indonesia**

Chair: Melissa Crouch, University of New South Wales

Attacking free expression and the rise of authoritarianism in Indonesia

**Herlambang P Wiratraman**, Universitas Airlangga

Constitutional (un)clarity: international law in the Indonesian legal system

**Arie Afriansyah**, Universitas Indonesia

Striking the right balance: winding back Indonesia's 'big bang' decentralisation

**Rachel Diprose**, The University of Melbourne

Finding the right path to establish an election court in Indonesia

**Frits Siregar**, University of New South Wales

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9-10.30a

## SESSION 1 (continued)

### Panel 1D at Lennox Room What future for smallholder forestry?

Chair and Discussant: Peter Kanowski, ANU

Smallholders forestry in Indonesia: megatrends affecting development prospects to the year 2030

**Lisa Robins**, ANU

Modern smallholders: understanding the diverse livelihoods of Indonesia's farmers

**Digby Race**, University of the Sunshine Coast

Compliance of smallholder with Indonesia's timber legality verification system: evidence from case study value chains in East Java

**Depi Susilawati**, ANU

### Panel 1E at Seminar Room 3 Languages and education

Chair: Andree Surianta, ANU

From school to work: does vocational education improve labour market outcomes? An empirical analysis of Indonesia

**Dyah Pritadrajati**, Kantor Staff Presiden, Republic of Indonesia

Lecturer's perceptions and their implementation of the new English curriculum at Indonesian universities

**Burhanudin Syaifulloh**, University of Canberra

Bahasa Indonesia for national unity: an analysis of language policies and the role of education

**Anita Dewi**, Monash University

Redefining library roles: using resources for academic and public engagement

**Rheny Pulungan**

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10.30-11am

## MORNING TEA

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# WEDNESDAY 20 NOVEMBER

## DAY ONE

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11am-12.30pm **SESSION 2**

### **Panel 2A at Acton Theatre** **Soft power and student mobility**

Chair: Elena Williams, Asia Society

Soft power and the Australia Awards: Indonesians in Australia

**Emily Serong**, Australia Awards Indonesia

Soft power and youth initiatives: volunteering, mobility and getting to know each other

**Jemma Purdey**, Monash University

New Colombo Plan, scholarships, mobility

**Priyambudi Sulistiyanto**, Flinders University

### **Panel 2B at Brindabella Theatre** **History**

Chair: Robert Cribb, ANU

The evolution of Javanese historiography

**Jarrah Sastrawan**, The University of Sydney

The Indonesia 1945-1950 research project: is the Netherlands approaching its post- imperial moment at last?

**Joost Coté**, Monash University

The origins of Indonesian populism: public debate in Occupation Java, March-June 1945

**Gerry van Klinken**, The University of Queensland

How elections won the Indonesian revolution

**Robert Cribb**, ANU

### **Panel 2C at Griffin Room** **Theatre and literature**

Chair: Virginia Hooker, ANU

Sakeco traditional oral literature of Sumbawa: a contextual analysis from religious messages to sensual jokes

**Fahrnisa Hidayat**, Universitaet Hamburg

Sundanese poetry in the context of 1950s Indonesia: mediating Sundaneseness and Indonesianness: mediating Sundaneseness and Indonesianness

**Teddi Muhtadin** and **Cece Sobarna**, Universitas Padjadjaran

Gender, abject and space in 'Dongeng Penebusan', a short story by Mona Sylviana

**Rasus Budhyono** and **Aquarini Priyatna**, Universitas Padjadjaran

Yogya theatre reaches out

**Barbara Hatley**, University of Tasmania

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11am-12.30pm

## SESSION 2 (continued)

### Panel 2D at Lennox Room

#### Climate change, communities and adaptation

Chair: Abidah Setyowati, ANU

Livelihood diversification in the climate variability regions of West Timor, Indonesia

**Paulus Liu**, Regional Development Planning Agency of Kupang Local Government

Company-community partnerships and climate change adaptation practices: The case of coffee smallholders in Lampung, Indonesia

**Ayu Pratiwi**, University of Turku

Understanding regional identities and development in Indonesia and Australia through multi-sited ethnography of community renewable energy and other initiatives

**Max Richter**, Monash University and ANU

### Panel 2E at Seminar Room 8

#### Islamic movement

Chair: Wildani Hefni, ANU

Discussant: James J Fox, ANU

Indonesian Muslim intellectuals and the transmission of reformist thought in the teaching of contemporary Islamic law: 1998-2010

**Wildani Hefni**, ANU

Local *tarekat* and the state: Tarekat Shiddiqiyah and its efforts to preserve nationalist values in Indonesia

**Rizqa Ahmadi**, ANU

The dynamics of a Muslim community movement in West Java: a study of leadership, commitment and welfare of Majelis Tarbiyah

**Shinta Dewianty**, ANU

### Book Panel at Seminar Room 3

#### The politics of court reform: judicial change and legal culture in Indonesia

Chair: Edward Aspinall, ANU

Discussant: Fritz Siregar, University of New South Wales

Speakers: **Melissa Crouch**, University of New South Wales

**Daniel Pascoe**, City University of Hong Kong

**Herlambang P Wiratraman**, Universitas Airlangga

# WEDNESDAY 20 NOVEMBER

## DAY ONE

12.30-1.30pm

### LUNCH

#### **Special session 1 at Weston Theatre. FILM SCREENINGS**

ReelOZInd! Australia Indonesia Short Film Festival 4.0

#### **Special session 2 at Griffin Room FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION**

Student mobility and youth engagement

Exploring student experiences of the Australia Awards, New Colombo Plan and other key bilateral initiatives in strengthening people-people relations.

## HISTORY OF THE INDONESIA COUNCIL

Following the expansion of area studies relating to Asia in the early seventies, the Asian Studies Association of Australia was founded in Melbourne in 1976.

In the next year, 1977, the Malaysia Society was the first 'country association' to be affiliated with the Association under the provisions of the new constitution.

For almost another 25 years, Indonesianists were slow to organise themselves, despite their greater numbers. There were no associations, no conferences (apart from the Indonesia Update, sponsored by the ANU), and no scholarly journals other than the Indonesian Studies Bulletin administered by Stuart Robson and later Phillip Mahnken. For the most part, senior academics were oriented towards Leiden, London and Cornell, and regularly attended the American based Asian Studies Association conferences.

In 1998, Harry Aveling convened the first meeting of Indonesianists at an ASAA Conference (University of NSW). The purpose of the meeting was to begin to build a corporate identity among Indonesianists and to gain a sense of what was happening in Indonesian Studies around the country.

A second meeting was held at the 2000 ASAA Conference (University of Melbourne). A committee was elected, consisting of Harry Aveling (President), Greg Barton (Vice President), Charles Coppel (Secretary) and Kate McGregor (Postgraduate Representative). Jemma Purdey was later co-opted to the committee.

A major recommendation of the meeting was the proposal to hold a low budget conference focusing on Indonesia in the alternative years to the ASAA Conference. There was a general agreement that these conferences should be open to all who wished to present papers, and that the participation of postgraduate students and early career academics would be particularly encouraged. Those speaking in favour of such a conference included Krishna Sen, Kate McGregor and Michele Ford.

Charles Coppel circulated Indonesianists in August 2000 to see if there was sufficient support for such a project. There was and planning began soon after. ICOC 1 was held at the University of Melbourne in July 2001 and convened by Kate McGregor, Jemma Purdey, and Harry Aveling, with widespread assistance from many other volunteers and supporters. Over 90 persons attended ICOC 1, coming from Australia, Indonesia and the United States. The keynote address was delivered by Dr Herbert Feith and was entitled "Reaffirming Faith in the Project of Indonesia". It was to be his last formal public activity in Australia before his untimely death.

ICOC 2 was held in Canberra in 2003, convened by Robert Cribb. That conference launched the first Indonesia Council logo and website, designed by Elisabeth Jackson, which this site now replaces. The journey to build a home for Indonesianists in Australia had begun.

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1.30-3pm

## SESSION 3

### **Panel 3A at Acton Theatre** **History shaping the future of Indonesia**

Chair: Johan Weintré, Asia Pacific International Research Forum

The Ramayana, Pancasila and political mobilisation in India and Indonesia

**Balraj Singh Brar**, Punjabi University

The historical relationship of religion and state in the Indonesian archipelago

**Wasino**, Universitas Negeri Semarang

Historical and future landscape governance in rural West Sumatra

**Maskota Delfi**, Universitas Andalas

History, culture and local identity: Igniting development in Indonesia

**Johan Weintré**, Asia Pacific International Research Forum

The Pancasila and Panchasheel philosophy in the Indonesian and Nepalese context of development

**Shukra Raj Adhikari**,

### **Panel 3B at Brindabella Theatre** **Women candidates in the 2019 Indonesian elections**

Chair: Sally White, ANU

What makes a good woman lose? Barriers to women's electoral success in Indonesia

**Sally White**, ANU

Women as new political actors: a case study of women's political advancement in the 2019 legislative elections in East Nusa Tenggara

**Longgina Novadona Bayo**, Universitas Gadjah Mada

New parties and the ambiguity of women's identity in the 2019 legislative election: a comparative study of female candidates for the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI)

**Ulya Niami Efrina Jamson**, Universitas Gadjah Mada

Fighting in the dark : The success of women candidates in the 2019 legislative election

**Zusiana Elly Triantini**, Universitas Islam

### **Panel 3C at Griffin Room** **Memory and human rights**

Chair: Gerry van Klinken, University of Queensland

Twelve years a stand: how Aksi Kamisan became the longest-running human rights movement in Indonesia

**Aghniadi T**, Amnesty Indonesia

Analysing conversational elements of truth-telling within torture narratives

**Annie Pohlman**, University of Queensland

Blood on the stole: Catholic guilt and reconciliation

**Duncan Graham**

# WEDNESDAY 20 NOVEMBER

## DAY ONE

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1.30-3pm

### SESSION 3 (continued)

#### Panel 3D at Lennox Room International relations I

Chair: Astari Daenuwy, ANU

Walls on the *pendopo*: the logic behind Indonesia's cooperation in preventing onward irregular migration to Australia

**Carly Gordyn**, ANU

Australia's involvement in Indonesia's PRRI/Permesta rebellions

**Bradley Wood**, ANU

The role of Mick Shann in Australia-Indonesia relations in the 1960s

**John Monfries**, ANU

#### Panel 3E at Seminar Room 3 Social issues and protection

Chair: John McCarthy, ANU

Underlying causes of social vulnerability in the climate variability regions of West Timor

**Paulus Liu**, Regional Development Planning Agency of Kupang Local Government

Fate is in the hand of God, risk is in the hand of the passenger: understanding and managing social risks under the new social security era in Indonesia

**Victoria Fanggidae**, The University of Melbourne

Anxiety among the elderly in rural Indonesia  
Redefining library roles: using resources for academic and public engagement

**Anggra N Cahyo**, University of Toronto and Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta

Inequality in accessing social rights among rural older people in Indonesia: Variation across gender, region, and social class

**Muhammad Ulii Absor**, ANU

#### Panel 3F at Seminar Room 8 Corruption and administrative reform

Chair: Andrew Rosser, ANU

Corruption measurement at the sub-national level in Indonesia: A spatiotemporal analysis between perception and reality

**Zuhairan Yunan**, Universitas Islam

Academics in public office: a study of Academic Administrative Entrepreneurs (AAEs) as agents of policy transfer

**Ario Wicaksono**, University of Canberra

Patronage politics and public resources: the political economy of grant spending (Belanja Hibah) in decentralised Indonesia

**Fakhridho Susilo**

3-3.30pm

## AFTERNOON TEA

### **Book launch at Griffin Room**

Talking North: the journey of Australia's first Asian language

Author: **Paul Thomas**

3.30-5pm

## SESSION 4

### **Panel 4A at Brindabella Theatre**

#### **Political parties, representations and Indonesian democracy**

Chair: Edward Aspinall, ANU

Ideological representation beyond Left and Right: politician and voter preferences in Indonesia

**Diego Fossati**, City University of Hong Kong

Elite, masses and democratic decline in Indonesia

**Burhanuddin Muhtadi**, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah and Indikator Politik Indonesia

The inequality of representation in Indonesia: a study of mass-elite congruence on socio-economic preferences

**Eve Warburton**, The National University of Singapore

Do district political dynamics influence presidential voting patterns?

**Adrianus Hendrawan**, ANU

### **Panel 4B at Griffin Room**

#### **International relations II**

Chair: Emirza Adi Syailendra

Domestic bureaucratic politics and Indonesian foreign policy towards China

**Petrus K Farneubun**, University of Groningen

The challenges and opportunities of Indonesia's foreign policy towards Pacific Island countries under Joko Widodo 2014-2019: an approach to Rosenau's adaptive model

**Vrameswari Omega Wati**, Universitas Katolik Parahyangan

### **Panel 4C at Lennox Room**

#### **Rethinking rural Indonesia today 1**

Chair: Colum Graham, ANU

Positioning Indonesia's oil palm smallholders in the Anthropocene debates

**Rini Astuti**

Resource extraction, transnational influence and local livelihoods: the limits of supply chain governance in Indonesia's mineral-rich regions

**Rachael Diprose**, The University of Melbourne

Vulnerability, food insecurity and livelihood transitions in rural Indonesia

**John McCarthy**, ANU

# WEDNESDAY 20 NOVEMBER

## DAY ONE

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3.30-5pm

### SESSION 4 (continued)

#### **Panel 4D at Seminar Room 8** **Islam, politics, identity**

Chair: Eva Nisa, ANU

Abdul Somad: *ustadz jaman now*

**Rheinhard Sirait**, University of Western Australia

Nahdlatul Ulama and the 2019 Presidential campaign

**Suaidi Asy'ari**

Civic media and Islamic embodiment in an Indonesian region

**Julian Millie**, Monash University

The autonomy of ideology? The case of Militant Islam

**Ian Chalmers**

#### **Panel 4E at Seminar Room 3** **Identity in creative communications**

Chair: Barbara Hatley, University of Tasmania

Reconfiguring ideal masculinity: Class and gender politics in Indonesian cinema

**Evi Eliyanah**, Universitas Negeri Malang

Building familiarity through film: ReelOzInd! short film festival and Australia- Indonesia connections

**Jemma Purdey**, Monash University

The representation of low-class families in Arswendo Atmowiloto's series, Keluarga Cemara

**Ida F Sachmadi**, Universitas Padjadjaran

Class, culture, and communication at the Indonesian Film Festival in Melbourne

**Meghan Downes**, Monash University

5.15-6.15pm

### KEYNOTE ADDRESS

**Molonglo Theatre**

#### **Claiming ownership of one's freed selves: freedom, art and morality in Indonesia**

**Laksmi Pamuntjak**, author

Chair: Elly Kent, ANU

This event is co-sponsored by **ANU Indonesia Institute** and **Sydney Southeast Asia Centre**

7-9pm

### CONFERENCE DINNER

**Delhi 6 Restaurant, 14 Childers Street**

For those who have registered and paid for the conference dinner.

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### END OF CONFERENCE DAY ONE

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# THURSDAY 21 NOVEMBER

## DAY TWO

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9-10.30am

### SESSION 5

#### **Panel 5A at Acton Theatre** **Indonesian women's activism in the twentieth century**

Chair: Katharine McGregor

'And the writer remembered her work and she continued': two lives of activism in the colonial-era Sumatran women's newspaper *Soenting Melajoe* (1912-1921)

**Bronwyn Beech Jones**, The University of Melbourne

Women 'going down to the base': rural grassroots activism by women on the Left during Guided Democracy (1959-1965)

**Paula Hendrikx**, The University of Melbourne

Indonesian activism on sexual violence: narrating the experiences of so called 'comfort women'

**Katharine McGregor**, The University of Melbourne

Gerwani activist Sulami and Herstory of guerrilla struggle in the Indonesian revolution

**Ruth Indah Rahayu**

#### **Book Panel at Brindabella Theatre** **Author meets critics. Last chance for life: clemency in Southeast Asian death penalty cases**

Author: **Daniel Pascoe**, City University of Hong Kong

Speakers:

**Mai Sato**

**Carolyn Strange**

**Don Rothwell**

#### **Panel 5B at Griffin Room** **Islamic education**

Chair: James Fox, ANU

Tracing 'Green Islam' and exploring local responses to ecological problems: an ethnographic study in Pesanten Annuqayah, Madura

**Mohammad Hasan Basri**, University of Western Sydney

Studying school leadership practice: an in-depth exploration in Indonesian *Madrasah Aliyahs* (Islamic-based senior high schools)

**Ummi Kultsum**, University of Canberra

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# THURSDAY 21 NOVEMBER

## DAY TWO

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9-10.30am

### SESSION 5 (continued)

#### **Panel 5C at Lennox Room**

#### **Rethinking rural Indonesia today 2**

Chair: John McCarthy, ANU

Village deliberation and state control: understanding state-led deliberation during the formulation of village development plans in Central Java

**Katiman Kartowinomo**, ANU

Analysing agrarian change in Sumba (NTT) from the perspective of the 'invisible economy'

**Jacqueline Vel**, Leiden University

The exemplary periphery and the administrative centre: a view from rural East Java

**Colum Graham**, ANU

#### **Panel 5D at Seminar Room 8**

#### **Cultural, community and commodity**

Chair: Elly Kent, ANU

Traditional craft and creative industry: social and economic uses

**Natsuko Akagawa**, The University of Queensland

Yayasan Mahakam Lestari: documenting cultural knowledge with the Craft Conservation Program

**Karen Cherie MacDonald**, Mahakam Lestari Foundation

Relationships between clothing and poverty based on perceptions and experiences of the local communities of South Sulawesi Indonesia: a human rights approach

**Naimah Talib**

#### **Panel 5E at Seminar Room 3**

#### **Cities and migration**

Chair: Terry Hull, ANU

The role of the new ecological paradigm on pro-environmental behaviour of Jakarta citizens

**Fitri Arlinkasari**, Queensland University of Technology and YARSI University

Spatial structure of youth migration in Indonesia: does educational selectivity matter?

**Meirina Ayumi Malamassam**, ANU

Urbanisation, place-identity and city resilience in the face of disaster

**Nyoman Gede Maha Putra**, Universitas Warmadewa

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10.30-11am

### MORNING TEA

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11-12.30am

## PLENARY SESSION

**Weston Theatre**

### **The state and future of Indonesian studies**

Chair: Jemma Purdey, Monash University

Panelists

**Edward Aspinall**, ANU

**David Hill**, Murdoch University

**Nadirsyah Hosen**, Monash University

**Eva Nisa**, ANU

12.30-1.30pm

## LUNCH

**Special session at Weston Theatre.**

### **FILM SCREENINGS**

ReelOZInd! Australia Indonesia Short Film Festival 4.0

# THURSDAY 21 NOVEMBER

## DAY TWO

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1.30-3pm

### SESSION 6

#### **Panel 6A at Acton Theatre**

#### **Divergent practices of gender ideology, masculinity and youth in violent extremism in Indonesia**

Chair: Sri Wiyanto Eddyono, Universitas Gadjah Mada

Gender ideology, agency and women's empowerment: preventing radicalism and violent extremism

**Sri Wiyanti Eddyono**, Universitas Gadjah Mada

Preventing intolerance and radicalism through women's economic empowerment: lessons learnt from Indonesia

**Rizky Septiana Widyaningtyas**, Universitas Gadjah Mada

Masculinity and its impacts on empowerment and disempowerment of women in preventing violent extremism

**Arvie Johan**, Universitas Gadjah Mada

#### **Panel 6B at Brindabella Theatre**

#### **The constitution, the courts and the administration in Indonesia**

Chair: Fritz Siregar,

Judicial independence: a threat to Indonesia's democracy?

**Melissa Crouch**, University of New South Wales

Contesting marketisation and predatory rule: the 1945 Constitution, social rights and the politics of public services in Indonesia

**Andrew Rosser**, The University of Melbourne

Human rights and terrorism in Indonesia: a critical view

**Jayson Lamcheck**, National University of Singapore

The constitutionalisation of 'religious values' in Indonesia

**Nadirsyah Hosen**, Monash University

#### **Panel 6C at Lennox Room**

#### **Politics and political economies**

Chair: Edward Aspinall, ANU

The political economy of outlaw motorcycle clubs in Indonesia

**Ian Wilson**, Murdoch University

A critical evaluation into a fundamental reform of the healthcare system in Indonesia: the case of BPJS

**Harun Harun**, Universitas of Canberra

Corrupt networks: social network analysis of a forest case

**Jacqui Baker**, Murdoch University

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1.30-3pm

## SESSION 6 (continued)

### **Panel 6D at Seminar Room 3** **Environmental and rural governance**

Chair: Katiman Kartowinomo, ANU

From dystopia to utopian: Indonesia Vision 2045 - an experiment with Indonesian fire management policy makers

**Jonatan Lassa**, Charles Darwin University

Knowledge, policy and politics: epistemic communities and decision making in local environmental governance in Indonesia

**Laila Kholid Alfidaus** and **S Rouli Manalu**, Universitas Diponegoro

Global Value Chain 4.0 for economic, social, and environmental upgrading: the experience of Indonesian palm oil

**B Endo Gauh Perdana**, Universitas Gadjah Mada

State-centrism in Indonesia's rural water management: the impact of political-economic structures and contesting discourses

**Tadzki Nurshafira** and **Husna Yuni Wulansari**, Universitas Gadjah Mada

### **Panel 6E at Seminar Room 8** **Art history**

Chair: Caroline Turner, ANU

Untranslated histories: Sanento Yuliman and Indonesian art history

**Elly Kent**, ANU

Noto Soeroto: thinking about Indonesian modern art

**Matt Cox**, Art Gallery of New South Wales

Japanese Bunkajin and the creation of Indonesian modern art

**Antariksa**, KUNCI Centre for Cultural Studies

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3-3.30pm

## AFTERNOON TEA

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# THURSDAY 21 NOVEMBER

## DAY TWO

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3.30-5pm

### SESSION 7

#### **Panel 7A at Acton Theatre** **Women's experiences in Indonesia**

Chair: Jemma Purdey, Monash University

Empowering women with disabilities in university libraries: inclusive design and socioeconomic empowerment

**Gunawan Tanuwidjaja** and **Priskila Adiasih**, Queensland University of Technology and Petra Christian University

The use of body mapping to explore female adolescents' understanding of physical body changes during puberty

**Christina Rony Nayoan**, Deakin University and Universitas Nusa Cendana

Being a woman Sufi in modern life: an anthropological study of women members of the Naqshabandiyah Nazimiyah order

**Laily Hafidzah**, University of Western Sydney

Gender economic inequality in Indonesia

**Irna Susrianti**, Forum Komunikasi Masyarakat BKA (Community with Special Needs in Aceh) Young Women Unit

#### **Panel 7B at Brindabella Theatre** **Electoral politics**

Chair: Eve Warburton, The National University of Singapore

The intricacies of Indonesian electoral reforms after the restoration of democracy

**Ronny Basista**, Victoria University of Wellington

Fragmentation within Majelis Taklim during the 2019 elections

**Nisaul Fadillah**, University of Western Sydney

Political homophobia in Indonesian electoral politics

**Gavin Height**, La Trobe University

#### **Panel 7C at Lennox Room** **Recent changes in Indonesia-China relations**

Chair: Pierre van der Eng, ANU

The changing Chinese image in Indonesian elections since 1998

**Song Sue**, Fudan University

Understanding the intermestic dimensions of Indonesia's China policy

**Greta Nabbs-Keller**, The University of Queensland

The impact of securitisation of China's foreign investment in Indonesia on China-Indonesia relations under the 'Belt & Road' initiative

**Yue Pan**

Chinese investment and Chinese firms in Indonesia

**Tao (Sherry) Kong** and **Pierre van der Eng**, ANU

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3.30-5pm

## SESSION 7 (continued)

### **Panel 7D at Seminar Room 3** **Changing indigeneity politics in Indonesia**

Chair: Jacqueline Vel,

The role of indigeneity NGOs in the legal recognition of adat communities and customary forests  
**Yance Arizone**

Impediments in establishing *adat* villages: a socio-legal examination of the Indonesian village law  
**Tody Sasmita**

Changing indigeneity politics in Indonesia: main conclusions and implications for research agenda  
**Jacqueline Vel** and **Kathryn Robinson**, Leiden University and ANU

### **Panel 7E at Seminar Room 8** **Cyber-Indonesia**

Chair: Ruth Nikijuluw, ANU

Indonesian cyberspace expansion: a double edged sword  
**Thomas Paterson**, ANU

Solidarity in the digital age in Indonesia: precarious workers in the digitised transportation sector in Jakarta

**Diatyka Widya Permata Yasih**, The University of Melbourne

Examining determinants of e-payment use in Indonesia: do trust and financial literacy matter?  
**Umi Julaihah**, University of Canberra

Information technology and economic participation: the case of Indonesian small business owners with disability

**Misita Anwar**, Monash University

### **Panel 7F at Griffin Room** **Islamic politics**

Chair: Julian Millie, Monash University

Aksi Super Damai and the middle-class civilising mission  
**Tzu-Chien Yen**, ANU

The place of Islam in Indonesian foreign policy in the post-Suharto era  
**Ahmad Fuad Fanani**, ANU

Family and terrorism: rethinking the role of the family in terrorism  
**Haula Noor**, ANU

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## END OF CONFERENCE DAY TWO

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# ABSTRACTS

## PANEL 1A GENDER AND IDENTITY

### **“I waited so long until I got the chance to play in the soccer field!” Gendered play opportunities in Jakarta’s public spaces**

Fitri Arlinkasari

This paper focuses on children’s experiences of play and the contextual factors that regulate their opportunities to play within a public open space. The paper seeks to convey that in the Indonesian urban context, play is not accessible everywhere or for everyone as the play opportunities are regulated by the sociocultural context, particularly gender-related variables. Using a case study of two designated child-friendly public spaces in Jakarta, fourteen girls and twenty boys participated in observations, drawing activities, and interviews. Results show that gender stereotyping among children and their communities contributes to the genderbased play space, which later restricts opportunities for girls to play in public space. However, both boys and girls suggested that they have the same access to the public space and aspirations for play activities. Findings of this study can be used to design a better public space in the Indonesian urban context that promotes equal play opportunities across genders.

### **Boys will be boys? Men’s talk as homosocial engagement in male-dominated Whatsapp groups of cycling communities in Bandung**

Trisna Gumilar and Aquarini Priyatna

Examining conversations about women and the circulation of women-related images in male-dominated Whatsapp groups belonging to cycling communities in Bandung from 2017 to 2018, the paper argues that women are discussed in various conversation contexts primarily in a joking manner. Not only are such conversations considered normal and natural, but they also constitute an integral part of men’s talk. Conversations about women and the circulation of women-related images are means to build male friendship and brotherhood, which form the basis of the homosocial relations among members of male-dominated cycling communities. Seen from this perspective, cycling communities’ Whatsapp groups function as vehicles that perpetuate masculine values.

### **Identity negotiation of Indonesian Muslim female students in the US and Australia**

Win Listyaningrum Arifin

This study aims at exploring the problems faced by Indonesian Muslim female students in the US and Australia in dealing with intercultural communication. The language competence of the students is important as this is a part of the knowledge and skills required to be successful in intercultural communication. Thus, this study applies Ting-Toomey Identity Negotiation Theory to identify the strategies students use to engage in intercultural communication with other students, lecturers, supervisors, academic staff, and ordinary people. This study uses audio-transcribed videos, structured interviews, and survey questionnaires to investigate students’ strategies of intercultural communication in dealing with their identity negotiation. It also examines the issues and challenges facing female Muslim students and the role of intercultural communication ability in their identity switching. It appears that these students have positive strategies in dealing with intercultural communication and that the most significant problems they face come from their personal situation rather than their environmental situation. However, there is a positive identity switching among these students as an outcome of intercultural communication ability. Intercultural communication will be successful when they have positive self-acceptance in any situation.

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## PANEL 1B IDENTITY POLITICS AND MULTICULTURALISM

### **Ethnic mobilisation in Tanah Ulayat movements**

Song Xue

The article tries to identify which method (institutional/non-institutional) of ethnic mobilisation is applied by activists in the course of re-claiming the rights of tanah ulayat. By comparing the cases nation-wide between 2006-2016, the article argues that the consolidation of ethnic solidarity contributes to the use of non-violent and institutional methods.

## **In the name of piety: contesting (religious) citizenship practices in Yogyakarta**

Muhammad Khoirul Muqtafa

In the last couple of years, violence cases have occurred quite often in Yogyakarta, a city once declared as a tolerant city in 2011. The violence targets religious minority groups such as Christians and Shi'i community. Those who committed violence defend their actions by arguing that the violence is sanctioned by religious teachings as part of being a pious and religious person. This argument undermines the fact that the minority groups, the target of the attacks, are also their fellow citizens. For those who committed violence, it seems as if religion comes before citizenship. Here, the tension between the religious membership and nation-state citizenship emerges and poses a question over the relationship between religion and citizenship. Religion and citizenship have long been seen as "hostile" to each other as citizenship is regarded as secular, but this paper argues differently. This paper will address several questions; firstly, how citizenship is conceptualised and developed by the religious communities in Yogyakarta; secondly, what kind discursive practices affect their conceptualisation; and thirdly, what kind of theoretical perspective related to religion and citizenship might be reflected from this particular case study of Yogyakarta.

## **Between unity and diversity: national identity and multiculturalism in Indonesia**

Budi Annisa Sidi

Presently, identity continues to be a salient issue in Indonesia, where an Indonesian identity coexists with people's personal ethnic and religious backgrounds. Analysis on data gathered from lay people, university students and elites across Aceh, Jakarta, Maluku and West Java indicates that the Indonesian national identity is viewed as a civic identity, connected to themes such as citizenship. Ethno-regional identity fulfils a more intimate aspect, associated with themes such as kinship and community. While considered more personal, ethno-regional groups are also perceived as sub-nations of Indonesia. Meanwhile, religious identity is considered to be paramount for a person, affecting their fundamental understanding of good and bad. At the same time, Indonesia's approach towards multiculturalism extends different degrees of recognition, accommodation, toleration and discrimination towards different socio-cultural groups, thus affecting how identity is experienced and understood by the population. Indonesia's framework for multiculturalism favours the Muslim majority compared to other religious groups in Indonesia in an attempt to mollify political Islamism. A similar inequity in legal accommodation is not observable between different ethno-regional groups even though minority ethnic groups still face ongoing discrimination. This approach reflects the effort of the Indonesian state to accommodate diversity in the nation while maintaining its unity.

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# **PANEL 1C CONSTITUTIONALISM AND THE COURTS IN INDONESIA**

The Indonesian Constitution is an important text that governs the world's third largest democracy. Emerging in 1998 from decades of authoritarian rule, Indonesia's 1945 Constitution underwent a series of major amendments. A culture of constitutionalism in Indonesia has developed in connection with a robust civil society and ongoing advocacy campaigns for law and justice by legal advocates. The papers in this panel are part of a broader collaborative project that will explore and explain the critical and ongoing set of debates over the meaning and practice of the Indonesian Constitution. The papers explore themes of freedom of expression and the rise of authoritarianism, the domestic implementation of international law, the recentralisation of power, and the role and authority of the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu).

## **Attacking free expression and the rise of authoritarianism in Indonesia**

Herlambang P Wiratraman

Indonesia's democracy is challenged by the increasingly authoritarian model of governance (Power 2018; Wiratraman 2018, 2019; Heufer 2017). First, the political pattern established by the New Order continues to be influential; many practices are still rooted in its bureaucratic systems. This pattern was characterised by corruption and the use of political violence to resolve social-economic conflicts. Second, the state has shown a lack of political commitment to strengthen human rights, seemingly leading to circles of impunity (Wiratraman 2019). Unsurprisingly, the authorities readily reproduced numerous draconian laws which threatened public spheres, freedom of expression and opinion. Even worse, several attacks have been made on the right of citizens and groups to express their views through discussion, film screenings, art festivals, and even academia. Unfortunately, the government and its apparatuses have failed to protect such activities. Although the Constitution stipulates freedom of expression as a fundamental right, the words "...

# ABSTRACTS

prescribed by statute” following the free expression article have proved problematic, even, adverse situation has been clearly shown under all regimes since independence (Bedner 2001; Wiratraman 2014). This paper aims to evaluate the development of freedom of expression as a fundamental freedom, especially in the context of the return of authoritarianism.

## **Constitutional (un)clarity: international law in the Indonesian legal system**

Arie Afriansyah, Universitas Indonesia

The Indonesian Constitution only delineates how Indonesia makes international agreements without addressing the implementation of such agreements in domestic law. In addition to that, Indonesia must implement decisions of international organisations in which Indonesia is a member, such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Legal enforcers such as judges, police, and military officers are bound by the legality principle. This means that legal proceedings must be based on Indonesian law despite such norms originally come from international agreements. The only relevant law on international agreements (Law No. 24 Year 2000), unfortunately, does not provide clear mechanism for incorporating international rules into domestic law. Thus, the inadequacy of Indonesia's position towards international law is made so much more difficult in the implementation at the domestic level. This paper examines Indonesia's inconsistent practices in implementing international law and seeks some options to rectify the problem.

## **Striking the right balance: winding back Indonesia's 'big bang' decentralisation**

Rachael Diprose, The University of Melbourne

Indonesia has achieved significant political and institutional reforms over the past two decades with many wide-sweeping changes introduced during the early years of democratisation. Four sets of amendments to the 1945 Constitution allowed for the enactment of Indonesia's decentralisation laws, which were ratified in 1999 and revised again in 2004. These reforms transferred significant fiscal and political authority to the districts and municipalities, bypassing the once powerful provincial administrations and providing this level of government with only oversight and coordinating functions, unless sectoral imperatives cross-cut district boundaries. This went some way to addressing subnational demands for greater political and fiscal autonomy that had long beleaguered Indonesia's central administration - complaints that policy responses were ineffectual in some regions or favoured other regions and groups, which in the extreme resulted in regional rebellions and separatist insurgencies. However, while the new centre-periphery bargain that was struck mitigated past tensions, it presented new opportunities, challenges and, in some cases, conflicts. Services are in many cases more readily accessible locally, and pockets of policy innovation suited to Indonesia's wide-ranging and varied local contexts are evident. Yet, the substantial increase in the scale of actors vying for power and influence at the subnational level has introduced complexities to resolving disputes and seen larger numbers of actors pursuing predatory rent-seeking practices. Transnational actors have been able to bypass the centre in their efforts to access markets and resources by directly influencing subnational power brokers and authorities. Centre-periphery tensions over licensing authority have become increasingly acute when the licenses issued for land and resource use have overlapped or been unclear, and the central government struggled to respond to international and domestic complaints. In responding to these challenges, successive central administrations have sought to strengthen central powers in particular sectors, such as in mining. The most recent iteration of the decentralisation laws – the 2014 Local Governance Law – has also wound back the licencing authority of district and municipal governments in many of the most lucrative resource sectors to favour provincial governments. This was the tier of government that lost out in the initial 'Big Bang' decentralisation reforms. The question remains as to whether the emerging slow creep of recentralisation strikes the right balance in Indonesia's centre-periphery and intra-periphery distribution of power and authority, learning from the lessons that brought about the initial reforms.

## **Finding the right path to establish an election court in Indonesia**

Fritz Siregar, University of New South Wales

After the General Election Law (Law Number 7 Year 2017) was enacted, an enormous authority was conferred on the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) to adjudicate election dispute. This authority leads to the question of whether Bawaslu could become a fully functioning election tribunal. In order to adjudicate election dispute and administrative violations, each Bawaslu member from the regency level, provincial level to national level needs to learn and act like a real judge in court. In addition, Bawaslu from the regency to national level must perform a judicial function and has a duty to excogitate a “judge” who could deliver a just decision in a very tight time frame. Two main questions need to be answered regarding Bawaslu's authority. First, could Bawaslu become an election tribunal; and second, could Bawaslu become an election tribunal that possesses an authority to adjudicate election result dispute. This authority was temporarily possessed by the Constitutional Court according to Article 157 paragraph (2) Local Election Law (Law Number 10 Year 2016). It is also possible that Bawaslu has already become an election tribunal that possesses an election supervision function. If Bawaslu already possesses an election tribunal function, should Bawaslu make its own nomenclature that represents Bawaslu as an election tribunal. If Bawaslu is an election tribunal, should Bawaslu fall within the authority of the Supreme Court? There is also an option that Bawaslu could stand alone as an election tribunal outside the authority of the Supreme Court like the Commission of Information.

## PANEL 1D **WHAT FUTURE FOR SMALLHOLDER FORESTRY?**

### **Smallholder forestry in Indonesia: megatrends affecting development prospects to the 2030**

Lisa Robins

This panel explores aspects of the future for smallholder forestry in Indonesia. The first paper outlines eight megatrends with major implications for smallholder forestry in Indonesia to the year 2030. Best, worst and more likely case scenarios are outlined as starting points for further research. The second paper reports on a recent household survey across five sites in Indonesia to obtain data of smallholders' income and the importance of forestry. While most smallholders still report farming as their primary occupation and identify themselves as farmers, their families' livelihoods are diverse and mainly supported by non-farm enterprises. The research found that conventional agricultural enterprises generated just 14% of household income. The high proportion of off-farm income for a range of smallholders has important implications for land management and rural development across Indonesia. The third paper explores the Indonesian Timber Legality Verification System (SVLK), which has been developed to combat illegal logging and associated timber trading. The study investigates SVLK compliance in value chains originating from smallholder forests on private land in East Java Province, and reveals that none of blockboard and plywood products from any case study chain are SVLK-compliant.

### **Modern smallholders: understanding the diverse livelihoods of Indonesia's farmers**

Digby Race

Promoting smallholder forestry has been a policy response by many governments to support smallholders' livelihoods, reduce deforestation of natural forests and increase supplies to assist and expand wood-based industries. Although smallholder forestry has yet to achieve its potential in Indonesia, there is increasing evidence that smallholders are willing to integrate different forestry options into their mix of enterprises that support their livelihoods. Recent research has used a household survey of a stratified sample of smallholders (n= 240) across five sites in Indonesia to obtain data of smallholders' income and the importance of forestry. Results revealed interesting aspects about the composition of Indonesia's rural economy, whereby many smallholders receive most of their income from off-farm sources (57% of income). While most smallholders still report farming as their primary occupation and identify themselves as farmers, their families' livelihoods are diverse and mainly supported by non-farm enterprises. Even the mix of farming enterprises for smallholders is evolving, with commercial forestry a prominent land-use and source of household income in Indonesia (28% of income). This research found that conventional agricultural enterprises generated just 14% of household income. The enduring agricultural landscape of rural Indonesia appears to be masking the dominant activity of smallholders that is, generating most of their income from off-farm sources. The high proportion of off-farm income for a range of smallholders has important implications for land management and rural development across Indonesia. Supporting smallholders to acquire knowledge and skills related to a range of enterprises is important so they can successfully transition into Indonesia's modern economy.

### **Compliance of smallholder with Indonesia's timber legality verification system: evidence from case study value chains in East Java**

Depi Susilawati

The Indonesian Timber Legality Verification System (SVLK) has been developed to combat illegal logging and associated timber trading. SVLK was also part of Indonesia's preparation entering a Voluntary Partnership Agreement under the European Union's Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT) Action Plan. While SVLK was catalysed by concerns about the legality of wood originating from natural forests, it applies to all wood production in Indonesia, including that from smallholders. This study investigates SVLK compliance in value chains originating from smallholder forests on private land in East Java Province, Indonesia. The study followed value chains of blockboard and plywood products in East Java. There are specific SVLK requirements for each actor along the chains, from smallholders to final processors, other than for market brokers. Results reveal both specific and systemic issues with the architecture and implementation of SVLK in smallholder wood value chains. Specific issues related to particular forms of non-compliance by different actors. Systemic issues are related to the limitations of conformity declarations by small-scale actors, mechanisms for separating wood supply streams, and the adequacy of independent compliance monitoring. Consequently, none of the blockboard and plywood products from any case study chain are SVLK-compliant. These results suggest that the Indonesian Government should improve its work with other relevant stakeholders to address the system's weaknesses in relation to small-scale actors.

# ABSTRACTS

## PANEL 1 E LANGUAGES AND EDUCATION

### **From school to work: does vocational education improve labour market outcomes? An empirical analysis of Indonesia**

Dyah Pritadrajati

While vocational education is believed to provide students with the opportunity to learn specific-job relevant, empirical evidence on the impact of vocational education on labour market outcomes is far from conclusive. Using a rich longitudinal household survey for Indonesia, this paper analyses the effects of different school types on four labour market outcomes: labour force participation, risk of unemployment, job formality, and income. To correct for endogeneity bias, this paper uses multiple instrumental variables, including parents' educational backgrounds and the proportion of each school type in the district to reflect the supply of each school type. The results suggest that public vocational education provided better labour outcomes for women, relative to public general schools. However, no such difference is found for men. Moreover, the results suggest that many vocational schools, especially private ones, performed poorly in terms of their graduates' job formality and income. For vocational education to truly improve labour market prospects for youth, greater attention needs to be paid to quality assurance as well as change in hiring practice.

### **Lecturers' perceptions and their implementation of the new English curriculum at Indonesian Universities**

Burhanudin Syaifulloh

In 2012, a new curriculum of higher education in Indonesia known as the Higher Education Curriculum was introduced. The new curriculum places great emphasis on achieving global competency standards through internalisation of knowledge, behaviour, skill, competence, and the accumulation of working experience. This paper sketches my PhD research project in which I intend to investigate lecturers' perceptions and their implementation of the new English curriculum at Indonesian universities. The urgency of doing this research is due to the fact that the implementation of a new curriculum in many contexts is often problematic, particularly in a classroom level (Hardman & A-Rahman 2014; Mligo 2016). I intend to employ a qualitative method for this study, with English lecturers (N = 15) as the participants of the study. The data would be collected through semi-structured interviews and classroom observations and analysed through coding and examining data, making explicit patterns, and elaborating and formalising the data (Scott & Usher, 2011). The findings of this research are expected to provide important insights into curriculum development and implementation at classroom level and to contribute to the body of knowledge about curriculum design and evaluation in the EFL (English as a Foreign Language) Indonesian context.

### **Bahasa Indonesia for national unity: an analysis of language policies and the role of education**

Anita Dewi

The paper presents an analysis of Bahasa Indonesia (BI), which the Indonesian government has always considered one of the key points for ensuring the maintenance of national unity. The paper provides a rich and critical investigation of the government's agenda on national unity as indicated in language policies. Another goal is to reveal how teachers experience and perceive the success of national unity agenda through the use of BI in schools. Data collection was conducted through a mixed-method approach. The paper analyses various texts on language policies in different periods, ranging from the early initiative of declaring BI as the national language in the pre-independence 1928 Youth Congress to the recently issued PUEBI. In addition, data was also gathered through questionnaires and follow-up interviews with school teachers in the Special Province of Yogyakarta (DIY). DIY was chosen because it bears the titles of Indonesian 'city of students' and 'barometer of national education'. The questionnaire findings were used as a snapshot of teachers' perceptions. Based on this snapshot, follow-up interviews were carried out with participants who agreed to do so.

### **Redefining library roles: using resources for academic and public engagement**

Rheny Pulungan

This presentation will showcase a range of library and academic activities focusing on the use of the Indonesian collection at the Monash University Library. This includes curriculum development of both academic content and research and learning skills, digitisation of rare collection, and Monash Indonesian seminar series. The presentation will demonstrate the key role that the Indonesian Collection and the Library staff have been playing in research and learning in the university. The engagement extends from internal stakeholders (e.g. faculties, researchers and students) to external stakeholders (e.g. community). This presentation will commence with showcasing the Indonesian resources including historical collection, Balai Pustaka collection, and contemporary collection. This is followed by how the

resources are used in supporting both research and learning. The library resources and staff expertise have been heavily involved in the curriculum development and the delivery of teaching and learning activities. The presentation will also discuss the Library's digitisation program and the role it plays in supporting research and learning, both within the university and internationally. Several unique, digitised Indonesian collection will be highlighted. To conclude, the Monash Indonesian Seminar Series will be discussed in demonstrating increased engagement with the wider community.

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## PANEL 2 A **SOFT POWER AND STUDENT MOBILITY**

Elena Williams

Following DFAT's 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper, the Australian Government in 2018 committed to reviewing its soft power initiatives aimed at increasing people-to-people understanding in our region. Many of these initiatives are centred around youth and education, and Indonesia is a key focus country. With the findings of DFAT's soft power review to be released in 2019, this panel will examine how several of the Government's key Australia-Indonesia youth initiatives—including The Australia Awards, The Australia Indonesia Youth Exchange Program, and The New Colombo Plan—are meeting the Government's soft power targets, and to what extent these programs are having real impact on the lives, careers and academic pathways of young Australians and Indonesians. This panel brings together leading practitioners, academics and program managers at the forefront in managing these key Australia-Indonesia youth initiatives, and draws on their many years of experience contributing to soft power initiatives in the region.

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## PANEL 2 B **HISTORY**

### **The evolution of Javanese historiography**

Jarrah Sastrawan

This paper considers the question of how the evolution of historical knowledge is conditioned by norms of textuality. I argue that the way texts are produced, handled, and received within a social environment offers a set of resources and constraints for the practice of history. I explore this hypothesis through the case study of the evolution of Javanese historiography in the second millennium CE. States on Java maintained historical records, mostly in the form of legal documents, since the 8th century, but the evolution of the island's historiography has been far from smooth. I argue that a radical change in textual practices at the turn of the 16th century, associated with the decline of the bureaucratized agrarian state of Majapahit, caused the evolution of Javanese historical knowledge to diverge. The result of this divergence was at least two separate and conflicting bodies of Javanese historiography, which continued to develop along their own trajectories into the 19th century and remain unreconciled to the present day.

### **The Indonesia 1945-1950 research project: is the Netherlands approaching its post-imperial moment at last?**

Joost Coté

This paper surveys the aims, activities, interim outcomes and responses to the current, Dutch government funded, academic project reviewing the Dutch (and Indonesian) conduct in the 1945 – 1949 Indonesian War of Independence. The program, Independence, decolonization, violence and war in Indonesia, 1945-1950, involves three Dutch research institutes, seven research projects and dozens of researchers and, after some discussion, an Indonesian research group. This government-sponsored research project into the traumatic moment of decolonisation (in which Australia was also implicated) is a belated effort to open the lid on this dark episode in the Netherlands' imperial past. It comes after several recent official Dutch government apologies for, and successful Indonesian initiated court cases seeking compensation in regard to, Dutch war crimes. The multi-focused project has also created a receptive public 'climate' in the Netherlands for personal and family memoirs, popular histories of the period, and public exhibitions of hitherto censored contemporary visual and documentary evidence, as well as sparking critical responses. These range from protests by veterans and 'conservatives' for besmirching Dutch reputation of its imperial achievement, to criticism from Indonesian groups questioning the likely outcome of a research program sponsored by the former imperial state.

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## **The origins of Indonesian populism: public debate in Occupation Java, March-June 1945**

Gerry van Klinken

The paper analyses over a hundred newspaper articles, published in the last months of the Pacific War, about the shape of a future independent Indonesia. Their 91 different authors came from the middle and upper levels of Indonesian society. The tropes they developed there proved to be persuasive in the revolution that was soon to follow, and far beyond it. Seventy percent of them dealt with political theory. Of these, four out of five can be categorised as “right-wing populist.” Explicitly rejecting liberal democracy, they breathed an ideology of authoritarian corporatism. At the same time, the paper will argue (in line with an influential analysis by Ernesto Laclau), they adhered to the democratic principle of the majority. Their narrative thus prefigures a theme in Indonesian politics that puzzles observers to the present day. “The people” (rakyat) have an ambivalent identity: at times a right-wing subject (nativist), at other times left-wing (socialist). Similar-sounding populist discourses can emanate from both dominant and dominated classes.

## **How elections won the Indonesian revolution**

Robert Cribb

Indonesia was the first colonised country in Southeast Asia to claim independence, but the independence declaration of 17 August 1945 was followed by four years of warfare and diplomatic negotiation before the final Transfer of Sovereignty in 27 December 1949. Much effort has gone into arguments over which element was more important in securing independence: diplomatic negotiation (including the careful management of the United States) or the armed struggle of the Indonesian armed forces in the countryside. This paper argues that the key to the failure of the Dutch authorities lay in the collapse of their political strategy. From 1947 to 1949, the Dutch attempt to create an electoral mandate for their view of a ‘moderate’ independence by holding elections throughout the territories they had occupied. The victory of pro-Republic parties in nearly all of these elections left the Dutch without a political format to combat the Indonesian Republic and their colonial struggle ended soon after.

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## PANEL 2 C THEATRE AND LITERATURE

### **Sakeco traditional oral literature of Sumbawa: a contextual analysis from religious messages to sensual jokes**

Fahrunnisa Hidayat

Sakeco is an oral art performance in Sumbawa Island. It is known as Islamic music and contains philosophical meanings that depict messages of love to God and goodness in life. However, the development of sakeco has undergone many changes, especially in poems or lyrics that serve as a medium of communication and spread the teachings of Islam. Today, the lyrics of sakeco have changed; they are no longer only about the love of God but more about romance, youth, and even sexuality. Sakeco has undergone rapid growth and development in the last decade, but it is still rarely documented. The story in sakeco generally consists of an opening that contains a welcome greeting in Islamic salam then followed by the story in the form of a summary, and the last part is the closure which is usually a sensual joke. This paper examines the history and development of the art while analysing the poems’ meanings, from religious messages to sensual jokes, as the context for sakeco.

### **Sundanese poetry in the context of 1950s Indonesia: mediating Sundaneseness and Indonesianness**

Teddi Muhtadin and Cece Sobarna

This study explores the representation of Sundanese movement in Sundanese poetry. Referring to Aart van Zoest’s theory of semiotics, this study dismantles the meanings in the Sundanese poems selected and elaborates on the ideology on which the Sundanese movement in Sundanese poetry was grounded within the frame of Indonesianness in the 1950s. The results show that syntactically, the choice of form and language in the poems indicates the representation of Sundanese movement within Indonesianness. While the choice of form signifies a movement to accept Indonesianness, the choice of language signifies a movement to maintain Sundaneseness. Semantically, iconic diagrammatic signs and iconic metaphoric signs occur significantly in the poems. The use of iconic diagrammatic signs places Indonesianness before Sundaneseness, and the use of iconic metaphoric signs suggests that Indonesianness can be

expressed in terms of Sundanese tradition. Pragmatically, as the modes of representation suggest, a “middle course also grounded the Sundanese movement in Sundanese poetry in the decade,” that is, an ideology that sought to mediate between Sundaneseness and Indonesianness, between ethnicity and nationality, diversity and uniformity, tradition and modernity.

## **Gender, abject, and space in “Dongeng Penebusan”, a short story by Mona Sylviana**

Rasus Budhyono and Aquarini Priyatna

“Dongeng Penebusan” is a short story by Mona Sylviana, a contemporary Indonesian woman writer. The story juxtaposes the issues of gender, abjection, and space. Borrowing from the concepts of abjection from Kristeva and gendered space from Duncan, Koskela, Massey, Reus & Usandizaga, McDowell, and Spain, the article explores the ways in which Laksmi, the only woman character in the story, deals with Samsu, her abject former lover, who tells the other male customers about their past relationship. Since the story takes place in a coffeehouse that Laksmi runs, the article also looks into the ways in which Laksmi manages, and navigates her coffeehouse as a gendered space. Laksmi’s silent reaction neither confirms nor denies Samsu’s story. Her silence is active, not passive. It not only prevents her from being dragged back to the abject past, but also makes her remain a frightening abject in the eye of Samsu. Laksmi does not alter the order that makes the coffeehouse a masculine space. There are transactional relations that Laksmi needs maintain in order to keep the coffeehouse running. Instead of disrupting this gendered space, Laksmi negotiates and navigates it.

## **Yogya theatre reaches out**

Barbara Hatley

For many years, I’ve been investigating connections between theatre and society in Central Java, especially Yogyakarta—how performance reflects on the social experience and sense of identity of its participants. For the Javanese popular theatre form *ketoprak*, the coming to power of the New Order in the mid-1960s ended former leftist connections, while its legendary, historical stories continued to celebrate the Javanese cultural heritage and reflect the everyday experience of performers and audience members. Much Indonesian language modern theatre, meanwhile, problematised Javanese cultural tradition, depicting past kingdoms ruled by corrupt, flawed powerholders, and critiquing the state of the contemporary Indonesian nation. The ending of the Suharto era in 1998, the shift to greater regional autonomy and freedom of expression, was reflected in performance by vibrant celebration of the local folk arts, incorporating global elements and performances, dramatising real-life occurrences, and staged in local neighbourhoods. In recent years the focus on the local has intensified in much *ketoprak* and Javanese language modern drama activity supported by cultural authorities and aimed at preserving Javanese cultural identity. At the same time, however, several Yogya theatre groups are reaching out beyond Java, engaging with theatre artists and activities in other regions. Members of the main group involved, Teater Garasi, explain that having always experienced the world as Javanese they wanted to see how things looked from elsewhere. Given the history of Yogya performance in connecting with its social context, is there suggestion here of a more general widening of interest in and understanding of ‘the nation’? In what ways do performances involving Yogya groups with local artists in the regions reflect on social conditions there? How do the inward-looking and outward-reaching movements in Yogya theatre relate to one another? This paper attempts to address such questions.

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## **PANEL 2 D CLIMATE CHANGE COMMUNITIES AND ADAPTATION**

### **Livelihood diversification in the climate variability regions of West Timor, Indonesia**

Paulus Liu

This paper will discuss how agricultural households in the research regions of both rural (Kupang district) and semi-urban (Kupang City) have coped with the risks of climate variability through the creation of a portfolio of farming and non-farming livelihoods. Sample households diversify by complementing crop-production with livestock raising and/or *paronisasi*, and also engaging in income generating activities in other people’s farm or in the non- or off-farm sector, including self employment and gathering. However, differences in livelihood diversification can be observed between urban and rural sites, and between households. Such a differentiation can be attributed to various factors, including the availability and access to land and common property resources, as well as access to credit, markets, transport, services and related infrastructures. It is true that each household in both regions has its own range of options about types of livelihood activities. However, it is the bundle of capital to which households have access or entitlement that basically determines whether members of the households will diversify out of choice or necessity away from farm-based activities to non/off-

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farm activities in coping with climate variability related risks. Differences between households that determine certain types of livelihood activities are associated with ethnicity, household size, gender, as well as wealth group, ownership and access to assets. Social and/or kin-based networks, and household status and position within the village based on rights and claims to control access to key resources are also influential.

## **Company-community partnerships and climate change adaptation practices: the case of coffee smallholders in Lampung, Indonesia**

Ayu Pratiwi

Climate change affects agricultural production system and the livelihood of the smallholder producers. To help farmers increase their adaptive capacity, private sector may serve as an alternative to the government through company-community partnership. Such partnership aims to directly acquire agricultural production from the farmers while simultaneously increase their capacity through knowledge exchange, market access, and social capital. This chapter aims to examine the effects of company-community partnership upon the climate change adaptation and mitigation practices of the smallholders' farmers, taking the case of coffee growers in Lampung, Indonesia. We found that farmers possessing motorised vehicle, larger farm size, and more active networks inside their locality, are more likely to join the company-community partnership. The partnership also positively affects the adaptive capacity of smallholder farmers in two ways. First, it improves their farm income thus reducing their income vulnerabilities; and second, through increased propensity to adopt resource-conserving and agroforestry techniques due to more opportunity for knowledge exchange and a higher degree of social capital.

## **Understanding regional identities and development in Indonesia and Australia through multi-sited ethnography of community renewable energy and other initiatives**

Max Richter

Regional livelihoods and lifestyles in Indonesia and Australia appear to display significant similarities and contrasts. However, in both countries physical distances and complex centre/region disparities tend to make it difficult to gain a deep appreciation of life in the regions, let alone with any comparative value. Analyses of regional development policies, demographic statistics and/or electoral voting patterns are some means through which to gain aggregated insights into comparative regional developments and situations. This paper reflects on an approach that foregrounds human interaction in local-level settings, and may be termed multisited ethnography of development ideas and projects. A major area of focus is local-level relationship building and research engagement activities around community renewable energy and tertiary-level capacity building. Attention is given to multi-scalar partnerships, local-level livelihoods and, to an extent, musical subcultures and other lifestyle markers. Sites include Kalimantan and Maluku in Indonesia and Gippsland in Victoria, Australia, with social research techniques or orientations deployed and/or observed including ethnography, sustainability science, landscape-lifescape analysis and 'live-in' concepts.

## **Possibilities and limitations of volunteer tourism and student volunteer exchanges: a host organisation perspective in Indonesia**

Hannah Sutton.

While tourism has been considered as a mechanism for the alleviation of poverty or environmental destruction, large-scale tourism can result in negative consequences for local communities. As mainstream tourism creeps towards small villages in Bali, the small coastal community of Desa Les came together to envision a different future for themselves. Well aware of the potential negative consequences from the mainstream tourism industry, two local Non-Government Organisations, Sea Communities and LINI (Indonesian Nature Foundation), have sought to utilise alternative tourism models, such as volunteer tourism and student volunteering, to target more conscious tourism in Desa Les, north Bali. Volunteer tourism (VT) and student volunteer (SV) programs are being adopted to assist them in achieving their missions of community development and conservation, while controlling negative impacts of overdevelopment in the tourism industry. Such exchanges reduce dependence on external forms of funding and can provide economic, social and environmental benefits that may spread beyond the organisations. However, not all exchanges are equal, and conflicts may arise at the expense of stakeholders. The NPO's mediating role seeks to ensure a relatively balanced exchange between parties to cooperatively achieve their mission. Both case studies demonstrate the complex issues arising from the adoption of an approach that both benefits and distracts from their missions. Utilising Social Exchange Theory and approaches from economic anthropology, this thesis seeks to critically assess how the use of VT and SV can help or hinder NPOs' ability to achieve their conservation and community development objectives.

## PANEL 2 E ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS

The development of Indonesian Islam in the contemporary era can be seen from two aspects: intellectual development and religious movements. The development of a new Muslim intellectual tradition began with a new policy during the 1960s to broaden the networks of Indonesian lecturers in Islamic higher education institutions and introduce them to Western and Middle-Eastern traditions of critical scholarship. Elsewhere, we see the development of religious movements in rural areas identified with the emergence of Islamic spirituality in Indonesian Islam, namely tarekat (Sufi orders). The relationship of these local tarekat with the state has its own characteristics as we can see with the reinforcement of national identity manifested by tarekat Siddiqiyah. In another region, West Java, we see a very different type of Islamic movement namely Majelis Tarbiyah (MTb). The motivation of this religious movement is to improve the economic welfare of its members and it does this by intensifying economic activities and creating high levels of discipline and piety. This panel explores and examines various aspects of the dynamic intellectual and Islamic movement in Indonesia structured around identity, contribution, and contestation.

### **Indonesian Muslim intellectuals and the transmission of reformist thought in the teaching of contemporary Islamic law: 1998-2010**

Wildani Hefni

In early 1970, the New Order of President Suharto restricted public discussion of Islam to its cultural forms. As a result, normative discourse about Islam, that is a textually based approach, dominated the developing discourse, especially in state institutions of Islamic higher education (UIN-IAIN). Religious learning in the IAIN system in Indonesia faced a crucial moment in its development because, firstly, it was located at the interface of different scholarly traditions, and secondly, it was positioned between state and civil society. The different scholarly traditions began with a new policy during the 1960s to widen the networks of Indonesian lecturers and introduce them to the Western and Middle-Eastern traditions of critical scholarship. The differences between those scholarly traditions makes it possible to identify specific characteristics that emerged in the development of the teaching of Islamic law in Indonesia. This research investigates the networks of modernising and intellectualising trends in teaching Islamic law after the New Order when the UIN-IAINs were permitted to play a more prominent role. By using Foucault's theory of knowledge and power, this research contributes to identifying and analysing the networks of scholars of Indonesian Islamic law structured around theoretical approaches and networks of intellectual transmission.

### **Local tarekat and the state: Tarekat Shiddiqiyah and its efforts to preserve nationalist values in Indonesia**

Rizqa Ahmadi

Indonesia's tarekat (Sufi order) are not always in alignment with the state. Some tarekat distance themselves from the state, while others work more closely with it. It is argued that the Shiddiqiyah, a local tarekat with its roots in East Java and widespread in various regions in Indonesia, is an example of a tarekat that uses the strategy of ideological closeness with the state to resist external pressure from mainstream tarekat in Indonesia. But a closer look at recent findings reveals a different dynamic: the closeness of tarekat Shiddiqiyah ideologically with the state is in fact intended as a form of a contribution to the state. Tarekat Shiddiqiyah stresses the usefulness of what it calls 'love of the homeland' in strengthening national identity from the perspective of Sufism. Further, tarekat Shiddiqiyah has engaged in the local expression of universal Sufi doctrine. The actualisation of tarekat Shiddiqiyah doctrine is manifested in business activities and establishing the organisation PCTAI (Brotherhood of Love for the Motherland of Indonesia), an organisation that accommodates a variety of religions and beliefs. Thus for the Shiddiqiyah, ideological closeness to the state is not simply an opportunistic strategy but a manifestation of a central doctrine.

### **The dynamics of a Muslim community movement in West Java: A study of leadership, commitment, and welfare of Majelis Tarbiyah**

Shinta Dewianty

This research discusses the success of the Islamic community in the Majelis Tarbiyah (MTb) in improving the economic welfare of its members. This research focuses on the impact of taking the pledge to MTb (baiat) and collective activities in intensifying economic activities and creating high discipline and piety. MTb is seen by the broader community as exclusive because it regards Muslims who have not taken the pledge to the Majelis as merely 'nonprocedural', not true, Muslims. It is not enough for Muslims to perform prayers, zakat, fasting and other Shari'a requirements; they are proper Muslims only when they have implemented the Shari'a syahadat, consensus of Islamic faith. The exclusivism of MTb is important to improving the financial security of its members but it also gives rise to mistrust and resentment within the broader Muslim community. The results of this study indicate that the MTb is more successful in its efforts to improve members' economic welfare because it creates a system of strict discipline. Key elements of this are the pledge, strong leadership, religious commitment, concrete economic programs. The results also show that the pledge plays a role in improving the spiritual, psychological, and economic conditions of the MTb community.

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## BOOK PANEL **THE POLITICS OF COURT REFORM: JUDICIAL CHANGE AND LEGAL CULTURE IN INDONESIA**

This book panel will feature several contributors and the editor of the volume *The Politics of Court Reform: Judicial Change and Legal Culture in Indonesia* (CUP 2019). Indonesia is the world's third largest democracy and its courts are an important part of its democratic system of governance. Since the transition from authoritarian rule in 1998, a range of new specialised courts have been established from the Commercial Courts to the Constitutional Court and the Fisheries Court. In addition, constitutional and legal changes have affirmed the principle of judicial independence and accountability. The growth of Indonesia's economy means that the courts are facing greater demands to resolve an increasing number of disputes. This volume offers an analysis of the politics of court reform through a review of judicial change and legal culture in Indonesia. A key concern is whether the reforms that have taken place have addressed the issues of the decline in professionalism and increase in corruption. This volume will be a vital resource for scholars of law, political science, law and development, and law and society.

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## PANEL 3 A **HISTORY SHAPING THE FUTURE IN INDONESIA**

The combination of these presentations offer a fresh perspective on how historical events have shaped opportunities for individuals and communities. Those occasions have enhanced competitiveness and instigated creative approaches to organisational structures in their time of exposure. The papers possess some diverse points of intersection commencing with the creation and spread of the Ramayana and the notion of the Pancasila, followed by the change of colonial influence, which provided unlike directives for several centuries. Relatively recently, a final accumulation of regional autonomy can be observed in an independent Indonesia. The various difficulties and rewards have driven the dynamics of human intervention and nature in rural landscapes and urban environments. In this century, they have set a framework of opportunities and prospects in a more global environment. Those are bound to spread among young minds and new entrepreneurs with visions made possible by electronic communication and in the newly established ASEAN Economic Community. By bringing these speakers and their particular papers together, it is hoped to stimulate an academic debate and trigger off beneficial interlocking concepts for future assessment.

### **The Ramayana, Pancasila and political mobilisation in India and Indonesia**

Balraj Singh Brar

In this paper I will be discussing the plurality of the Ramayana in South East Asia. The earliest documents implicate the embodied socio-religious ideals of the Ramayana in inscriptions found on the Indo-Chinese peninsula at Vo-can, Vietnam. The knowledge of the Ramayana was also shown in the inscription of Val Kantel and in the Angkor area of Cambodia. In contemporary times, performances of the Ceritera Seri Rama in the wayang Siam in Kelantan or the 21st-century comics in Indonesia show that the Ramayana has retained its position as a significant classical text. This paper examines the different records related to the Ramayana in Asian countries, with a special nod to Indonesia and India. Both national constitutions recognise that cultural pluralism predated political pluralism and issues of democracy in the consciousness of their populations. The Indonesian concept of Pancasila places the individual at the apex for a unifying ideology. However, current research shows that political mobilisation is increasingly focused on identity in the politics of religion, ethnicity and language. Dealing with a historical shift away from the recognition of plurality, as noted in the Ramayana, becomes challenging in both countries.

### **The historical relationship of religion and state in the Indonesian archipelago**

Wasino

Records show the kingdoms that prevailed in pre-colonial times were created as instruments of religious exertions. This is noted by the various historical Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic kingdoms in the archipelago. The relationship changed when Dutch colonial directives altered the structure of the theocratic kingdoms by separating religion from state affairs. For about two centuries, the management of religion was carried out by external organisations. Islamic boarding schools, generally based in rural areas, represented an equal power outside the official state institutions. Since the early 20th century, organisations such as Sarikat Islam, Muhammadiyah, and Nahdlatul Ulama became the de facto people's voice. In this setting, state and religion became instituted as noted in the first article of

the Pancasila on the 18th of August 1945. Although a Ministry of Religion has been created in state management, Indonesia is a secular state. This paper will show that many members of the principle religious organisations, including non-Islamic ones, collaborate with the Ministry of Religion in a complementary manner. From 1945 to the recent 2019 election, a picture of duality of religion and state can be observed in Indonesia.

## **Historical and future landscape governance in rural West Sumatra**

Maskota Delfi

In the last few decades, commitments to sustainable landscape approaches have been prioritised. In Indonesia, the challenge in this approach is to analyse historical rural land management and design while improving future local governance systems to enhance nonconflicting land capacity for multiple ecosystem usage. Safeguarding biodiversity ought to enhance the future regenerative natural resources in the Solok district of West Sumatra. Since the introduction of Regional Autonomy, action plans have been identified that stakeholders may consider in improving the governance to achieve sustainable landscape goals. In this research, several approaches were taken. Firstly, "Focus Group Discussions" were undertaken with key stakeholders. Secondly, a "diagnostic conservation approach" was instigated to analyse the discussion outcome with the stakeholders and local citizens. Thirdly, a survey was carried out on local historical informal networks and formal institutions that manage the landscape. We found that although transformational dynamics have been initiated, obstacles to effective governance of the landscape still remain. The preliminary findings point to the need for institutions to enable cooperation for green economy policy objectives as established through the Presidential Regulation (No 16/2011). It aims to achieve institutional innovation and improved effectiveness of management in biodiversity and ecosystem services in rural landscapes.

## **History, culture and local identity: igniting development in Indonesia**

Johan Weintré

History has shaped the economic, political and social cultural landscape of the Indonesian archipelago. As a result of the geography of a water-rich and large country, culture and identity have grown in diverse ways. At the turn of this century, the introduction of autonomy and rapid development of electronic communication have given strength to regional independence and locally focused economic development. This research will focus on how local initiatives in remote Sumatra and Kalimantan have created new sources of earnings and opportunities for young entrepreneurs. Indonesia's millennials are advancing in a surge of creating new businesses. It appears that issues at the heart of local culture fused with modern ideas are important in enhancing revenue and have positive social as well as environmental impact. Over the last 20 years, Indonesia has emerged as a middle-income country. It has seen growth in GDP and, at the same time, poverty has been cut in half, according to the World Bank. These changes are proving fertile grounds for future growth of young enterprises that are focused on returns in a changing world of the newly founded ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

## **The Pancasila and Panchasheel Philosophy in the Indonesian and Nepalese Context of Development**

Shukra Raj Adhikari

The terms Pancasila and Panchasheel are the synonym of development in the Asian Context. The term Pancasila was specially coined by the Indonesian nationalist leader Sukarno on June 1, 1945. It reflects the thematic sense liberty and national unity with context of Indonesia. Sukarno argued that the future Indonesian state should be focused on the five principles: Indonesian nationalism; internationalism, or humanism; consent, or democracy; social prosperity; and belief in one God. The term Panchasheel is used as the foreign policy theory in countries such as Nepal and others. It reflects mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; mutual non-aggression; mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. This paper is primarily focused on the discussion of the relevancy of both Pancasila and panchasheel in the development context of Indonesia and Nepal. Historical content analysis and emperical methods have been used to meet the essence of the objective. The whole political system of Indonesia has been guided by the Pancasila philosophy. In its preamble, the Indonesian Constitution (1945) sets forth Pancasila as the embodiment of the basic principles of an independent Indonesian state. Indonesia is heading towards prosperity under the guidance of Pancasila philosophy. Similarly, Nepal has also adopted the theory of Panchasheel to consolidate the relationship with its neighbours. In this way, we conclude that both Pancasila and Panchasheel have globally existed as an ideal philosophy in Indonesia and Nepal for enhancing foreign affairs and development issues.

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## PANEL 3 B **WOMEN CANDIDATES IN THE 2019 INDONESIAN ELECTIONS**

### **What makes a good woman lose? Barriers to women's electoral success in Indonesia**

Sally White

Despite a 30% quota for women candidates at all three levels of parliament in Indonesia, female representation remains low by international standards. In the April 2019 legislative elections, women ran as candidates in greater numbers than ever before, but their chances of being elected remained much lower than those of their male counterparts. In the lead-up to these elections, Australian and Indonesian researchers collaborated with the aim of taking a closer look both at the barriers women candidates face, whether at the individual or structural level, and conversely, at the factors that women candidates are leveraging to achieve electoral success. The papers in this panel are part of that collaborative research project. Three of the papers are based on qualitative fieldwork. Ulya Jamson's team from UGM focused on the new political party that campaigned on gender issues, Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI) in two different locations, Jakarta and Malang. The paper by Longgina Novadona Bayo, also from UGM, examines the emergence of a new type of female politician in East Nusa Tenggara, while the paper by Zusiana Elly Triantini's team from UIN Mataram focuses on determinants of women's success and failure in West Nusa Tenggara. The fourth paper, by Sally White, provides an overview of the factors that continue to limit the electoral success of Indonesian women at the polls based on overall findings from the research project and on the results of a new survey conducted by Lembaga Survei Indonesia into attitudes towards women candidates and women in politics more generally.

### **Women as new political actors: a case study of women's political advancement in the 2019 legislative elections in East Nusa Tenggara**

Longgina Novadona Bayo

This research studies the phenomenon of women's political advancement in terms of increasing numbers of women representatives at the local level. One of the dominant explanations tends to focus on kinship as the major factor, attributing the increase in women's political representation to political dynasties and oligarchy. These studies tend to be elite bias, however. Unlike these mainstream studies, this paper argues that the grassroots pathway is the most dominant pathway of female politicians compared to elite pathways. Thus, this study contributes to the literature that tries to understand women's political advancement from a non-elite perspective and focuses on women's experiences in pursuing parliamentary seats. The main findings of this research demonstrate that, first, the presence of women is not always related to patrimonial networks and financial resources but because of the readiness for competition, the accumulation of long-term political experiences and women's competitiveness. Second, the emergence of female politicians as political role models for women also contributes to the solidarity and solidity of women's strength for struggling in electoral contestation. The presence of this 'female politician as role model' might indirectly reduce the institutional and cultural barriers faced by women. Third, the joint campaign (tandem) strategy adopted by female politicians was able to reduce political costs and enhance women's electability. In conclusion, I argue that regardless of their backgrounds and political pathways, female politicians have become new actors in local politics.

### **New parties and the ambiguity of women's identity in the 2019 legislative election: a comparative study of female candidates for the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI)**

Ulya Niami Efrina Jamson

Author: Amalinda Savirani, Ulya Niami Efrina Jamson, Listiana Asworo, Nuruddin Al Akbar

This paper discusses female legislative candidates who are running for a new party, namely the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), in the 2019 Legislative Election, in urban areas (DKI Jakarta) and in semi-urban areas (Malang Raya). PSI is one of four new political parties that have succeeded in becoming election participants in the 2019 legislative election. Although PSI did not surpass the 4% electoral threshold nationally and failed to win seats at the national level, the party won some seats at the local level, especially in urban areas. The research question to be answered is how new parties provide opportunities for women candidates; and how the party's novelty influences the campaign machinery, strategies, and issues brought by female candidates during the campaign. There are three main findings in this study. First, PSI as a new party has provided opportunities for ordinary women to become legislative candidates, although it does not necessarily mean that they win a seat in the parliament. The female candidates do not have to compete with other candidates from the party's elite as is the case in established political parties. Second, its novelty as a political party, which is characterised by the weak institutionalisation, however, has a positive effect on how the political machine work and campaign strategies in urban areas. On the other hand, it has a relatively negative impact for the candidates in semi-urban areas. Third, even though PSI's national platform is oriented to women's issues and interests, several forms of the ambiguity on women's identity took place in campaign activities and interactions.

## **Fighting in the dark : the success of women candidates in the 2019 legislative election**

Zusiana Elly Triantini

In various studies, the discourse of the success of women in parliament tends to focus on political dynasty, patronage and clientelism. Political dynasty and patronage are often used to explain the success of women candidates in each election. However, this article presents research findings outside mainstream studies of women candidacy. Using the Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara context and borrowing the concept of the social network, this article will illustrate how women candidates become winners in a highly patriarchal society despite strong resistance from male candidates. Women candidates won seats in parliament by using friendship networks, organisations, media networks, cultural networks and several other networks, thereby breaking the political dynasty construction that has been used to portray female politicians. Moreover, in reality, women candidates with strong social networks are able to subvert the incumbent. This finding shows that there is progressive progress in women's political journey in Indonesia.

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## **PANEL 3 C MEMORY AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

### **Twelve years a stand: how Aksi Kamisan became the longest-running human rights movement in Indonesia**

Aghniadi

A weekly silent protest named Aksi Kamisan has been routinely held every Thursday in Jakarta, just in front of the Presidential Palace of Indonesia, by victims of human rights violations, their relatives, supported as well by representatives of CSOs and members of the public. Organised for more than 500 times spanning 12 years from 2007, the protest initially demanded that the government solve past human rights abuses. At least seven major human rights cases, namely the 1965 communist purge, the 1989 Talangsari incident in Central Lampung, the 2001 & 2003 Wamena and Wasior incidents in Papua, various kidnappings and unresolved shootings in the 1980s, the May 1998 riots and the disappearances of activists, and the 2004 murder of human rights defender Munir are continuously campaigned. Over the years, Kamisan has consistently gained political significance, spreading to 27 other cities in Indonesia and occupying public spaces that symbolise power as a site of protest. This protest's political significance is becoming more apparent as it demands attention not only for the past human rights violations but also towards various abuses that already happened or are currently happening all over Indonesia. To some extent, Kamisan has become a 'political amplifier' for many people in various places demanding justice.

### **Analysing conversational elements of truth-telling within torture narratives**

Annie Pohlman

This paper presents the preliminary analysis of a small sample of recorded narratives given by survivors of torture during the 1965- 66 mass violence. We conduct a close reading of three of these narratives using a combination of discourse analysis and anthropological and oral historical approaches. Drawing on work on linguistic anthropology, including work on high-stakes narratives in institutional settings, we show how these narratives are co-constructed by the teller and listener, and juggle a tension between constructing a reality that is perceived by participants as truthful and making the narrative tellable. We explore relationships between our method of analysis and methods for understanding torture narrative that have developed within a human rights' advocacy frame, evolving as a genre which often links the performative act of witnessing to atrocity with claims to truth. Our analysis of recorded narratives pays careful attention to the semiotic resources used to perform while pointing to how they relate to making these narratives believable, and thus documentable instances of truth-telling. At the same time, we explore how all of this relates to the roles of tellers and listeners in the construction of these narratives.

### **Blood on the stole: Catholic guilt and reconciliation**

Duncan Graham

Last year Australian academic Dr Jess Melvin proved what had been long surmised - that the Indonesian military engineered the genocide following the 1965 'coup'. But the army wasn't alone. It was backed by elements of the Catholic Church with links to spies and Australian political operatives. A key instigator was Jakarta-based Dutch Jesuit Joop Beek who trained cadres to be fervent anti-Communists. Their role in fomenting hate cannot be quarantined from the pogrom which took 500,000 or more lives. This remains a deeply sensitive issue across the archipelago. In East Flores between 800 and 2,000 Catholics were murdered by their pew neighbours while their priests only offered last rites. Despite earlier promises to open discussion of the killing times, President Joko Widodo has

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recanted; it's unlikely there will be moves towards healing by his government. However, a truth and reconciliation commission initiated by the Church, alone or alongside liberals in other faiths, could start the process of restorative justice. Through field research including personal interviews with priests and laity, this paper will examine why some clergy 'failed to distinguish between throne and altar', betrayed their beliefs and shattered their congregations. It also asks how society can prevent similar events from recurring.

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## PANEL 3 E **SOCIAL ISSUES AND PROTECTION**

### **Underlying causes of social vulnerability in the climate variability regions of West Timor**

Paulus Liu

This study seeks to explain the underlying factors and processes that shape people vulnerability in the research regions of West Timor, Indonesia. It argues that social vulnerability in the research areas is the result of a configuration of forces that are related and reinforce each other, and are not solely limited to climate stressors such as climate variability and extreme events; social, economic and political factors also contribute to the social vulnerability in the regions. Among all of these, underlying causes of social vulnerability in the regions are dependent on three main factors, namely (1) environmental degradation, (2) poverty and (3) differential access to resources.

### **Fate is in the hand of God, risk is in the hand of the passenger: understanding and managing social risks under the new social security era in Indonesia**

Victoria Fanggidae

The Indonesian government introduced the National Social Security System in 2014 for health and in 2015 for occupational related schemes. This new system aims to achieve universal coverage by 2019 for health and 2029 for occupational related schemes. It is a mix of social assistance and social insurance system. If considered non-poor, people are expected to pay their contribution fees or premium. As the social insurance component works like insurance, it promises to protect its members from health and old-age risks, once such risks materialise, if they enrol and pay their contribution fees regularly. However, people may perceive risk differently, and their perception might be shaped by their belief and everyday life experiences. This research intends to understand the ways in which people's risk preconception and experience shape the way they perceive risk and their strategies to manage it, including their (social) insurance decision. Grounded theory methodology is employed to build a middle-range theory on social risk in non-Western context, an area that is less explored, especially in Indonesian context. The preliminary findings suggest that a mix-rationality is deployed when people deal with risk and uncertainty. This eclectic rationality is built upon the influence of modern life and institutions in people's life, as well as their religion or belief system.

### **Anxiety among the elderly in rural Indonesia**

Anggra N Cahyo

The objective of this research is to study the factors determining the older population's generalised anxiety disorder (GAD or anxiety) in rural Indonesia. This study discovers demographic, social, and physical condition factors as significant predictors of anxiety. Quantitative analyses were applied to the cross-sectional data from the 2016 Ageing in Rural Indonesia Study (ARIS) which involved 1,850 respondents aged 60 and older. It is suggested that the elderly who are female, financially poor, live outside Java, with less access to public health services, rarely meet non-co-reside family members, and suffer poor physical condition face the highest risk of anxiety among the elderly in rural Indonesia. This study highlights the effect of different category in geographical zone in predicting the risk of anxiety. It is found that anxiety is strongly associated with the physical condition predictors for those who live within Java.

### **Inequality in accessing social rights among rural older people in Indonesia: variation across gender, region, and social class**

Muhammad Ulil Absor

Recently, public debate on inequality in relation to gender and social class has returned in all its intensity. However, little research attention has been given to investigating inequalities in access to social rights for elderly women and men in rural Indonesia. This paper aims to analyse existing social programs for older people, the state of access of older people to the elements of the social welfare program and the determinants of exclusion from these programs. The paper will describe the challenges for Indonesia in implementing social services for the elderly and will provide recommendations to improve services. Data is drawn from the Ageing in Rural Indonesian Survey. The

Indonesian Government aims to provide social rights for older people through social welfare programs that can be grouped into five clusters: social assistance, social insurance, provision of health services, empowerment, and advocacy. Logistic regression analysis indicates significant variation and inequalities in access to government services among rural older adults depending on sex, living arrangements, age, health status, region and social class. This paper also highlights the challenges that affect the quality of services for the elderly, including very limited coverage, poor targeting, lack of concern from policymakers, decentralisation and lack of integration.

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## PANEL 4 B INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS I

### **International law and constitutional interpretation in Indonesia**

Luthfi Widagdo Eddyono

The amendment to the Indonesia Constitution was carried out in 1999-2002. Shortly after that, a Constitutional Court was formed with the authority to examine the law. Since then, the conception of constitutional justice has become central to law enforcement in Indonesia. However, complex problems arise. One of the major issues concerns the international laws that were ratified by Indonesia before the constitution was amended. Can these international legal norms be confronted with the Indonesian Constitution in the judicial review forum conducted by the Indonesian Constitutional Court? This paper is a legal research using a conceptual approach and historical approach, as well as a case study in explaining the development of the judicial review in Indonesia and the position of international law in Indonesian national law.

### **Walls on the pendopo: the logic behind Indonesia's cooperation in preventing onward irregular migration to Australia**

Carly Gordyn

Indonesia is not a signatory to the Refugee Convention and has no obligations to resettle refugees. Nevertheless, Indonesia works with Australia to prevent asylum seekers continuing their journey to Australia by boat. As a result, there are almost 14,000 recorded irregular migrants living in Indonesia, including those seeking asylum and those who have had their status determined and are found to be genuine refugees. This paper, based on interviews with Indonesian officials, asks why Indonesia works with Australia in preventing the movement of these people, resulting in added challenges for Indonesia. I find that Indonesia's behaviour is guided by considerations of both logics of consequences and logics of appropriateness; however, the influence of these two logics varies in weight at different points in time. This is interesting to note, as Australia garners Indonesia's cooperation through incentivised policy transfer, which exclusively exploits the logic of consequence. This article concludes by assessing the influence of prospective developments on cooperation.

### **Australia's involvement in Indonesia's PRRI/Permesta rebellions**

Bradley Wood

During the 1950s, Indonesia experienced significant political turmoil. By 1957, the PKI emerged as the largest political party in Java. In Sumatra and Sulawesi, there was growing dissatisfaction with the political trends in Java which developed into armed revolts against the central government. The US, UK, and Australia decided to use this opening of discontent in the outer-islands and covertly supported the rebellions to reverse these political trends in Java. This paper examines to what extent was Australia involved in the PRRI/Permesta rebellions and why? Based on primary sources, this paper traces the origins and extent of Australia's involvement and cooperation with the US/UK in covert policy toward Indonesia during 1957-1958. This paper finds that Australia feared a communist government coming to power in Indonesia. In close cooperation with the US, Australia tacitly supported the PRRI rebellion in Sumatra as a form of leverage against the central government to influence its political orientation against communism. However, after the fall of the PRRI government, Australia did not support the Permesta rebellion in Sulawesi. Instead, Australia viewed the moderates in the central government and the Indonesian Army as the most viable anti-communist forces in Indonesia, which eventually became US policy.

### **The role of Mick Shann in Australia-Indonesia relations in the 1960s**

John Monfries

The Role of K C O ('Mick') Shann in Indonesian – Australian Relations in the 1960s Sir Keith ('Mick') Shann was Australian Ambassador in Jakarta at a crucial time in Indonesian – Australian relations. During his Jakarta posting from 1962 to 1966, he dealt directly with Sukarno, Subandrio, Malik, Suharto and all other key Indonesian leaders. His firm but engaging approach to the Indonesians contributed

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to the improbable survival of reasonably cordial relations with Indonesia during a time of constant conflict in Southeast Asia, notably the Cold War, the intensification of the Vietnam war, and persistent friction with China. Australia and its allies, and of course Shann himself wrestled with the many problems posed by Sukarno's increasingly radical foreign policy, especially Indonesia's "Confrontation" of Malaysia when actual armed clashes occurred between Australian troops and Indonesian-backed guerrillas in Borneo. Shann and the Australian Embassy strove hard to protect Australia's interests in a hostile environment. In this paper, I draw attention to the Indonesian contribution to the maintenance of productive relations. I also discuss recent arguments that Shann was somehow complicit in the massacres of communists which darkened the emergence of Suharto's New Order.

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## PANEL 3 F **CORRUPTION AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM**

### **Corruption measurement at the sub-national level in Indonesia: a spatiotemporal analysis between perception and reality**

Zuhairan Yunan

With more than 17,000 islands with diverse cultures and languages, the corruption level in Indonesia is likely to be varied in different parts of the country. Therefore, understanding corruption in Indonesia requires investigation at its regional level. This study analyses the pattern of the regional perception of corruption published by Transparency International Indonesia and judicial report of crime retrieved from the Indonesia Supreme Court at districts and municipalities over the period 2001-2014 and envisage the possible factor that may affect this corruption measure. The study applies spatiotemporal analysis on the data, analysing the characteristics of various district and municipalities and regression to investigate the relationships. The preliminary result will show us the possible characteristics of areas with high corruption in terms of perception and sentenced incidents, how the various factors may contribute to determining the two measures, and what can be interpreted from this finding.

### **Academics in public office: a study of Academic Administrative Entrepreneurs (AAEs) as agents of policy transfer**

Ario Wicaksono

The aim of this paper is to evaluate the role and resources of academics-turned-senior bureaucrats as key agents of policy transfer in Indonesian administrative reform during the Reformation era (1998-2018). Indonesia has a long-standing tradition of appointing academics into public office. In this research, the concept of Academic Administrative Entrepreneurs (AAEs) will be introduced to better understand Indonesian administrative reform and the changing nature of Indonesian governance in a period of democratic transition. The investigation employed a range of qualitative methods including semi-structured, in-depth elite interviews, as well as documentary analysis. It is observed that policy transfer and change initiatives that come from AAEs tend to be effective at the level of incremental change, which involves a combination of different transfer mechanisms. Social, political and knowledge capitals serve as critical resources that enable AAEs to influence processes of change governance. The AAEs' capabilities in developing multi-level governance networks and a coalition of change, utilising the windows of opportunity, managing different stages of policy cycles and in crafting institutions for learning during the policy transfer process also influential. In the end, it becomes apparent the effectiveness arose if AAEs possess a balance of personal and political characteristics, different forms of capital, and good timing in relation to the political salience of their expertise.

### **Patronage politics and public resources: the political economy of grant spending (*belanja hibah*) in decentralised Indonesia**

Fakhriddho Susilo

Grant spending (*Belanja Hibah*) is a spending component under local government's budget plan (APBD) that can strategically be used to enhance local development. At the same time, this budget component has been widely regarded as highly-politicised, used mainly by incumbents as a clientelistic strategy to garner votes during election times in Indonesia. This study is among the firsts to empirically examine how the sub-national political context in decentralised Indonesia, where informal patronage and clientelism in elections are prevalent, shape how state resources (i.e. *hibah*) is being distributed to recipients. Through a case study in the district of Tuban, East Java, combining qualitative methods and quantitative regression analysis, this study supports the assertion that the allocation of *hibah*

is underpinned primarily by electoral-patronage motives. I argue that the clientelistic nature of this distribution can be explained by the highly competitive nature of executive office, which compels incumbent to resort more to clientelistic strategies in order to reward his political machineries.

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## BOOK LAUNCH **AUTHOR: PAUL THOMAS** **TALKING NORTH: THE JOURNEY OF** **AUSTRALIA'S FIRST ASIAN LANGUAGE**

What makes one nation curious about another nation? Curious enough that the study of the other's culture and language becomes a natural commitment or something that could be described as a national project? This question lies behind much of the writing in this book as it explores the history, education policy and changing fortunes of the Indonesian/Malay language in Australia. While formal education programs are central to this discussion, individual effort and chance encounters with the language are also examined in the context of Australia's evolving historical ties with its near neighbours. These relationships have grown in importance since the end of the Second World War, but Australians typically continue to view the region as 'testing'. This is exemplified by the Australian-Indonesian relationship, the primary focus of this volume. While much has been written on the political relationship, this book builds its view of the two countries' interactions on the cultural activity of language learning. This is, perhaps, the most fundamental of cultural activities in any effort to promote mutual understanding.

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## PANEL 4 **A POLITICAL PARTIES, REPRESENTATION** **AND INDONESIAN DEMOCRACY**

Indonesian political parties are core institutions of modern democracy, playing critical roles in organising, aggregating and expressing citizens' interests and policy preferences through representative bodies. Yet Indonesian political parties are frequently seen as being weak, dysfunctional, and even damaging to democratic representation. Domestically, critics of the parties say they are captured by oligarchs, deeply corrupt, and do a poor job in representing the interests and views of ordinary voters. The academic literature echoes these criticisms, emphasising the clientelistic nature of the parties and their propensity to prioritise patronage over policy, but with debate on the extent to which they express varied policy and ideological positions. Papers in this panel re-examine Indonesian political parties, including by exploring the degree to which they vary in terms of ideological and policy positions, and the role they play in shaping electoral competition.

### **Ideological representation beyond Left and Right: politician and voter preferences in Indonesia**

Diego Fossati

How well do parties represent the ideological preferences of voters in new democracies? We answer this question by exploring the party system of Indonesia, often described as being dominated by parties which rely on clientelistic linkages with voters without offering significant programmatic alternatives. We reassess this proposition using an original survey of Indonesian legislators' social and political preferences. We find that politicians' preferences about economic policies are largely similar, and that the left-right ideological spectrum central to party systems in many advanced democracies has little relevance. However, legislators' views on the role of Islam in public affairs show much variation. To explore the implications of this ideological cleavage for political representation, we develop a new measure of policy preferences about state-Islam relations, and match legislators' survey responses with those of the general population. Our analysis indicates a high degree of congruence between voters' and politicians' ideological positions along party lines. We argue that despite the significance of clientelism, ideological representation structures political competition more than much existing research on Indonesia suggests. We also explore the relevance of our method and findings for studying representation in other emerging democracies – especially majority Muslim societies.

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## **Elites, masses and democratic decline in Indonesia**

Burhanuddin Muhtadi

Indonesia's democracy is in decline. Most analysts blame this shift on the actions of illiberal and reactionary elites; the public, meanwhile, are often cast as a democratic bulwark. Yet, like in other fragile democracies, moments of regression in Indonesia have come at the hands of popular and democratically-elected politicians. So, just how democratic are Indonesian citizens when compared to the politicians they elect? We answer this question using an original, representative survey of Indonesia's provincial legislators, which we then compare to a general survey of the Indonesian population. We find significant differences between how elites and masses conceive of democracy, and between their level of commitment to liberal democratic norms. Contrary to expectations, we find elected elites are systematically more democratic and more liberal than voters. These findings challenge widely-held assumptions about the illiberal character of Indonesia's political class. But they also suggest a public that is either indifferent to, or supportive of, an increasingly illiberal democratic order in Indonesia.

## **The inequality of representation in Indonesia: a study of mass-elite congruence on socio-economic preferences**

Eve Warburton

There are many reasons to be sceptical about the quality of political representation in Indonesia. Parties' social and economic policy platforms are virtually indistinguishable, and politicians primarily seek linkages with voters through patron-client relationships, rather than programmatic promises. And like in many countries, Indonesia's political elite do not look like the rest of the country - they are, on average, wealthier and more educated, and very few of them are women. Much evidence, therefore, suggests that popular preferences are poorly represented in the political arena. However, there is much that we do not know about this subject. In the comparative literature, democratic representation is often studied using survey research, which compares elite and mass attitudes on a range of policy issues. In this paper, we examine whether Indonesian citizens' views about pressing socio-economic problems and economic interventions are reflected by, and congruent with, elected politicians. The results indicate striking congruence between citizens and the political class when it comes to supporting state intervention in the economy and market-distorting policies. However, when it comes to welfare policies and redistribution, we found significant differences in what politicians and the wider population felt the state should be providing its poor and under-privileged citizens.

## **Do district political dynamics influence presidential voting patterns?**

Adrianus Hendrawan

The recent Indonesian presidential election was marked by publicly expressed support for one or other candidate by a majority of district heads. Directly elected in separate elections, district heads have a strong hold on the local bureaucracy. Meanwhile, they have to work with district legislatures, comprising elected party representatives, in allocating public resources. Analysing local election results since 2005 and the past three presidential election results, this paper will present robust empirical findings on the influence of local political dynamics on presidential election results at the district level. It will specifically assess two aspects of district politics that may have influence: party coalitions of elected mayors and composition of local legislatures. The findings may have relevance for the strategies of local political actors and future presidential candidates.

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## **PANEL 4 B INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS II**

### **Domestic bureaucratic politics and Indonesian foreign policy towards China**

Petrus K Farneubun

One of the main characteristics of post-Suharto Indonesian foreign policymaking is the prominence of civilians in the policymaking process, a dramatic shift from military-dominated regime to civilian supremacy. Although this evidence demonstrates a greater role of civilians in the making of foreign policy, the extent to which they have shaped the policy has not been well established empirically. Moreover, the key actors, particularly bureaucratic actor, who have played decisive or instrument role in foreign policymaking have not been identified or markedly underresearched, making the relationship between bureaucratic politics and foreign policymaking unclear. This research investigates the role of bureaucratic actors in Yudhoyono's foreign policymaking towards China with a particular focus on two strategic partnership agreements signed by both countries in April 2005, which was upgraded to comprehensive strategic

partnership agreement in October 2013. This article addresses three key dimensions of foreign policymaking structure: 1) legal basis which provides bureaucracy and its respective members power to engage in foreign policymaking, 2) key bureaucracy and individuals shaping Yudhoyono's foreign policymaking towards China, 3) policy preferences of the respective bureaucracy in Indonesia-China strategic relations.

## **The challenges and opportunities of Indonesia's foreign policy towards Pacific Island countries under Joko Widodo 2014-2019: an approach to Rosenau's adaptive model**

Vrameswari Omega Wati

The implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy in each regime has its own characteristics, both continuity and change. The orientation of foreign policy during the administration of Joko Widodo (Jokowi) has shifted compared to his predecessor. Joko Widodo's foreign policy can be described as inward-looking and couched in the jargons of pro-people diplomacy. This transformation is expected to provide a direct contribution to Indonesian society. Under his leadership, Indonesia is more selective in global engagement. The Pacific Islands is one of the regions that has received special attention from the Indonesian government because of the East Timor issue and, more recently, concerns over the Papua region. The domestic struggles and the political changes within the Pacific Island countries (PICs) have a potential impact on Indonesia's foreign policy towards this region. In addition to responding to the external changes, Indonesia's foreign policy also has great opportunity especially to fulfill its economic interest as one of Jokowi's priority in conducting diplomacy. Using James N. Rosenau's adaptive model of foreign policy, this paper contends that Jokowi's foreign policy towards PICs is highly adaptive to cope with the changes in the external environment and maintain Indonesia's essential structures.

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## **PANEL 4 C RETHINKING RURAL INDONESIA TODAY 1**

Increasing trade protectionism, land certification and land grabs, social policy and village governance reforms, as well as environmental change, climate change and migration are among the forces driving social and political change in rural Indonesia today. Despite decades of rural livelihood diversification, agricultural production by smallholders still constitutes the basis of Indonesia's rural economy. While many rural Indonesian households are wealthier, healthier and better educated than ever before, food poverty and marginalisation persist in some pockets of the countryside. Nonetheless, relative poverty and disparity have emerged as critical issues. Hence, the challenges facing analysts and policy makers today are distinctly different, calling for a rethinking of analytical categories and policy approaches. In this panel, we aim to bring together scholars who study social, economic, culture and politics in rural Indonesia in an attempt to understand changes taking place in an interdisciplinary way. We aim to spark theoretical debate regarding how we might best conceptualise these changes, what analytical frameworks are appropriate, and how can policy best contribute to dealing with the many challenges facing rural Indonesia today?

### **Resource extraction, transnational influence and local livelihoods: the limits of supply chain governance in Indonesia's mineral-rich regions**

Rachael Diprose

Recent decades have witnessed rising concern about the social and environmental impacts of global production, investment and trade, particularly in the natural resource sectors where sustainability risks are often acute. This paper explores the ways global demand for resources intersects with the local dynamics of tin mining on the two major tin producing islands of Bangka and Belitung in Indonesia. It compares the effects of the Indonesian Tin Working Group—a multi-stakeholder initiative aimed at voluntary supply chain regulation, which was established to promote social and environmental safeguards—in these regions. While voluntary supply chain regulation continues to be widely promoted as a response to social and environmental concerns, its capacity to promote sustainable production has been widely questioned, particularly in the face of powerful political and economic drivers at local, national and global scales of intensive resource extraction. The paper explores the capacity of the working group to translate its influence into more 'sustainable' mineral production—its impact has differed markedly between the two islands, as a result of contrasting configurations of political power, livelihood strategies, and mobilisation of environmental and developmental discourses. This analysis has important implications for wider theoretical debates about the capacity of voluntary supply chain regulation to provide meaningful regulatory assurance functions, in the face of livelihoods concerns and resistance from deeply entrenched political economies of resource extraction—at both global and local scales.

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## **Vulnerability, food insecurity and livelihood transitions in rural Indonesia**

John McCarthy

The literature frames rural transformations in terms of at least three patterned trajectories: pathways out of poverty and de-agrarianisation, diversification and migration, and accumulation and dispossession. However, how well do such framings help us understand contemporary changes in rural Indonesia? This paper draws together results from an Australian Research Council project across several critical key socio-economic and ecological contexts within rural Indonesia. Examining the patterns of risk and opportunity faced by rural people across these case studies, this paper contrasts the sources of vulnerability, food poverty and precarity as well as the opportunities for accumulation and agrarian progress both in and outside agriculture that are inherent to the experiences of rural people. In each case, we find dynamics of de-agrarianisation, adaptive diversity and rural stagnation that problematise settled ideas of 'agrarian transitions' or 'truncated transitions'. This suggests that while change is occurring, it rarely occurs as expected. Moving beyond the classic deadlock in agrarian studies between agrarian optimists and their critics, and using a conjunctural analysis, the study finds patterns of rising consumption coinciding with persistent insecurity. Exploring how patterns of vulnerability, precarity and even food poverty persist in some contexts despite a fall in official poverty rates, the paper locates vulnerability and under-nutrition in an understanding of the political economy shaping specific rural contexts. This leads us to explain how, despite a fall in official poverty rates and significant progress for many, patterns of precarity, vulnerability and food poverty persist.

## **Positioning Indonesia's oil palm smallholders in the Anthropocene debates**

Rini Astuti

The Anthropocene, a proposed geological epoch in which humanity is positioned as the key driver of planetary change, is providing new ways of framing human – environment relations. As with other earth ecosystems, tropical forests and peatlands have experienced major devastating transformations, related to deforestation, conversion to mono-agricultural use, human-made fire incidence, and other multifaceted human practices associated with disruption of environmental and climate systems at multiple scales. Critical development scholars highlight the usefulness of the Anthropocene theory in assessing the contribution of particular development models to earth systems change. The aim of this paper is to examine the position of oil palm smallholders in debates concerning the Anthropocene, focusing on Indonesia as a case study. Smallholder farmers were responsible for approximately 40% of Indonesia's palm oil cultivation (11.9 million hectares) in 2016, and this is predicted to grow to over 60% by 2030. The area of smallholder oil palm has grown at an average rate of over 11% per annum since 2016 surpassing that of private companies at 5.5% annually. Mono-agricultural practices are eradicating forest and peatland biodiversity and gradually destroying the possibility that future users will be able to benefit from ecosystem services, or even live in those areas. However, in many areas in Indonesia, oil palm is also providing direct livelihoods to more than 4 million farmers; and more than 12 million Indonesians have escaped poverty through this crop. In this paper, we follow McGregor and Houston (2017) in employing Latour's concept of propositions, to identify and assess three emerging approaches in Indonesia to address the transboundary impacts produced through the land use decisions of millions of rural smallholder farmers. The three propositions relate to diverse socio-technological advancement and good agricultural practices promoting intensification, certification, and alternative livelihoods. We examine each proposition by drawing on the political ecology perspectives, contextualising the socio-environmental dilemma facing smallholders oil palm production.

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## **PANEL 4 D ISLAM, POLITICS, IDENTITY**

### **Abdul Somad: Ustadz jaman now**

Rheinhard Sirait

In the short space of less than two years, Abdul Somad has become Indonesia's most influential digital preacher. This paper explores the ways in which Somad has been able to build popularity and influence amidst two unprecedented trends in Indonesia: the overwhelming Islamisation of Indonesian public life and the disorienting effects of digital media technology. By following his digital footprint in the online space and publications of books and offline sermons, I conduct content analysis of Somad's media production and analyse audience responses to his content and live sermons. I show how Somad's uses popular culture and religious spectacle to offer his followers "solutions" to becoming a better Muslim, often through regulating the minutiae of everyday life. I also examine Somad's political allegiances and how he has astutely positioned himself with Indonesia's Islamist politics.

## **Civic media and Islamic embodiment in an Indonesian region**

Julian Millie

Civic media and Islamic embodiment in an Indonesian region, by Julian Millie, Hawe Setiawan and Darpan. News dailies are held to be the paradigmatic 'public-building' media. They are idealised as inclusive media working for the interests of internally diverse publics, but theorisations of this have always struggled with the representation of religious voices. If an inclusive, plural public relies upon the suppression of individual, fragmenting voices in public deliberation, how can a news daily thrive in Indonesian regions where majority Muslim populations expect comprehensive representation of Islam in public discourse? Millie, Setiawan and Darpan made a real-time study of *Pikiran Rakyat*, a heritage newspaper in West Java, an Indonesian region with a significant Muslim majority. Although the deliberative and analytic work performed by this paper generally corresponds with that of other heritage dailies, the calendrical cycle of embodied practice is a striking structural influence on the paper. Its coverage is structured around the passage of calendrical observances followed by West Javanese Muslims. Through modes associated with 'preaching' such as exhortation, reflection and citation of Qur'an and Hadith, the daily succeeds in connecting three things: the embodied sequence of the Islamic calendar, Islamic knowledge and its institutions, and individual Muslim selves.

## **Nahdlatul Ulama and the 2019 Presidential campaign**

Suaidi Asy'ari

During the 2019 presidential election, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), concerned with threats to Indonesia's national unity, declared support to the incumbent president Joko Widodo, who ran with Ma'ruf Amin as his deputy. Although not all NU elites supported the pair, throughout the presidential election the competition was frequently framed as a battle between NU and the supporters of the rival candidates, Prabowo Subianto and running mate Sandiaga Uno. Joko Widodo supporters often depicted them as being supported by transnational Islamic movements. Opponents also questioned Prabowo's position on Pancasila. The Islamist movements that supported Prabowo and Sandiaga Uno, on the other hand, accused Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin of being supporters of communism. This paper is a work in progress on the ideological battle between the supporters of the two candidates. Its main purpose is to trace broadly the threats to national unity during the presidential election. Are transnational Islamic movements and Indonesian Communist Party serious threats to national unity or merely tools used during election campaigns? How do we assess the effect of Nahdlatul Ulama in this presidential election? Did the nomination of Ma'ruf Amin, NU's supreme leader, successfully silenced accusations towards Jokowi? What has NU gained from positioning Ma'ruf Amin as Jokowi's running mate?

## **The autonomy of ideology? The case of militant Islam**

Ian Chalmers

The extent to which an individual's behaviour is shaped by the power of ideas is a central concern of virtually all the social sciences, particularly if it involves religious belief. This question has also long been a recurring theme in Indonesian studies, but has now taken on a new relevance. In recent decades, scholars of terrorism have tended to avoid ideological factors when explaining the causes of violent extremism, preferring accounts that emphasise more instrumental causes. However, recent suicide bombings in Indonesia and the advent of so-called 'lone wolf' militants seemingly acting beyond the reach of security agencies make it important to establish the nature of the link between violent acts and religious doctrine. Were these actors motivated primarily by particular religious teachings, perhaps involving the interpretation of an influential imam? Or were their motives more circumstantial and more tangible, involving factors such as personal rivalries, family ties, political interests or local community tensions? Drawing on interviews with militant activists, this paper suggests that we should reconsider the importance of doctrine and faith when accounting for jihadist actions.

# **PANEL 4 E IDENTITY IN CREATIVE COMMUNICATIONS**

## **Reconfiguring ideal masculinity: class and gender politics in Indonesian cinema**

Evi Eliyanah

In my presentation, I explore Indonesian filmmakers' struggles in undermining the hegemonic masculinity ideal, *bapakism*, during 2000-2014, an era preceded by profound socio-political and economic shifts. Focusing on the filmmakers' struggle around gender relations of production, I conducted textual analyses on two selected films: *7/24* (Seven Days/Twenty-Four Hours, 2014, Fajar Nugros) and *Hijab* (Veil, 2014, Hanung Bramantyo). In addition, I also conducted interviews with the filmmakers involved behind both production and analysed news as well as other media releases concerning both films. It is indeed observable in the films that the filmmakers criticise *bapakism*'s obsession of breadwinning practice and promote an alternative masculinity ideal, namely 'new man'. The alternative does not force men to become the primary or sole breadwinners in their families, yet it maintains the centrality of income generating work as

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a feature of ideal masculinity. I argue that such political struggle was focused on the interests of the middle-classes and at the expense of lower classes. Eventually, while this struggle indicates new hope for the transformed representation of ideal masculinity on Indonesian silver screen, it is still riddled with middle-class biases.

## **Building familiarity through film: ReelOzInd! short film festival and Australia-Indonesia connections**

Jemma Purdey

Decades of research and policy development has highlighted the importance for the benefit of both nations of improving mutual understanding between Indonesians and Australians. The two countries are consistently described as ‘the most unlike neighbours in the world’ who in turn must come to terms with and take advantage of, their geographic proximity. To counter this narrative of cultural and historical separateness, researchers have pointed to the pre-colonial connections between ‘Australians’ and ‘Indonesians’ and from more contemporary history, Australians’ support for Indonesian independence post World War II. More recently, Australian government policy in particular, has (in fits and starts) promoted and supported cultural exchange, student mobility, language teaching, arts exchange and scholarships; and tourism and education links connect our countries like never before (Missbach & Purdey 2015). Nonetheless, data from surveys, polls and of media coverage in both countries, consistently indicates that in spite of our multiple points of contact, knowledge of each other remains poor. In her assessment of the bilateral relationship, UI researcher Fitriani (2012) pointed out that in part this was due to a lack of “the type of social and cultural interaction that could provide space for a relationship of familiarity and mutual understanding.” ReelOzInd! Australia Indonesia Short Film Competition and Festival emerged in 2016 as an initiative of the fledgling Australia-Indonesia Centre (AIC) and an experiment in creating such a space for this kind of connection — to offer a new and innovative platform for sharing our stories. Three years later, what has it achieved and what have been the challenges?

## **The representation of low-class families in Arswendo Atmowiloto’s series, Keluarga Cemara**

Ida F Sachmadi

This paper discusses how *Keluarga Cemara*, a series written by Arswendo Atmowiloto, represents a poor family in a small village in West Java, where they live as typical villagers. *Keluarga Cemara*, which literally means Cemara’s family, refers to a family of a father, a mother, and three children. Cemara is the middle child of the family and is arguably the more prominent one. The family had to move to the village following their family’s loss of wealth, resulting in their fall from being middle-class to low-class. This transition complicates their social attributes and characteristics. Focusing on the depiction of the family members and paying particular attention to how they are described in their interactions with people around them, as well as how they go about their daily life in their newly-obtained social level, the paper argues that the series displays the complexity of the categorisation of class and social groupings.

## **Class, culture, and communication at the Indonesian Film Festival in Melbourne**

Meghan Downes

This paper examines the evolving dynamics of the Indonesian Film Festival (IFF) in Melbourne, a yearly event organised by a committee of young Indonesian student volunteers. From its ‘forgotten’ original launch in 2002 through to its current incarnation (2006-2019), the festival has operated during a period of significant developments in the Indonesian film industry, a period that has seen frequent tension in Indonesia-Australia relations, as well as huge advances in digital technology and distribution. Drawing on perspectives from both audiences and organisers, I look at the festival’s history of shifting program choices, marketing strategies, and organisational structures, in order to explore the transnational cultural politics at work around IFF. Film festivals operate in the conjunction between heritage-making, profit-generating and cultural exchange, and are therefore highly revealing sites of analysis. The dynamics of the IFF (as a festival held in an Australian city, run primarily by upper-middle-class Indonesian students) reflect very specific conditions and histories, and I use this case to explore questions around social class, inter-cultural communication, and transnational media flows between Indonesia and Australia.

# KEYNOTE ADDRESS **LAKSMI PAMUNTJAK: CLAIMING OWNERSHIP OF ONE'S FREED SELVES: FREEDOM, ART AND MORALITY IN INDONESIA**

This keynote address is cosponsored by ANU Indonesia Institute and Sydney Southeast Asia Centre.

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## **PANEL 5 A INDONESIAN WOMEN'S ACTIVISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

In this panel our four speakers offer insights into various forms of women's activism across the twentieth century. The papers reflect on what forms of activism women engaged in; who carried out activism and on behalf of who; and the related class, ethnic and gender dynamics of such activism. Beech Jones offers new insights into women's everyday individual and collective action during the colonial era by focusing on two Sumatran women's campaigns for education and against gendered injustice in the newspaper *Soenting Melajoe* (1912-1921). Using interviews and reports Hendriks examines women's grassroots activism in the era of Guided Democracy (1959-1965) and the campaign of *turba*, according to which middle class women went to rural villages to educate or learn from rural women. Rahayu analyses how Sulami, a survivor of the 1965 violence, employed historical fiction in a 1981 novel to narrate her experiences of the guerrilla war against the Dutch to challenge New Order narratives about leftist female activists. Finally, McGregor examines a 1997 publication on the so-called 'comfort women' of the Japanese occupation as a form of advocacy, which offers both an intersectional analysis of the system and the first life story of a survivor of sexual violence.

### **'And the writer remembered her work and she continued': two lives of activism in the colonial-era Sumatran women's newspaper *Soenting Melajoe* (1912-1921)**

Bronwyn Beech Jones

This paper traces the life-stories of two Sumatran women, Kamisah from Padang Panjang on Sumatra's Westcoast, and Amna Karim, a teacher from Bengkulu, through their contributions to the Padang-based women's newspaper *Soenting Melajoe* (1912-1921). Drawing upon the historian of India Anindita Ghosh's (2008) idea that women's emotive and imagery rich colonial-era print culture was both a site and mode of resistance, I seek to re-position *Soenting Melajoe* from a testament to editor Rohana Kudus' heroism to an archive for women's everyday individual and collective action. I first focus on Kamisah's advocacy for women's health and home industry, before examining her contributions to debates regarding women's acceptable social roles and appearance in Minangkabau society. I then situate Amna Karim's campaign to establish a girls' school in Bengkulu within her broader agenda to empower her 'Indies sisters' and speak out against gendered injustice. Weaving their life-stories from letters and poetry, I compare the motivations, actions, risks, and results these women ascribed to their work within and outside the newspaper. Through close, slow modes of reflexive reading, we glimpse the complexities of these women's lives and multilayered identities which open up alternative ways of narrating histories of Indonesian women in the colonial era.

### **Women 'going down to the base': rural grassroots activism by women on the Left during Guided Democracy (1959-1965)**

Paula Hendriks

This paper explores the contribution of women to grassroots activism by the Left in the era of Guided Democracy. It examines the concept 'turun ke bawah' ('going down to the base'), a communist notion and practice meant to increase understanding of rural conditions among city dwellers and to educate peasants in the program of the party. First formulated by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in 1959, the slogan was adopted by a range of left-wing mass organisations, including the Indonesian Peasant Movement (Barisan Tani Indonesia, BTI) and the Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia, Gerwani). Drawing on primary source materials from both leadership and grassroots women activists, I examine the various ways in which women activists at different organisational levels used and thought about 'turun ke bawah'. In line with the work of Zheng Wang (2016) who explores tensions between socialist

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discourse and feminist agendas among women activists in Mao's China, I analyse the relationship and frictions between gender and class interests, and ideology and practice among Indonesian women's activists who 'went down to the base'. By approaching this type of left-wing grassroots activism from a women's perspective, I aim to write women into the history of Indonesian left-wing activism.

## **Indonesian activism on sexual violence: narrating the experiences of so called 'comfort women'**

Katharine McGregor

The May 1998 riots and associated sexual violence directed at ethnic Chinese women has been heralded by feminists (Blackburn 2005, Wandita 1998) as a pivotal moment for opening up public discussion of sexual violence against women in Indonesia. This case and the new climate of reformasi led activists to publicly connect many cases of military sexual violence against women. Yet there were earlier precedents to these discussions. In this paper I examine how global attention to the issue of women subjected to enforced military prostitution by the Japanese army affected Indonesian feminist action in less direct ways especially through the Vienna declaration of 1993 on women's rights, but also through activism related to surviving Indonesian women. In particular, I focus on the 1997 publication *The Forced Suffering of Women: Stories from the Japanese Occupation* as a culmination of activism on this issue and one of the first historical accounts to cover the life story of a survivor of human rights abuses. Furthermore, the work provided an intersectional analysis of the causes of women's suffering within a system of sexual exploitation, going beyond the attribution of blame solely to the Japanese military and challenging ideas of shame commonly attached to survivors.

## **Gerwani activist Sulami and her story of guerilla struggle in the Indonesian revolution**

Ruth Indiah Rahayu

Sulami was an activist in the left-wing women's organisation Gerwani (Indonesian Women's Movement) who was imprisoned by the New Order from 1967-1984. In 1981, when she was in prison, she wrote a historical romance novel with the title *Menanti Rembulan Ndadari* (Waiting for the Full Moon). In this novel, she in fact narrates her experiences from 1948-1949, during the guerrilla war for national independence against the Dutch in Central Java. Through this novel, she aims to counter the Suharto regime's negative and hateful propaganda about Gerwani (Wieringa 2002) to prove that many Gerwani activists were revolutionary women who contributed to Indonesia's independence. Sulami tells of her experience through the protagonist named Danarti who leaves the comfort of the city and joins the guerrilla forces in the jungle. Danarti has an important role as a female leader, courier and spy, enabling her to move in new non-traditional spaces and allowing her new forms of personal liberty. In this paper, I examine Sulami's strategy as a left-wing female activist of using fiction to challenge the New Order narrative about leftist female activists. Through this novel, Sulami instead reconstructs her story of the revolution.

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## **BOOK PANEL AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS – LAST CHANCE FOR LIFE: CLEMENCY IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN DEATH PENALTY CASES**

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### **PANEL 5 B ISLAMIC EDUCATION**

#### **Rethinking the public sphere: lessons learnt from Indonesian Islamic boarding schools (pondok pesantren)**

Asep Muizudin Muhamad Darmini

One of the central issues on the contemporary public sphere is the challenge of the internet towards democracy. The optimists envision the internet as a new platform that enables transparency, discussion, and debate. In contrast, the pessimists perceive the internet as a threat of democracy as it is widening the gap between the information rich and the poor, strengthening the polarisation between different political ideologies, and spreading hoaxes and fake news. Interestingly, my fieldwork in two Pondok Pesantren in Tasikmalaya, West Java, has shown an intriguing reality of the public sphere in the era of the internet. The institutions, namely Cipasung and Miftahul Huda, have a strict regulation on the internet. Students in Cipasung are allowed to access the internet during a particular time, while students in Miftahul Huda almost have no internet access. Nevertheless, students in both institutions perceive their education as an enlightening experience. At the same time, the limitation of the internet access also opens to a new opportunity to redefine the educational strategies of the institutions. In Cipasung, the focus is to maintain the quality of information through anti-hoax movement, while educators in Miftahul Huda aims to strengthen the culture of discussion and debate through weekly forum. These strategies are important elements in developing a healthy public sphere prior to establishing the physical infrastructure of the internet.

### **Tracing ‘Green Islam’ and exploring local responses to ecological problems: an ethnographic study in Pesantren Annuqayah, Madura Island East Java**

Mohammad Hasan Basri

In recent decades, there has been a new trend of ‘Globalized Eco-Islam’(Schwencke, 2012:10) and ‘green Islam’ (Gelling, 2009). Although it is too early to say that Indonesia is ‘the home of green Islam’ as identified by Peter Gelling (2009), my field research shows that pesantren becomes a signifier of that inclination. In other words, pesantren has a significant role in overcoming ecological problems based on Islamic teachings in Indonesia. This research paper is part of my ongoing PhD ethnographic study in Pesantren Annuqayah, Madura Island, East Java. There are three main findings of my fieldwork that will be presented in this paper. Firstly, Pesantren Annuqayah is one of the old pesantren (established in 1887) that was awarded Kalpataru (1981), just a year after this presidential award was launched (1980). Secondly, Pesantren Annuqayah plays an important role not only in improving education for local society but also in engaging local people to solve environmental and ecological problems. Lastly, to incorporate environmental initiatives and programs into the educational system of Pesantren Annuqayah, some fascinating programs have been developed, such as the ‘green curriculum’ (local subject that is inserted in national curriculum) and ‘green poetry’, as well as sustainable programs such as recycling, solar energy and conservation areas.

### **Studying school leadership practice: an in-depth exploration in Indonesian Madrasah Aliyahs (Islamic-based senior high schools)**

Umami Kultsum

This qualitative research explores the school principal leadership practices to address challenges and develop the performance of Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic-based senior high schools) in Indonesia. Islamic-based schools are significant educational institutions since they provide Islamic education to the people of Indonesia, which is a predominantly Muslim nation. However, the principals still face substantial challenges such as school infrastructure and learning facilities, finances, leadership, teachers’ professional development, and community engagement. As a high level of leader in madrasah and the catalysts among the followers and stakeholders, the principals play a significant role. A multiple case study was conducted in the two areas of Indonesia South Tangerang and Bekasi. The research is significant in fulfilling the gap identified in the literature regarding leadership practices, especially in the context of Indonesian Islamic schools, and provides an in-depth analysis of the indigenous leadership practice in leading the Islamic-based school from the perspectives of principals and teachers. The research reveals a predominance of Islamic values and the uniqueness of Indonesian cultures. It sheds light on the indigenous leaderships, such as catalytic, servant, and kinship leadership. Furthermore, the research provides insight into leadership development, school improvement, and community engagement in madrasah aliyah. Those are significant recommendations to the government, school members, and stakeholders.

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## **PANEL 5 C RETHINKING RURAL INDONESIA TODAY 2**

Increasing trade protectionism, land certification and land grabs, social policy and village governance reforms, as well as environmental change, climate change and migration are among the forces driving social and political change in rural Indonesia today. Despite decades of rural livelihood diversification, agricultural production by smallholders still constitutes the basis of Indonesia’s rural economy. While many rural Indonesian households are wealthier, healthier and better educated than ever before, food poverty and marginalisation persist in some pockets of the countryside. Nonetheless, relative poverty and disparity have emerged as critical issues. Hence, the

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challenges facing analysts and policy makers today are distinctly different, calling for a rethinking of analytical categories and policy approaches. In this panel, we aim to bring together scholars who study social, economic, culture and politics in rural Indonesia in an attempt to understand changes taking place in an interdisciplinary way. We aim to spark theoretical debate regarding how we might best conceptualise these changes, what analytical frameworks are appropriate, and how can policy best contribute to dealing with the many challenges facing rural Indonesia today.

## **Village deliberation and state control: understanding state-led deliberation during the formulation of village development plans in Central Java**

Katiman Kartowinomo

Democratic quality is both determined by the level of participation and also how decisions are made. Consequently, it is important to understand the process of decision-making as well as factors that shape the process. Using a deliberative democracy framework, this study assesses the Musyawarah Desa (village deliberation) in several Javanese villages following village governance reforms that aim to increase the effectiveness of village governance structures in rural Indonesia. The paper analyses how villages make decisions during the formulation of village development plans. It considers how deliberation and decision-making work at the village level and how patterns of deliberation and decision-making influence outcomes, exploring the role of state in the formulation process. The study also discusses how, even while the forum of Musyawarah Desa works as the arena for power contestation amongst village actors, village elites and higher-level governments remain influential in directing decisions. Although village elites control the decision-making through offstage process, the state has a dominant role in onstage deliberation. Finally, the paper considers the role of social relations, leadership and actors' interests in shaping the village decision-making process and outcomes.

## **Analysing agrarian change in Sumba (NTT) from the perspective of the 'invisible economy'**

Jacqueline Vel

Our recent research in Sumba (NTT) on the household economy, poverty and how people make ends meet in daily life has resulted in large amounts of data. However, there is also a considerable part of the story that has not yet been told, namely information on the 'invisible economy' that household surveys normally miss out. The invisible economy in Sumba consists of three kinds of local economies that co-exist with the monetary economy: the ceremonial, the daily barter and the illicit economy. Famous economic anthropologists argued many decades ago that traditional (or alternative) economies differ from the modern free-market economy because economic decision making is fundamentally embedded within a broader framework of (local) socio-political relations. Contrary to the expectation that traditional economies would vanish when the market economy and capitalistic relations enter the area, such economies apparently persist. This paper discusses how people living in villages in East Sumba have been dealing with major agrarian changes in their island. How are the strategies for coping with crisis as well as for escaping from poverty shaped by the alternative rationalities of the local hybrid economy? Where the 'invisible economy' exists, what are the consequences for research on agrarian change?

## **The exemplary periphery and the administrative centre: a view from rural East Java**

Colum Graham

Relations between the Indonesian state and countryside are increasingly dependent on material support. From a broad view, increased material distribution to the countryside in the absence of state extraction is supposed to better enable the persistence of rural surplus populations. More localised accounts of state support into rural communities observe how new distributional claims inform emerging political dynamics of eligibility. Based on long term fieldwork in a village in Bojonegoro, East Java called Kalijati, this paper questions the role of state support in its community's persistence. Known subsidies for agricultural production, the primary source of income for the vast majority of Kalijati's households, are the most openly criticised forms of state support, whereas less openly criticised are state supports for service delivery and welfare. The basis of villagers' critique is what particular state supports do for households' persistence understood in terms of indebtedness. By placing household debt at the centre of analysing the role of state supports in rural Indonesia, a clearer understanding of its emerging distributional politics is possible.

# PANEL 5 D CULTURE, COMMUNITY AND COMMODITY

## **Commons people: managing music and culture in contemporary Yogyakarta**

Nuraini Juliastuti

My research is about musicians, visual artists, music collectors, fans, curators and cultural activists, participating in the popular discourse of music through relevant music activities. It narrates these people, with some of their music-based plans and initiatives. It also narrates the implementation of the plans and initiatives takes place in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. It takes place in an urban media infrastructure setting. I employ self-organising, collectivism, and institutionalisation of cultural production as useful concepts to define the alternative milieu. It is this milieu that shapes the production of tools and ways of organising a series of actions on managing music, culture, and life. Music, which also serves as a commons, emerges as a horizon of possibilities, or a means, to be managed and maintained for different purposes. I propose sustainability as a shared imagination of what doing music means. The articulation of such imagination informs the structure of the dissertation. The structure articulates the questions brought about by managing commons; they are the questions about a sense of security, sustainability, and documentation. It provides insights into what aspects that the people need to work on when they think about music.

## **Traditional craft and creative industry: social and economic uses**

Natsuko Akagawa

According to UNESCO, the creative industry sector of the Indonesian economy constituted about 7.1 per cent of export income in 2014. The government's Creative Economy Agency (Bekraf) estimates that in 2019 the creative economy's contribution to Indonesia's GDP will exceed 12 per cent. This paper examines the way the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage listing of Indonesian batik has been integrated into national programs to achieve economic as well as political objectives, and is utilised at the community and individual level to generate income. It also demonstrates how UNESCO listing has provided positive incentive for communities and individual artists to recalibrate community interest and involvement in a traditional craft and generate support for a national 'creative industries' policy. The paper poses the question in how far the use of the Convention to serve politically and economically motivated instrumental objectives is subverting the original cultural aims of UNESCO.

## **Yayasan Mahakam Lestari: documenting cultural knowledge with the Craft Conservation Program**

Karen Cherie MacDonald

Karen Cherie Macdonald will talk about a Craft Conservation Program (CCP) project in East and North Kalimantan documenting cultural knowledge associated with the fibre arts. The fibre, or plaited arts, are traditionally practised by the 400 Dayak ethnic groups in Kalimantan. Communities proudly acknowledge that their material culture is unique and valuable, but often the underlying cultural context (beliefs systems, ritual functions and meanings of symbols) has been allowed to dissipate and disappear. Traditional sunhats, rattan mats and many forms of basketry are now the material expression of fragile cultural traditions. The CCP, part of the Mahakam Lestari Foundation, began a project in 2016 to capture and record the knowledge of CCP staff and the women artisans in the Dayak communities supported by the Foundation. The CCP has worked with seven communities since 2008 to perpetuate culturally significant Dayak plaited handicrafts in order to improve women's livelihoods and build sustainable communities. These projects have renewed interest in the communities and this knowledge on the making of fibre art, formerly almost lost, is now orally transmitted to the next generation. It was the more intangible knowledge, often associated with ceremony and tied to former religious beliefs, that is rarely known. The paper explores the challenges and highlights of this documentation project about gathering, developing and sharing this intangible knowledge.

## **Relationships between clothing and poverty based on perceptions and experiences of the local communities of South Sulawesi Indonesia: a human rights approach**

Naimah Talib

This research highlights how lack of clothing can create, reinforce, and perpetuate perceptions and experience of poverty, both in intrinsic and instrumental ways. Lack of clothing could enhance feeling of shame, stigmatisation and humiliation, and could reinforce the poor's perceptions of poverty. In instrumental ways, lack of clothing has hampered local communities to access their economic, political, and socio cultural rights. A three week fieldwork was conducted in Makassar and Pangkajene, South Sulawesi. Data collection was conducted through interviews and FGDs with targeted participants (using the proxy of participants of Rice for Welfare and Program Keluarga Harapan). Gender played roles, especially in bearing impacts of lack of clothing and how it blocks the poor to access their basic rights. This thesis suggests that first, a multidimensional poverty measure which could capture shame, stigma, and social exclusion could be useful to address poverty problem, and second, social assistance programs should be design and implement in a more gender sensitive way as the findings show that social policies could turn back burdening women disproportionately, and enhancing shame and stigma of the poor in general.

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## PANEL 5 E CITIES AND MIGRATION

### **The role of the new ecological paradigm on pro-environmental behaviour of Jakarta Citizens**

Fitri Arlinkasari

According to the Indonesian index of environmental quality in 2014, the environmental quality of Jakarta is the poorest among Indonesia's thirty-three provinces. The emerged environmental problems in Jakarta are also contributed by the behaviour of the citizens that is not environment-oriented. To resolve the environmental conditions of Jakarta, the government and society need to work together toward the improvement of environmental quality by encouraging everyone to adopt pro-environmental behaviour (PEB). One of the factors that contribute to the configuration of pro-environmental behaviour is the New Ecological Paradigm (NEP)—individual belief about the environment that causes the individuals to realise the consequences that they would gain from their behaviour towards the environment. This study aims to test the impact of NEP on PEB. Three hundred and thirty two Jakarta citizens aged 21-65 years participated in this study. Two scales are developed and used in this research, namely General Ecological Behavior Scale (GEB) to measure PEB, and the NEP scale to identify the respondent's belief on the individual and environment mutual relationship. Results indicated that NEP predicted PEB in about 2,7%, which means individual's positive belief in the environment positively shape their environmental behaviour.

### **Spatial structure of youth migration in Indonesia: does educational selectivity matter?**

Meirina Ayumi Malamassam

It is broadly understood that migration works in a selective nature, particularly by level of education. Moreover, variations in migration intensity by education level within a country may indicate a discrepancy in human capital across regions. By using the multiplicative component method to analyse data from the 2010 Indonesia Population Census, this study examines the spatial interaction model of youth migration by highlighting migrants' educational attainment. The spatial movements of young population have been a significant part of migration flows due to life-cycle events related to their transition to adulthood, such as higher education enrolment and labour market entry. The preliminary findings show that the interregional migration of young individuals is geographically unbalanced, particularly spatial flows by those who are currently studying in tertiary degree. Furthermore, the spatial pattern of working young migrants shows that Jakarta has high ratios of losing migrants with tertiary educational degree and gaining migrants with primary level of education and below. In addition, some regions outside Java Island have noticeable ratios of gaining labour migrants with high education level. The findings indicate the uneven patterns of youth migration play a part in human capital inequality across regions in Indonesia.

### **Urbanisation, place-identity and city resilience in the face of disaster**

Nyoman Gede Maha Putra

Urbanisation has changed many lives because it helps less fortunate people to find better jobs to feed their family, but it also raises some environmental concerns if not managed well. Urbanisation occurs because of imbalance in economic growth between different regions. Among the causes of imbalance economic growth is the establishment of the new government system with three levels: national-provincial-municipal. The implementation of such a system, since the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, has created centres of growth that attracted newcomers. On one hand, the newcomers help the city to work and thrive. On the other hand, they also need large amount of land, necessitate the city to transform. While cities in Indonesia were previously developed with traditional principles by the traditional inhabitants utilising natural resources, the arrival of newcomers causes immediate and large-scale change. Therefore, the one-time traditional city, which fit environmentally with the natural surroundings and culturally with the inhabitants, is nowadays packed with dense population craving for lands for development. A case study in Denpasar shows that economic consideration of urbanisation outweighs environmental and cultural attention. The city is, therefore, threatened by potential disaster and loss of identity.

## PLENARY SESSION THE STATE AND FUTURE OF INDONESIAN STUDIES

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# PANEL 6 A DIVERGENT PRACTICES OF GENDER IDEOLOGY, MASCULINITY AND YOUTH IN VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN INDONESIA

This panel discussed the role of community in preventing violent extremism. This panel is set up to present findings from research activities in 2017-2018 that was conducted in different settings of communities in 5 districts in Indonesia: Cirebon, Depok, Klaten, Sumenep, and Medan. The research finds there are different roles of female, male, and youth in their community either to support or to counter intolerance, radicalism and violent extremism. This panel will present lesson learn from different angles: gender, masculinity and youth.

## **Gender ideology, agency and women's empowerment: preventing radicalism and violent extremism**

Sri Wiyanti Eddyono

Studies on violent extremism in Indonesia and elsewhere have discussed the increase of intolerant practices, and the existence of violent extremism and terrorism. A few studies investigate communal resilience and women's strategies in preventing violent extremism. This paper discusses the approaches that need to be integrated in future research on violent extremism. The approaches are established on the basis of reflections from previous studies on community and women's roles in preventing fundamentalism and violent extremism conducted during 2015-2018 in several sites in Indonesia (Poso, Jakarta, Depok, Yogyakarta, Sumenep, Klaten, Cirebon, and Medan). The first approach is to elaborate on different initiatives in communities and how the initiative can be escalated to prevent violent extremism. The second approach involves the integration of gender perspective and utilisation of the framework on women's empowerment. The third approach brings the knowledge and the insight of research back to the community. Having these approaches will provide better understanding about the existing conditions on fundamentalism and violent extremism, the different settings that influence the rise of fundamentalism, and how the prevention program must be increased in addressing fundamentalism and violent extremism.

## **Preventing intolerance and radicalism through women's economic empowerment: lessons learnt from Indonesia**

Rizky Septiana Widyaningtyas

Previous studies on women's roles in violent extremism found that women could have various roles: they could be involved in, support or oppose the intolerant social attitudes. Programs have been established by development agencies to support women's leadership for their activism in countering/preventing radicalism. There are questions on how effective or how far economic empowerment can prevent women from participating in radical movements. On the basis of research activities in several villages in Klaten, Central Java, in 2017-2018 with Monash Gender Peace Security Center, this paper discusses to what extent women's economic empowerment can contribute to the strengthening of women's agency. Women's economic empowerment is defined as the opening space for women to participate in, contribute to and benefit from growth processes in ways that recognise the value of their contributions, respect their dignity and make it possible to negotiate a fairer distribution of the benefits of growth. This study applied multiple methods in gathering data with a feminist qualitative approach. This study finds that there are three elements that may influence the expansion or obstruction of women's agency: the government attitudes and policies, NGOs and leadership of their community.

## **Masculinity and its impacts on empowerment and disempowerment of women in preventing violent extremism**

Arvie Johan

Hegemonic masculinity and its environment influence gender ideology and its practices throughout Indonesia. The primary thrust has come from the belief that men should be responsible husbands, fathers, and breadwinners. In the light of this, sensitive gender approach does not properly discuss the involvement of men in the strategies of empowering women. Starting from empirical research on a gender sensitive approach to empowering women for peaceful communities during 2017 – 2018 in five sites in Indonesia (Klaten, Sumenep, Depok, Cirebon, and Medan), this article analyses the fluidity of gender ideology as a social construct and how it has been

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influenced by family pattern on gender roles. The mainstream of social perspective on gender roles continues to emphasise hegemony of masculinity. Men and women who are unable and/or unwilling to fill this normative role are attempting to reach a compromise. Yet, this study finds that there is a negotiation process in practising gender ideology in which masculinity is also utilised by women to strengthen their roles both in the family and community. Thus this research concludes the important linkage between women's role along with men's roles and their involvement in empowering women and community to prevent violent extremism

## **Youth and their role in violence and the prevention of violent extremism**

Devita Kartika Putri

This paper discusses how youth plays a role in both violent extremism and preventing violent extremism. Based on a research in 2018-2019 in Depok, Medan, and Cirebon district of Indonesia, it found that the spread of intolerance and radicalism often occurs on campus. Students, particularly freshmen, are considered as a strategic target to instil intolerant and radicalistic views due to their vulnerability, being away from their parents and having to adapt to a new environment. As for the media, campus sermons and other religious activities are used as student forum to promote such views. Furthermore, primordialism is also an issue as it limits students' interactions to only with those of the same religion. The above phenomenon further calls for concern when religion is being politicised. As evident from Indonesia's history, students and their organisations have valuable role in initiating movements for certain issues. As such, it opens the possibility where student movements may be motivated by religious politicisation to promote violent extremism. At the same time, however, student activities, movements, and organisations can also serve as media to promote tolerance and prevent violent extremism.

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## **PANEL 6 B THE CONSTITUTION, THE COURTS AND THE ADMINISTRATION IN INDONESIA**

The Indonesian Constitution is an important text that governs the world's third largest democracy. Emerging in 1998 from decades of authoritarian rule, Indonesia's 1945 Constitution underwent a series of major amendments. A culture of constitutionalism in Indonesia has developed in connection with a robust civil society and ongoing advocacy campaigns for law and justice by legal advocates. The papers in this panel are part of a broader collaborative project that will explore and explain the critical and ongoing set of debates over the meaning and practice of the Indonesian Constitution. These papers explore themes of judicial independence, social rights, terrorism, and religious values.

### **Judicial independence: a threat to Indonesia's democracy?**

Melissa Crouch

Is Indonesia's judiciary and its claims to judicial independence a threat to Indonesia's democracy? Since 1998, major efforts to reform the courts have taken place. This includes the 'one roof' (satu atap) reforms that transferred control over management and administration of the courts from the executive to the Supreme Court; the creation of a Constitutional Court; the establishment of a new Judicial Commission to ensure judicial accountability; and the introduction of a range of specialised courts. Through a series of cases, the powers of the Judicial Commission have been compromised and the notion of 'judicial independence' expanded to include significant autonomy without meaningful accountability. In this paper, I suggest that initial efforts to balance judicial independence with accountability have been compromised. This resonates with the theoretical work of Holmes and Fiss, who suggest that there are particular risks and dangers in granting judicial independence as part of a democratic transition. In the case of Indonesia, the persistence of corruption jeopardises the integrity of judicial independence and makes judicial accountability impossible to attain. The example of Indonesia offers lessons on constitution-making and court reform for countries in a transition to democracy.

### **Contesting marketisation and predatory rule: the 1945 Constitution, social rights and the politics of public services in Indonesia**

Andrew Rosser

Following the collapse of the New Order in 1998, the Supreme Deliberative Council (MPR) amended the 1945 Constitution to, among other things, incorporate new provisions providing for better protection of social rights. This paper assesses the impact of these changes, focusing on provisions related to the rights to education, health and water services. The paper argues that i) along with other political and legal changes following the collapse of the New Order, these provisions contributed to a wave of litigation aimed at

challenging neoliberal reform of public services and predatory control over public service providers; and ii) the extent to which such litigation has been successful has depended significantly on several factors: the institutional design of the court system as amended since the fall of the New Order; the presence of support structures for legal mobilisation; the ideology of the courts and judges; and the roles and willingness of litigants to pursue redress. Broadly speaking, it is argued, this litigation has served to promote fulfilment of the rights of the poor and marginalised, although gains have largely come through better access to services, while issues of improving quality have been less prominent.

## **Human rights and terrorism in Indonesia: a critical view**

Jayson Lamcheck

In the face of increasing state repression in the name of countering terrorism, human rights advocates have focused on articulating a model of counterterrorism that would be compatible with respect for human rights. While this move might bring amelioration to certain individual victims, it accommodates the problematic discourse of terrorism which often forms part of the very conditions that breed human rights violations in the first place. It risks the “legitimisation and perpetuation” of the discourse of terrorism, “rather than its dismantling or destruction.” (Jackson 2016, 122) In this talk, I present illustrations of this dynamic from Indonesia. I look at the attachment of a human rights language to Indonesia’s police-led approach to counterterrorism, and the role that plays in inoculating police abuse from scrutiny. The presentation concludes with the idea of disentangling human rights advocacy from counterterrorism. A disentangled advocacy would reaffirm and advance the critique of the discourse of terrorism while recovering the practice of human rights from minimalism or the tendency to think small and the aversion to politics.

## **The constitutionalisation of ‘religious values’ in Indonesia**

Nadirsyah Hosen

In two different sections of the Amendment to 1945 Constitution, the phrase ‘nilai-nilai agama’ (religious values) are mentioned. First, in article 28J(2) on limitations of constitutional rights, and, second, in article 31(5) on the duty of government to uphold these values in education. The main question is: how far must the State endorse ‘Religious Values’ in public life as a constitutional requirement? My presentation will examine the interpretation of the phrase ‘Religious Values’ in the constitutional cases decided by the Indonesian Constitutional Court (Mahkamah Konstitusi) and evaluate the context of socio-legal politics in Indonesia.

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# **PANEL 6 C POLITICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMIES**

## **The political economy of outlaw motorcycle clubs in Indonesia**

Ian Wilson

This paper examines international Outlaw Motorcycle Clubs (OMC) and their arrival, indigenisation and political and economic ‘mainstreaming’ in Indonesia. While OMCs are listed as proscribed criminal organisations in many parts of the world, in Indonesia clubs such as Bandidos, SatuDarah and Mongols enjoy high-level political patronage. Initially arriving via Australian, European and American outlaw clubs seeking new economic opportunities and refuge from domestic policing regimes, OMCs have been transformed as local members have taken charge of local chapters. The anti-establishment subculture of OMCs has been translated into existing patterns of militarist culture resulting in clubs being less criminal ‘outlaw’ and more well-resourced and disciplined entrepreneurs with members including serving police and military. The economic interests of clubs have spanned from security industries to the mining and agricultural sector. International scholarship has identified OMCs as “organised criminals without borders” with brand and image marketable commodities used to expand criminal interests transnationally. The Indonesia case suggests that this assessment fails to sufficiently consider the ways in which the local political economic context can significantly constrain and reshape OMCs.

## **A critical evaluation into a fundamental reform of the healthcare system in Indonesia: the case of BPJS**

Harun Harun

This study critically evaluates the nature and structural impacts of a universal health care system introduced by post-Suharto administrations in Indonesia. Our study is driven by the lack of critical analysis of social and political factors, actors, and unintended consequences of New Public Management (NPM) in health sector reforms in emerging economies. To fill the literature gap, this study

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not only examines the impact of the economic and political forces surrounding the introduction of a universal health insurance program in the country, but also offers insights into the role of actors and undesirable effects of fundamental reforms that have occurred in Indonesia since 2014. The authors find the introduction of a democratic political system following the collapse of an authoritarian regime in 1998 opened an opportunity for national political elite and international financial aid agencies to introduce a universal social security administration agency called BPJS (Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial). The policy aims to cover all healthcare services of citizens and eligible residents of the country. Although the introduction of the system has increased the coverage of health service for the nation's citizens, this effort still faces several problems that include (a) the raise of deficits, (b) resistance from medical professionals, and (c) politicians' tendency to blame BPJS's management for its failure to pay the costs of healthcare services. This shows that policy making of this system was primarily motivated by the interests of the national political elite and international agencies without seriously considering key barriers to the effectiveness of BPJS operation in the long term. This study contributes to the health policy literature by showing that uncarefully designed universal health care system could undermine the core values of health care services and threaten the sustainability of the medical profession in Indonesia. The study also offers suggestions for a better policy making in this sector in Indonesia and beyond.

## **Corrupt networks: social network analysis of a forest case**

Jacqui Baker

How is corruption money spent? Existing assumptions are that corruption is a dyadic exchange, where two actors participate in a single corrupt transaction. However, anecdotal evidence from KPK investigators suggests that in large scale corrupt activity, corrupt offenders move large sums of graft money both abroad and domestically across complex networks of actors. By "following the money", this paper aims to understand how the proceeds of corruption are distributed, transferred, or laundered domestically or abroad. By mapping both material and non-material exchanges, one key insight of this data will be to establish how major graft cases involving billions of rupiah are driven by networks of individuals, parties, organisations and businesses across the private, public and not for profit sector who seek to gain from its proceeds and who "institutionalise" corruption. What are these networks, how do they operate and whose interests do they serve? This paper will present findings from a collaborative project between the KPK and the Chr. Michelsen Institute which uses social network analysis to illustrate what a "socially networked" map of corrupt exchanges can tell us about the dynamics of corruption and anti-corruption in forestry in Indonesia.

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## **PANEL 6 D ENVIRONMENTAL AND RURAL GOVERNANCE**

### **From dystopia to utopian: Indonesia Vision 2045 - an experiment with Indonesian fire management policy makers**

Jonatan A Lassa

About 20 million people in Sumatra and Kalimantan experienced dystopian realities where the survivors had been constantly exposed to highly polluted haze for months in the El-Nino year 2015. Some pockets of these regions have been constantly under annual haze pollution for about two decades. Neighbouring countries have been affected on regular basis. The forest fire disaster in 2015 caused disruptions and delays of flights and supplies for up to four months in many cities and towns. Health costs had been tremendous and health risk remains facts to be seen in the future. The popular Indonesian President, Joko Widodo showed a determination to turn the dystopia into utopia and further into eutopia - a positive future reality that can be achieved with the right policy. This research examines utopian ideas shared by Indonesian officials who have been dealing with forest fires in the last five years at different levels. It particularly analyses changes in the utopian ideas among the same participants in three DFAT/Australian Awards funded workshops in Indonesia and Australia conducted during October 2017 and March 2018. This study also compares and analyses different utopian thoughts from presidential level to the present 2045 vision.

### **Knowledge, policy and politics: epistemic communities and decision making in local environmental governance in Indonesia**

Laila Kholid Alfirdaus and S Rouli Manalu

This research is about the complex relations between knowledge, policy and politics under the notion of “epistemic communities” in area of environment and natural resource. It is realised that epistemic communities are crucial to make sure policy being made is based on prudent assessment on policy risks and advantages. However, it is not rare to find questions in the involvement of epistemic community, when the extractive/natural resource policy is found to have weak scientific justifications. For this purpose, this research discusses two cases in Indonesia. The first is the establishment of a cement factory in Rembang in Kendeng mountainous area. In this case, scholars and experts are divided into two groups: those who argue that the mining operation is safe, on the one hand, and those who see the project as inappropriate considering the weak capacity of the environment in the area. The second relates to oil palm plantation. In this case, the issue is not only whether to plant or not, but also whether to use persuasive or confrontative approach to encourage corporations obey the environmental standards. From this study, it is clear that public policy is about politics, even when it is designed to involve “expectedly” non-political entity, namely academics.

## **Global Value Chain 4.0 for economic, social, and environmental upgrading: the experience of Indonesian palm oil**

B Endo Gauh Perdana

The Industrial Revolution 4.0 endorses a high-speed transfer of information that promotes digitalisation and innovation across many sectors of industries allowing them to thrive by increasing productivity, profitability, product quality and performance. However, the utilisation of digital technology, especially in agricultural sector where sustainability practices are essential to be addressed, requires effective governance for upgrading strategies. As one of the main export commodities and a key driver of the economy, the palm oil industry in Indonesia is in alert to face the challenges brought about by the Fourth Industrial Revolution. This research draws from the latest work of Gerrefi and Joonkoo Lee on Global Value Chain. In the framework of horizontal industrial cluster and vertical global value chain governance, the theory examines how governance and upgrading trajectories produces economic upgrading which correlates to social and environmental upgrading. This research argues that the role of technology supports as well as accelerates the upgrading strategies. A set of data are collected from literature of multidisciplinary perspectives in addition to statistical data on the palm oil industry. The GVC analysis of Indonesian palm oil industry will be used as a map to understand the complexity of how actors operate in every cluster of governance. Economic upgrading is not always associated with social and environmental upgrading. Therefore, a strong linkage between actors suggests that the Fourth Industrial Revolution is relevant and essential to enhance synergy to cater for economic, social and environmental dimensions in order to harness the potential of sustainable development.

## **State-centrism in Indonesia’s rural water management: the impact of political-economic structures and contesting discourses**

Tadzki Nurshafira and Husna Yuni Wulansari

This paper seeks to capture the impact of state-centric logic in Indonesia’s water provision in rural, remote areas. Two issues emerged from the narrative of the state as the sole primary regulator of water management. First, it confines the private sector’s role to financial provision and business concession applied only to big companies in more urbanised areas. Second, it acknowledges local communities merely as consumers or constituents without allowing their own preferred mechanism of water management. These issues are problematic in the rural context as the state is unable to be present completely throughout the process of providing water management and infrastructures (e.g. pipeline networks) in a geographical-constrained areas with minimum or no water idle capacity. Meanwhile, private, small-scale and informal water providers and local collective mechanism have been present as the main available solutions to the absence of the state. Informed by Cultural Political Economy approach (Jessop and Sum 2013), this paper argues that state-centric water governance is situated by the configuration of political-economic structure, which is characterised by Jokowi’s economic nationalism, and contesting discourses of water as public, common, or economic goods. This configuration determines which actors and solutions are preferred in addressing the problems. As a consequence, local communities and small-scale private actors mechanism in rural areas are excluded from the existing water governance, while the government is unable to secure a sustainable and affordable daily basis water provision for some rural communities.

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## **PANEL 6 E ART HISTORY**

### **Untranslated histories: Sanento Yuliman and Indonesian art history**

# ABSTRACTS

Elly Kent

Eminent Indonesian art critic and historian Sanento Yuliman, who passed away in 1992, looms large over Indonesian art history. His perspicuous and prescient texts firmly position Indonesian modern art in continuity with what came before, “emerging in the midst of living art traditions.” Yuliman’s artistic ideology sits in conjunction with his proposition of “continuity” across traditional and modern forms, yet maintains that the autonomy of the artist, and the notion that art has evocative, emotional and experiential power, is the guiding principle of Indonesian art. His insistence on the deconstruction of binary oppositions such as tradition and modernity, high and low art, abstraction and realism, and his rejection of the notion of rupture and progress as the fundamental principals of modernist art, align with what is now an increasingly dominant discourse in the theories of philosophers and critics such as Jacque Ranciere and Kobena Mercer. Yet Yuliman’s writing, which addresses most of Indonesia’s now most prominent contemporary artists and is strongly influential on art discourse in Indonesia, remains largely untranslated, and inaccessible to most scholars of Asian art outside Indonesia. This paper examines Yuliman’s propositions within a broader global context and argues for his place at the forefront of contemporary art theory.

## **Noto Soeroto: thinking about Indonesian modern art**

Matt Cox

Noto Soeroto was born in 1888 into the Paku Alam royal house, a family that played a significant role in producing talented cultural ambassadors in the fields of art, journalism, music, literature and education. In 1923 in The Hague, Noto Soeroto began publishing Oedaya, a bilingual journal covering art, politics and culture through his own publishing house Adi Pustaka. Because it was published in both Dutch and Indonesian, it was appealing to two audiences and was critical in establishing a dialogue between Europe and Indonesia. The art reviews and artist profiles that appeared in this early journal were significant in initiating artistic discourse around a national form of art. While the dominant narrative of Indonesia modern art attributes the beginning of a modern discourse to S. Sudjojono and his writings from the mid-1930s, this paper argues that Noto Soeroto’s criticism advanced an argument for an Indonesian identifying artistic expression on the international stage as early as the mid-1920s.

## **Japanese Bunkajin and the creation of Indonesian modern art**

Antariksa

Throughout the Japanese occupation (1942-1945), the Japanese authorities sought to mobilise Indonesian artists for propaganda in support of the ‘Greater East Asian War’. In an unprecedented event in Indonesian art history, art came under centralised supervision, and the idea of art collectivism became an important platform for serving and disseminating the idea of Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere. One art organisation in particular focused on the development of nationalist arts during the Japanese occupation, namely Keimin Bunka Shidōsho (Institute for People’s Education and Cultural Guidance; better known as Pusat Kebudayaan or Cultural Center). Established in April 1943 as an auxiliary organisation of Sendenbu (the Propaganda Department), its tasks were to promote traditional Indonesian arts, to introduce and disseminate Japanese culture, and to educate and train Indonesian artists. It comprised separate sections for film, literature, painting and sculpture, theatre and dance, and music, and each section was co-chaired by Japanese bunkajin (men of culture) and Indonesian artists. In my paper, I will discuss the role of Japanese bunkajin in mediating the occupier and the occupied, the commander and the commanded, especially during the crucial early stages of Japanese occupation. In this role, they solicited and received assistance from influential figures, including Indonesian nationalist artists and members of the intelligentsia, and collaboratively created the foundation for Indonesian modern art.

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## PANEL 7 A **WOMEN’S EXPERIENCES IN INDONESIA**

### **Empowering women with disabilities in university libraries: inclusive design and socioeconomic empowerment**

Gunawan Tanuwidjaja and Priskila Adiasih

The Persons with disabilities right is regarded as significantly important by the United Nations’ Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (PwDs). Therefore empowerment strategies are needed to remove the barriers faced by PwDs. In the Indonesian context, Act No. 8 the Year 2016 recognises the rights of Person with Disabilities. Unfortunately, the UNCRPD has yet to be implemented in many inaccessible educational facilities. Therefore, Inclusive Design (ID) framework is really needed especially because of the University’s Library role as the central service for higher degree education and community hub. The research attempts to answer the research

question of: "What are the barriers and success points of the implementation of Inclusive Design in Indonesia?" The research will be conducted with qualitative methods in PCU library in Indonesia. It will involve decision makers, architects, librarians, and students with disabilities. An introductory project in Petra Christian University had been conducted in 2017-2018. The temporary findings show that PCU Library accessibility improvement was proposed following inclusive redesign methods. The barriers to ID implementation is the limited awareness of decision-makers and the limited number of librarians. Besides that, the Special Assistance Corner and Disability Service is constructed in PCU Library causing more educational access to PwDs and reducing poverty of PwDs especially the Women with Disabilities. Additional women empowerment will be conducted by PCU Library such as the Products' Packaging Training for Medium and Small Enterprise (MSE) in Pagesangan, Jambangan.

## **The use of body mapping to explore female adolescents' understanding of physical body changes during puberty**

Christina Rony Nayoan

Puberty is an inevitable stage of development that will be experienced by all adolescents. During this phase, female adolescents experience drastic changes in their physical, physiologies and physiological aspects of their life. Body mapping is a visual data collection method that enables the participants to communicate creatively and in a more reflexive way. This study used body mapping to explore the understanding of physical changes among junior high school female students in Kupang, Indonesia. Ten junior high schools were purposely selected to participate in the study and data was collected from June to October 2018. There were 45 female students participating in the body mapping through interviews. It is clear from their body mapping that puberty was only signified by the growth of breast and hips, as those were the features commonly pointed out by the participants. They also indicated the growth of hair around the genital and underarms. However, these characteristics were mentioned only by older participants who already experienced menstruation. Their understanding of pubertal development was only limited to the changes in the outer body. The inner body development remained a mystery for these young female participants. Therefore, it is important to equip young female adolescents with puberty preparation for their future reproductive health.

## **Being a woman Sufi in modern life: an anthropological study of women members of the Naqshabandiyyah Nazimiyyah order**

Laily Hafidzah

This research paper is based on my PhD fieldwork in the Naqshabandiyyah Nazimiyyah Sufi order in Indonesia by conducting participant observation and in-depth interviews with women members of this Sufi order in Jakarta. It is to reflect and examine prominent scholars' thought on women and Sufism. Ahmed (1992: 98) claims that Sufism offers a chance of 'an independent and autonomous life' for women. Women also brought a significant contribution to the development and spiritual vitality (Sultanova 2011). Buehler (2016) even predicts that women will continue to become more prominent in Sufism activity. Some main findings are as follows. First, the members of Naqshabandiyyah Nazimiyyah Sufi order are mostly dominated by urban women whose socio-economic position is middle and upper class in the social strata. Second, women's involvement in the Sufi order enhances their economic position. One of the women members states that she has gained more opportunity in economic and business since she started participating in rituals. Third, some members reveal that they receive a spiritual guidance from Grand Syekh, and lastly, members perceive that Sufism is in line and not contradictive to modernity.

## **Gender economic inequality in Indonesia**

Irna Susrianti

One of the main problem faced by many developing countries is gender inequality, and Indonesia no exception to that. This research examines the root of gender economic equality. The result of the research shows that women economic inequality is affiliated with many cultural and structural barriers existing in society. While women and men have equal right to economic participation, the reality is that women encounters complex problems caused by strong social norms, patriarchy and fundamentalism especially in the era of growing of populism during the last few years. The indicators used in the research are Female and Male Human Development Index (HDI), Education Participation, Labor Force Participation, Business ownership and Land ownership. While the opportunity of men and women to enter secondary education is almost equal, the labor force participation rate is highly unequal where men encounter of 83.9 percent and women only 50.9 percent, which is very low by international standard. Furthermore, Female HDI is still below Male HDI. Furthermore, women in Indonesia also face gender pay gap in the informal sector and hardly get promoted to important positions, in both informal and formal sectors, which leads to the low participation of women in decision making and development planning.

# ABSTRACTS

## PANEL 7 B ELECTORAL POLITICS

### **The intricacies of Indonesian electoral reforms after the restoration of democracy**

Ronny Basista

The paper traces the process of the Indonesian electoral system reforms since the restoration of democracy in 1998 and seeks to explain how the reforms following each successive election since 1998 have shaped the Indonesian democracy. To this end, the paper addresses two primary enquiries: first, to identify primary stakeholders essential in initiating and conducting the reform process, and such stakeholders' objectives for pursuing such a goal; and second, to outline the decision-making cycle and the policy process involved, especially in terms of methods of debating the proposed policies in the parliament and the decision-making process. Pertinent to such enquiries, the paper shall illuminate the inner dynamics of electoral reforms in Indonesia, the state's party system fragmentation and its consequences for the future of Indonesian democracy. Furthermore, and critically, the paper outlines the scrimmage of interests among the most decisive stakeholders in the Indonesian political ecosystem, the so-called 'Gods' (Dewa). In particular, the paper addresses the role played by political elites whose efforts to reform the system have been motivated by the desire to improve governability but also by the need to maintain and protect their own interests.

### **Fragmentation within Majelis Taklim during the 2019 elections**

Nisaul Fadillah

Majelis taklim is a Muslim neighbourhood prayer group in Indonesia. Majelis taklim are now widespread across the country. A national survey claims that the network of majelis taklim is larger than any other social religious network involving Muslim women, with the majority in the lower classes of Indonesian society. During the regime of Soeharto, majelis taklim was identified as one national political vehicle to support the regime. After the fall of the authoritarian regime, majelis taklim were encouraged to be more independent and self-funded following the spirit of democratisation. The 2019 election was identified as a polarising election with campaigns by each presidential candidate aiming to appeal to Muslim and non-Muslim voters. This polarised the population across Muslim and non-Muslim and within Muslim communities. As a heterogenic institution, majelis taklim experienced polarisation and also fragmentation at the national and local levels. This paper focuses on patronage practices within majelis taklim in the local setting of Jambi Province in Indonesia. It reports on focus group discussions with majelis taklim members and individual interviews with majelis taklim leaders, preachers, politicians, and electoral brokers. The data identify potential fragmentation within majelis taklim.

### **Political homophobia in Indonesian electoral politics**

Gavin Height

Beginning in early 2016, Indonesian political elites began publicly calling for crackdowns on LGBT Indonesians, with the Defence Minister going so far as to claim the LGBT community was a greater threat to the nation than nuclear war. The homophobic discourse has commonly been attributed to Indonesia's apparent shift to religious conservatism, but other factors have further exacerbated Indonesia's 'moral panic', including the ease of communication through social media, and heightened global attention to sexual and gender minorities following the US's legalisation of marriage equality. This paper examines to what extent homophobia has featured in the context of electoral politics in Indonesia. In the 2019 presidential and parliamentary elections, discourse regarding gender and sexual minorities was largely absent from the official national campaigns. However, at the local level, some legislative candidates did engage in vilifying and securitisation discourse as a tactic in their personal campaigns, along with unofficial 'black campaigns' against specific candidates on social media. When viewed through the framework of political homophobia, in which sexual and gender minorities are framed as threats to the nation and as an 'other', the Indonesian case is but one recent example of a modular toolkit used by actors for political gain.

## PANEL 7 C RECENT CHANGES IN INDONESIA-CHINA RELATIONS

Bilateral relations between Indonesia and China reach back hundreds of years. They accelerated after China became a WTO member in 2001. Bilateral trade increased. China imported more raw materials from Indonesia. Indonesia imported more manufactured goods from China. Chinese companies heeded the call of China's government for them to 'go out' in search of overseas investment opportunities, also in Indonesia. More Chinese consortia were awarded major infrastructure projects in Indonesia. President Xi Jinping's 2013 articulation of the Belt and Road initiative bolstered that trend. Bilateral relations intensified and diversified. Greater numbers of Chinese tourists arrived in Indonesia, more Indonesians took up studies in China. Chinese agencies supported the growth of Chinese studies at

universities in Indonesia, and Indonesian studies programs at universities in China increased. These changes are partly an outcome of government agencies desiring a better mutual understanding. They are also the outcome of more mobile younger generations taking an interest in neighbouring countries. But how well do Indonesia and China understand each other after more than 15 years of expanding bilateral relations? The purpose of this panel is for papers to discuss some salient aspects of the bilateral relations and encourage a potentially wider-ranging discussion with the audience.

## **The changing Chinese image in Indonesian elections since 1998**

Song Xue

In the 2019 Indonesian presidential election, the China factor is so entrenched throughout the electoral campaigns that it almost penetrated into all the discussions related to the campaign, including, but not limited to employment and Chinese immigrant workers, communism and religious rights in China, infrastructure funding and debt trap conspiracy, the direct meddling of Chinese government in the Indonesian presidential election. It is not common for a foreign country to exert such an influence on any Indonesian general election since 1999, given that Indonesia's strategic position is largely inward-looking and not used to giving excessive attention to global geopolitical transitions or foreign policies. This study looks into how the China factor gradually became a focal point in the Indonesian presidential elections and the changing image of China throughout 1999-2019 by analysing reports in Indonesian newspaper outlets and social media postings during the campaign periods.

## **Understanding the intermestic dimensions of Indonesia's China policy**

Greta Nabbs-Keller

Robert Putnam's 'two-level game' theory, which demonstrated how governments' requirement to satisfy both domestic constituencies and international actors imposed constraints on foreign policy behaviour, has particular salience in the case of Indonesia-China relations. Despite the two countries' growing economic convergence and the significant expansion in bilateral engagement over the past two decades, relations have remained constrained by a 'persistent ambiguity' on Indonesia's part. During the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial elections, the opposition coalition which mobilised against ethnic Chinese incumbent, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), was successful in invoking a Suharto-era narrative based on the 'triangular threat' posed by Indonesian communism, mainland China and the ethnic Chinese minority. With its roots in Indonesia's political history, characterised by a deep enmity towards Beijing and its support for communist subversion in Southeast Asia, opponents of Ahok successfully exploited the racism in hardline Islamic circles and in negative public perceptions about both China and Indonesia's ethnic Chinese community. This paper examines how the rise of identity politics in Indonesia, spurred by an alliance between hardline Islamic forces with an increasingly illiberal and destabilising party political opposition, has seen the re-emergence of old tropes about an amorphous Chinese threat. By exploring the intermestic dimensions of Indonesia-China relations, it demonstrates how uncertainty about Beijing's economic and political predominance in Southeast Asia is conflating with lingering resentment toward Indonesia's ethnic Chinese minority with implications for Indonesia's China policy.

## **The impact of securitization of China's foreign investment in Indonesia on China-Indonesia relations under the 'Belt & Road' initiative**

Yue Pan

Since the beginning of the 21st century, bilateral relations between China and Indonesia have become increasingly close. However, under the 'Belt & Road' Initiative, there have been many negative public opinions during the process of China's investment in Indonesia. China's investment in Indonesia, originally in the economic field, has become a security issue threatening Indonesia's national security through the process of securitisation. According to the theory of the Copenhagen School, securitisation is to politicise public issues into national security issues to be raised as the highest priority. Therefore, securitising actors can claim a right to deal with threats through extraordinary measures. This securitisation of China's investment in Indonesia has impacted on Indonesia's politics, economy and society. It has also hurt the investment confidence of Chinese enterprises, and even casts a shadow over the bilateral relations between China and Indonesia. Fortunately, given the interests and interdependence of both countries, in the long run, the negative impact of securitisation is limited. Indonesia is still an important investment destination for Chinese companies, and, compared with the USA and Japan, China may be the best partner for Indonesia.

## **Chinese investment and Chinese firms in Indonesia**

Tao (Sherry) Kong and Pierre van der Eng

Available data on the flows and stocks of Chinese FDI in Indonesia suggest that they have increased significantly since 2004. Further analysis indicates that these data give an incomplete impression of the activities of Chinese firms in Indonesia. The paper substantiates this by analysing other quantitative data, as well as individual investment cases. It discusses four specific characteristics of Chinese investment in Indonesia: (a) activities of Chinese companies in Indonesia are only partially reflected in the available investment data; (b)

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Chinese investment is concentrated in mining and project construction and management, rather than manufacturing industry, unlike other foreign direct investment from other countries; (c) Chinese firms received concessions in terms of expatriate employment and suppliers that reduce the backward linkages of their investment; (d) several Chinese investment projects were based on over-optimistic assessments of their commercial viability, which will require Chinese investors to reflect on their strategic objectives in Indonesia.

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## PANEL 7 D **CHANGING INDIGENEITY POLITICS IN INDONESIA**

This panel launches the special issue on “Changing Indigeneity Politics in Indonesia: from Revival to Projects” published in *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* around November 2019 ( check: <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rta20/20/4>). The issue is written by an international and multi-disciplinary team of authors and consists of 11 papers with an epilogue article by Tania Li. In this panel we aim to discuss the main conclusions of the collection.

### **The role of indigeneity NGOs in the legal recognition of adat communities and customary forests**

Yance Arizona

A main assumption of indigeneity NGOs in Indonesia is that state recognition will strengthen indigenous people’s rights to their land and forests against ongoing or future dispossession. In Indonesia, legal recognition has become central to the approaches of indigeneity NGOs’ campaigns, while the local realities and problems among indigenous communities seem to receive less attention. Has legal recognition of indigenous communities turned into a national NGO project that does not solve the communities’ land and forest related problems? In this article (co-authored by Muki Wicaksono ( Epistema Institute, Jakarta) and Jacqueline Vel (Leiden University), we compare two locations where communities have succeeded in obtaining state recognition. By focusing the analysis on the steps in the recognition processes from articulating community problems to eventually solving them, we show how indigeneity NGOs have had a dominant role, but achieved limited success. Instead of resulting in community autonomy and tenure security, the legal recognition process reproduces the state territorialisation over customary forests and communities.

### **Impediments in establishing Adat Villages: a socio-legal examination of the Indonesian Village Law**

Tody Sasmita

As adat revivalism has begun to influence regulatory, legal, and administrative outcomes in Indonesia, adat (tradition or custom) has also found a place in one of the largest policy reforms reshaping Indonesia’s local governance systems: The Village Law. The 2014 Village Law includes a specific mechanism for villages to be recognised as “adat villages”. However, five years after promulgating this law, no adat villages have yet been completely established. In this paper, I take a socio-legal approach to examine the challenges of adat village establishment. A case study in South Kalimantan illustrates how the district government utilised the flaws in the legislation to undermine a customary community’s demand for recognition and to justify the stagnation of adat village establishment in their area. In a broader context, adat recognition through the 2014 Village Law tends to incorporate adat into the existing administrative village, instead of empowering the adat communities.

### **Changing Indigeneity politics in Indonesia: main conclusions and implications for research agenda**

Jacqueline Vel and Kathryn Robinson

The articles in the special issue analyse how adat (customary law) is currently mobilised, interpreted, codified, and contested in its multiple manifestations in Indonesia. Adat has become a powerful asset in tourism development, a tool in identity politics, an argument used against and in favour of land dispossession, a weapon against immigrants, and a legal tool for breaking the power of the forestry ministry. A main conclusion that adat revivalism during the first decade of reformasi has transitioned into the proliferation of ‘adat projects’ that mostly serve the interests of smaller and more localised actors. What remains of the adat social movement? What’s next for adat projects in the emerging political developments unfolding in Indonesia? How do the conclusions contribute to wider academic debates about indigeneity? What would be the new approach to adat studies?

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## PANEL 7 E CYBER-INDONESIA

### **Indonesian cyberspace expansion: a double edged sword**

Thomas Paterson

Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is growing at a healthy 5.1 per cent per year. A significant portion of new growth in recent years has been generated by cyberspace expansion and the creation of new cyber-based businesses in the e-commerce sector. These businesses have been able to thrive due to the rising number of Indonesians connecting to the Internet. As of 2017, Indonesia had approximately 143 million internet users, which will further increase as the economy grows. Digital connectivity in Indonesia has created many positive economic opportunities but has also led to problems with cybercrime, cyber-amplified religious intolerance and disinformation. Indonesia's slow moving and inadequate legislative environment results in cyber criminals using the archipelago as a haven for their activities. Problems with low rates of digital literacy means Indonesians citizens are highly vulnerable to pervasive disinformation campaigns. To address these issues, the Indonesian government has announced a limited range of measures to try and improve digital literacy and combat some of the issues in its cyberspace. Although some of these measures are positive, they include problematic proposed legislative revisions and an automated censorship system, which could assist in the censorship of legitimate political expression intentional or otherwise.

### **Solidarity in the digital age in Indonesia: precarious workers in the digitised transportation sector in Jakarta**

Diatyka Widya Permata Yasih

This paper examines the explosion of collective organisations and actions among drivers in the digitised transport sector amidst the transformation of patterns of work under neoliberal capitalism in Indonesia. The rise of the digitised transportation sector conditions the expansion of work practices that conditions the atomisation of the workforce, whereby workers personalise the problems and solutions of the work situations, challenging collective organisations and actions. Collective organisations and actions do occur among workers in the digitised transport, motivated by grievances over work situations and made possible by the imperfection of managerial control. However, the atomisation of the workforce produce a fragile individualised solidarity, whereby the practices of solidarity among workers are motivated majorly by personal interest and gains. Such form of solidarity is produced in a context where precarious employment practices has been normalised and an organised working-class movement has been weakened by decades of authoritarianism. Through interview with 45 drivers of Grab and GoJek, two prominent ride-hailing apps in Indonesia, this paper aims to response to works that inspire optimistic claims on collective actions and organisations. While celebrating the occurrence of collective actions and organisations, the works neglect the process that atomise the workforce and its impact on solidarity.

### **Examining determinants of e-payment use in Indonesia: do trust and financial literacy matter?**

Umi Julaihah

Studies on technology acceptance have provided valuable insights for managers and authority on how people adopt and use such technology. This study aims to identify factors affecting user acceptance of electronic payment in Indonesia, especially debit cards, as the most commonly used form of electronic payment in this country. Although debit card use is rapidly increasing, the evidence shows that people still prefer to use debit card for cash withdrawals rather than direct purchasing. This study applies the Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use Technology (UTAUT) framework with some modifications to accommodate the financial sector's characteristics, such as incorporating trust and financial literacy. Security and religious beliefs are also incorporated as trust antecedence. Five hundred forty-one responses from the online survey were collected and analysed using Partial Least Square–Structural Equation Model (PLS-SEM). The findings show that trust became a crucial determinant for attitude toward using debit cards, followed by social influence and facilitating condition. In contrast, performance expectancy, effort expectancy and financial literacy did not significantly affect people's use of debit cards. The insignificant role of performance expectancy and effort expectancy could indicate that most respondents are experienced users, as they were already familiar with using debit cards.

### **Information technology and economic participation: the case of Indonesian small business owners with disability**

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Misita Anwar

The economic participation and well-being of people with disabilities are inherently paradoxical. While it is recognised that employment and work are enabling and that the ability to gain an income is empowering and even life-changing, the mainstream job market can be debilitating, exploiting, and reinforcing structural inequality and barriers for people with disabilities. This is the case with the Internet and in the digital economy, where the promise of technology to overcome social barriers exists alongside digital exclusion of people with disabilities whose online activities vary depending on their disability, digital skills, and socioeconomic conditions. Diversity model, the new model of disability is based on definitive acceptance of human diversity which is beyond the dichotomy concept of ability/disability (Palacios et.al, 2012). The model embraces the concept of 'functional diversity' as a much more meaningful and positive concept than 'disability'. The aim of this research is to explore ICT appropriation, particularly mobile devices by small business owners with disability. This research will incorporate this 'functional diversity' concept where the point of departure is that human beings are diverse in terms of their capability to function (Palacios et.al, 2012). This enhances the analysis and yields superior sensitivity, given that diverse functions (attained with the aid of ICT) are much more susceptible to being restricted or invalidated because the design of those ICTs renders them inaccessible, high cost or because of a lack of such technologies (Toboso, 2010). Preliminary findings show that ICT plays important role in assisting small business owners with day to day business operations but, more than that, the ICT characteristics used to convert other resources into capabilities could significantly alter the ways in which people with disability can achieve valuable goals for their well-being.

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## PANEL 7 F ISLAMIC POLITICS

The success of the Islam Defence Action movement, the increasing visibility of symbols associated with fundamentalist strands of Islam, and the mainstreaming of fringe Islamic figures and their hard-line views. These are just some of the recent developments which contribute to a growing concern about the rise of "conservative" Islam in Indonesia and its association with growing intolerance, sectarianism and even terrorism. However, the nature of so-called conservative Islam, its association with the resurgence of Islamic piety in society, its significance in electoral politics, its association with violent extremism, and even the terminology used to describe it are all hotly contested. To address these issues, this panel aims to bring together people studying different aspects of Islam and politics and initiate a conversation on the recent changes in the religious landscape of Indonesia.

### **Aksi Super Damai and the middle-class civilising mission**

Tzu-Chien Yen

Why did the people who participated in the Islam Defence Action (Aksi Bela Islam; Aksi) movement portray themselves as peace loving and tolerant? Indonesian society is deeply divided on their opinions of the Aksi. But a consensus lurks beneath the heated polarisation – it seems that even the protestors themselves deem it important to frame their movement as inherently peaceful, tolerant, and above all, orderly. After riots and disorder marred the Aksi 411, the movement began calling itself Aksi Damai, or peaceful action. Volunteers made a concerted effort to collect litter off the streets and protect plants from being trampled. This aspiration to be seen as peaceful and orderly stood in sharp contrast with emotional calls for jihad, revolution, regime change, and the occasional chants about killing Ahok. Based on the experiences of my informants who participated at the Aksi, I view these peace-projection efforts as an attempt to reconcile the tension between my informants' desire to be a part of the ummah (Muslim community) through the Aksi and their sense of uneasiness with its raucous heterogeneity. Their positionality as self-pietising middle-class Muslims and political neophytes took them to the streets where they were confronted with the unruliness which they had to both account for and manage. Through this analysis, I highlight the role of indeterminacy and ambiguity in the entanglement of politics and Islamic revival.

### **The place of Islam in Indonesian foreign policy in the post-Suharto era**

Ahmad Fuad Fanani

The place of Islam in Indonesian foreign policy in post-Suharto Indonesia is a new phenomenon similar to the promotion of democracy. In previous eras, Islam was marginalised in foreign policy making though its role was utilised in domestic politics. This reveals that there are dynamics and change in Indonesian foreign policy making in which Islamic voices are considered an asset in Indonesian diplomacy. This phenomenon confirms that Islam still plays a significant role in Indonesian politics although the votes for Islamic parties have declined significantly. This paper explains the role of Islam in Indonesian foreign policy during the SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) era. This paper argues that Islam influences Indonesia's foreign policy making as a result of the rise of political Islam during the post-Soeharto era and the international environment after the 9/11 attacks. Although its role is limited, Islam plays a greater role in SBY's foreign policy

making, particularly in the field of cultural diplomacy, conflict resolution, and maintenance of peace. This paper begins by examining the Islamic factor in domestic politics during SBY era. Then, it analyses several cases that reveal the influence of Islam in Indonesian foreign policy. This paper will also explain the limits that Indonesia faces when placing Islam in its foreign policy.

## **Family and terrorism: rethinking the role of the family in terrorism**

Haula Noor

In May 2018, three families in Surabaya, East Java, were involved in a series of suicide bombings. All were members of Jamaah Ansharud Daulah (JAD), the leading pro-Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) organisation in Indonesia. These attacks shocked Indonesians, including experienced jihadists, as it was the first time that entire families, including their children, had perished in coordinated jihadist operations. The Surabaya bombings sparked intense discussion in the community and among researchers about radicalisation within jihadist families. The role of these families and their children in the Surabaya bombings was unprecedented in the history of Indonesian jihadism. This paper asks: What factors influenced parents to ‘martyr’ their children in this operation? Did these bombings represent a new and more extreme form of jihadist operations in Indonesia? I will use a psycho-social approach to argue that the Surabaya bombings mark a sharp shift in parental notions of responsibility for their children’s welfare. These JAD parents were convinced that their children’s participation in the suicide bombing would help ISIS’ struggle and also ensure that they would enter heaven because of their virtuous actions.

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# CONTACT US

**ANU College of  
Asia and the Pacific**

9 Fellows Road  
Acton ACT 2601 Australia

T +61 2 6125 4289

E [partnerships.cap@anu.edu.au](mailto:partnerships.cap@anu.edu.au)

W [indonesiainstitute.anu.edu.au](http://indonesiainstitute.anu.edu.au)

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