

The University of Melbourne



Indonesia's Inequalities conference biographies and abstracts



SESSION 1

Day 1, Thursday, 1 November 2018

Ian Potter Auditorium

09:00 – 10:00AM

KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

Chair: **Mark Considine**

Provost, University of Melbourne

Keynote – The Causes and Consequences of Increasing Inequality in Indonesia: A Long-Term View

Asep Suryahadi

SMERU

Keynote – The Politics of Inequality: Opportunities for Engagement at the Local Level

Michele Ford

Sydney Southeast Asia Centre, University of Sydney

Asep Suryahadi

Abstract

The Causes and Consequences of Increasing Inequality in Indonesia: A Long-Term View

Measured by consumption per capita, inequality in Indonesia was stable at a relatively low level during the 1980s. It started to increase quickly during the early to mid-1990s, but began to decline at the end of the decade due to the Asian Financial Crisis. The recovery from the crisis was immediately followed by a resumption of an upward trend in inequality for about a decade. Since then, inequality has been stable at a relatively high level. This means that the search for the drivers of increasing inequality should focus on what was going on around the early 1990s. It is most likely that economic deregulation, which took place during the 1980s, caused a tightening of the labour market and that this in turn resulted in an increase in wages in the modern sector *vis-a-vis* the traditional sector. Experience shows that increasing inequality has serious repercussions for economic growth, poverty reduction, the potential for social conflict, crime rates, and other development outcomes.

Speaker's Bio

Dr. Asep Suryahadi has been the Director of The SMERU Research Institute in Jakarta, Indonesia, since 2009. From 2003 to 2009 he was the Deputy Director of Research at SMERU. Previously he worked for the Center for Policy and Implementation Studies (CPIS) and the World Bank (both in Jakarta). He serves as a member of the Editorial Board of the *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* (BIES) and the Advisory Board of the Indonesia Project (both at the ANU). He has written several articles on the issue of inequality in Indonesia, which can be found on SMERU's website (www.smeru.or.id). In addition, he is the author of numerous articles on development issues in Indonesia in peer-reviewed journals such as *Education Economics*, *Health Economics*, *Journal of Economic Behaviour and Organization*, *World Development*, *Journal of Development Economics*, and *Economic Development and Cultural Change*. He holds a doctoral degree in economics from the Australian National University.

Michele Ford

Abstract

The Politics of Inequality: Opportunities for Engagement at the Local Level

Most scholarly work on Indonesian politics rightly emphasises the ongoing influence of the very wealthy and the politically well-connected in the electoral arena nationally and at the local level. At the same time, however, an increased focus on the 'local' as a domain of political contestation, and in particular the introduction of direct district head elections, has created opportunities for grassroots engagement by less privileged groups. Using the example of organised labour, this paper explores the ways that this feature of Indonesia's electoral system has not only encouraged subaltern participation in formal politics, but also borne fruit in policy terms. The paper argues that trade unions' engagement in local politics demonstrates that—despite the very real challenges presented by elite influence and money politics—there are nevertheless far greater opportunities for electoral engagement by progressive social movement organizations now than in the past.

Speaker's Bio

Professor Michele Ford is the Director of the Sydney Southeast Asia Centre at the University of Sydney. Michele's research focuses Southeast Asian labour movements, labour migration and trade union aid. Michele is the author of *From Migrant to Worker: The Global Unions and Labor Migration in Asia* (Cornell ILR Press, in press) and *Workers and Intellectuals: NGOs, Trade Unions and the Indonesian Labour Movement* (NUS/Hawaii/KITLV 2009). She is the editor of *Social Activism in Southeast Asia* (Routledge 2013) and the co-editor of several volumes including *Beyond Oligarchy: Wealth, Power, and Contemporary Indonesian Politics* (Cornell SEAP 2014). In addition to her research work, Michele has engaged in extensive consultancy work for the international labour movement and the Australian government. She is currently a member of the Advisory Boards of the Indonesia Project (ANU), the Asia Research Institute (NUS) and the Global Asia Research Center (NTU).

SESSION 2

Day 1, Thursday, 1 November 2018

Ian Potter Auditorium

10:20AM – 12:00PM

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF INEQUALITY

Chair: [John Murphy](#)

School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne

Equality of Opportunity and Future Economic Mobility in Indonesia: Empirical Evidence from Longitudinal Data in IFLS1-5

[Teguh Dartanto](#)

Department of Economics, University of Indonesia

Women's Transitions in the Labour Market around Marriage and Childbearing

[Lisa Cameron](#)

Melbourne Institute: Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne

How New Digital Technologies Can Help to Reduce Inequality

[Vivi Alatas](#)

World Bank

The New World Values Survey of Indonesia: Illustrative Results and Collaborative Research Perspectives

[Erik Baekkeskov](#)

School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne

Teguh Dartanto

Abstract

Equality of Opportunity and Future Economic Mobility in Indonesia: Empirical Evidence from Longitudinal Data in IFLS1-5 (with Faizal Rahmanto Moeis)

This presentation has two objectives: 1) to map equality of opportunity in Indonesia and its progress during 1993-2014; and 2) to estimate the relationship between equality of opportunity in accessing education, health and future welfare mobility. Our analysis shows that although there was initially a huge gap between the rich and poor in access to health and education services, over the past two decades this gap has narrowed. Moreover, our econometric estimations confirm that education and health are important pathways to upper class status. For instance, if the lowest income group is able to access 6 years of education, the probability of moving out of poverty increases by 8 percentage points. These findings suggest that promoting equality of opportunity and narrowing the access gap (education and health for all) will significantly contribute to poverty alleviation and reduced income inequality.

Speaker's Bio

Teguh Dartanto is currently Head of the Department of Economics at the University of Indonesia. His expertise lies in poverty analysis, social protection, development economics, and health economics. His research has been published in journals such as *The Lancet* (forthcoming), *Energy Policy*, *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, *Singapore Economic Review*, *Journal of Southeast Asian Economies*, *Applied Economic Research*, and *Economics Bulletin*. He is actively engaged in research collaboration with domestic and international counterparts such as JPAL Southeast Asia, BPJS Kesehatan, BPJS Ketenagakerjaan, the Australian National University, Nagoya University, the ADB, UBC-Canada, ERIA, UNDP, JICA and the OECD. He was elected as an initial member of the Indonesian Young Academy of Sciences (*Akademi Ilmuwan Muda Indonesia*) and selected as a 2017 Eisenhower Fellow. Prior to that, he received a Monbukagakusho Scholarship to pursue his Master of Economics degree at Hitotsubashi University and then his PhD in International Development at Nagoya University.

Lisa Cameron

Abstract

Women's Transitions in the Labour Market around Marriage and Childbearing (with Diana Contreras Suarez)

We investigate how women's labour market experiences are affected by marriage and having children. We focus on transitions in and out of the labour market and examine how these transitions differ across industries, occupations and across the informal and formal sectors. We do this using the Indonesian Family Life Survey which allows us to follow the experience of thousands of women as they enter the labour market, get married and then have children. It has been hypothesised that women in the formal sector turn to informal work once they have children as this allows for more flexible time management and the ability to work at home. However, our ability to track women across time allows us to see that this is not the case. Very few women who were working in the formal sector take up self-employed work. In general, there is very little movement of women across sectors, industries and occupations. The work challenges Indonesian women face are similar to those experienced by women worldwide - that formal sector workplaces are set up in an inflexible fashion without women's needs and family responsibilities in mind. The policy implication of this finding is that, like elsewhere, formal sector employers need to take an active role in accommodating female workers' family responsibilities.

Speaker's Bio

Lisa Cameron is a Professorial Research Fellow at the Melbourne Institute: Applied Economic & Social Research at the University of Melbourne. She is an empirical development economist with two decades of experience conducting research on poverty alleviation and social policies in Indonesia and elsewhere. Much of her research focuses on policy evaluation - understanding the impacts and behavioural implications of public policy. Her research incorporates the techniques of experimental and behavioural economics to better understand human decision-making, and often focuses on marginalized groups, including women, the poor, people with a disability, sex-workers, and illicit drug users. Professor Cameron holds a PhD in Economics from Princeton University; is a member of the Economic Society of Australia's National Economic Panel of prominent economists; an affiliated professor at MIT's Poverty Action Lab (J-PAL); and a Fellow of the Australian Academy of Social Sciences.

Vivi Alatas

Abstract

How New Digital Technologies Can Help to Reduce Inequality

Are emerging digital technologies a blessing or a curse for addressing inequality in Indonesia? The emergence of innovative digital businesses could increase the gap between the connected and the unconnected. New disruptive technologies could create a “winner takes all” phenomenon, but at the same time it could offer new opportunities. To understand how the digital economy can reduce inequality, this presentation examines the drivers of inequality in Indonesia, the benefits digital technologies can offer in addressing inequalities and provides recommendations on what can be done.

Speaker's Bio

Vivi Alatas is the Lead Economist and Poverty Team Leader at the World Bank Office, Jakarta, where she has been working for the last 18 years after finishing her Ph.D. in Economics at Princeton University. She is leading the Poverty Team in providing technical assistance and analytical work on poverty issues in Indonesia. She is the task team leader for several major World Bank reports such as "Making Indonesia Work for the Poor", "Indonesia's Rising Divide" and the "Indonesia Jobs Report". She has written several papers on targeting, minimum wages, labour, the dynamics of income distribution, corruption, gender, social capital, poverty measurements, and poverty program evaluations.

Erik Baekkeskov

Abstract

The New World Values Survey of Indonesia: Illustrative Results and Collaborative Research Perspectives (with Robert Foa and Tim Gravelle)

This paper presents the new World Value Survey of Indonesia (WVSI). The 2018 WVSI has just been completed, led by a team of UoM researchers. The data set offers answers from a representative sample of 3200 respondents from across Indonesia on a series of questions about attitudes and opinions on socioeconomic and cultural issues. In this paper, we present the World Values Survey instrument and the new data set. We illustrate some potential uses of this rich data through tables and cross tabs with demographic and regional characteristics on attitudes toward inequality, socioeconomic positions, private-public relations, democracy, and more. The new data offers opportunities for future collaborative research within UoM on Indonesia or that compares Indonesia with other contexts.

Speaker's Bio

Erik Baekkeskov is Senior Lecturer in Public Policy and Political Science in The University of Melbourne's School of Social and Political Sciences. He holds a BA in Social Studies from Harvard University and a PhD in Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley. He has published on public policy-making and government reforms, in journals such as *Disasters*, *Governance*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Policy Sciences*, and *Public Administration*. His research has been supported by university awards and competitive grants from the Australian Research Council, the National Science Foundation, and the Independent Research Fund Denmark.

LUNCH SESSION

Day 1, Thursday, 1 November 2018

Ian Potter Auditorium

12:00 – 1:00PM

**ADDRESSING SOCIAL EXCLUSION: FILMS THAT RECOLLECT
WOMEN AT THE MARGINS OF INDONESIAN HISTORY**

Kate McGregor

School of Historical and Philosophical Studies

Jemma Purdey

University of Melbourne; Australia-Indonesia Centre

Lily Yulianti Farid

Rumata' Artspace

Films

Abstract

The Unremembered

Director: Ika Mahardika,
Executive Producers: Lily Yulianti Farid and Riri Riza,
Producer/Researcher: Shinta Febriany.

The Unremembered follows the story of Salawati Daud, a member of *Gerwani*, feminist, activist, female journalist and the first mayor of Makassar whose name was deleted from history.

Daily Bread

Director: Ruby Challenger,
Producer: Ruby Challenger
Screenwriter: Ruby Challenger, Ella Carey, Jonathan Wald
Principal Cast: Ruby Challenger, Nobuaki Shimamoto

In a prisoner of war camp in Indonesia, Dutch women and children face a daily struggle against abuse and starvation. Meanwhile, the Camp Commandant's white cat is fed meat.

Speaker's Bio

Kate McGregor

Kate McGregor is an historian of Indonesia with research specializations on memory and violence, transnational activism and the Cold War. She completed a Future Fellowship on the topic "Confronting Historical Injustice in Indonesia: Memory and Transnational Activism" in January this year and is currently Head of the History Program.

Jemma Purdey

Jemma Purdey is director of the *ReelOzInd! Australia Indonesia Short Film Competition and Festival*, a program of the Australia-Indonesia Centre. Her research interests include biography, human rights and the Australia-Indonesia relationship.

Lily Yulianti Farid

Lily Yulianti Farid is a short story writer, journalist, translator and researcher and event producer. She holds a PhD and MA in gender studies (the University of Melbourne). She is the founder/director of Makassar International Writers Festival and co-founder/co-director of *Rumata' Artspace*.

SESSION 3

Day 1, Thursday, 1 November 2018

Ian Potter Auditorium

1:00 – 2:30PM

INEQUALITY IN INDONESIA AND ITS POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

Chair: **Ken Setiawan**

Asia Institute, University of Melbourne

Islam and the Politics of Inequality in Indonesia

Vedi Hadiz

Asia Institute, University of Melbourne

Inequality, Oligarchy and Australia's Relations with Indonesia

Richard Robison

Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University

The Political Implications of Economic Inequality in Indonesia

Eve Warburton

ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute

Vedi Hadiz

Abstract

Islam and the Politics of Inequality in Indonesia

The fall of Ahok in 2017 amidst mass protests against his alleged commitment of blasphemy has been put forward as proof of the growing influence of Islamic politics in Indonesia. Indeed, these protests involved the mobilisation of hundreds of thousands, if not more, of Indonesians who all seemed united by the aim of ensuring that the ethnic Chinese politician and then-governor of Jakarta was punished for a comment on a particular Koranic verse deemed offensive to Muslims. It has been proposed by some analysts that the strategy deployed against Ahok would be tried against President Jokowi in the presidential election of 2019, given his lack of religious credentials and the coalition of political parties surrounding him – he was presented as having the backing of most of the largest of the ethnic-Chinese owned conglomerates in Indonesia. The latter constitute the ultimate symbol, for many, of the social injustice that continues to be endemic in Indonesian society in spite of twenty years of democracy – their wealth being juxtaposed against the relative poverty of the majority of ‘pribumi’ and “Muslim’ Indonesians. Jokowi has recently attempted to pre-empt religiously-tinged attacks against him by co-opting a senior conservative religious cleric, who was a major player in the anti-Ahok protests, leading to speculation that the debate in the Indonesian presidential elections will now shift to economic issues from religious ones. However, this overlooks the way that economic and religious issues have come to be closely intertwined within Indonesian democracy, especially when they converge in the matter of social inequalities. The related expectation that economic nationalist debates will overtake those focussed on issues of piety or morality also overlooks the main conflict in Indonesian politics, which is not between nationalism and Islamism but between competing oligarchic factions that can utilise the cultural resource pools made available by both.

Speaker's Bio

Vedi Hadiz is (incoming) Director of the Asia Institute and an Assistant Deputy Vice-Chancellor International, University of Melbourne. He was previously Professor of Asian Societies and Politics at Murdoch University's Asia Research Centre and Director of its Indonesia Research Programme. He has been an Australian Research Council Future Fellow and an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at the National University of Singapore. His research interests revolve around political sociology and political economy issues in Indonesia, Southeast Asia and the Middle East. He is a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. He has been a Visiting Scholar in the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences in France, the International Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands, the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies in the University of Kyoto, the Indian Institute of Technology in Delhi and the Department of Sociology in the University of Indonesia, where he is an Adjunct Professor. His latest book is *Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East* (Cambridge University Press 2016)

Richard Robison

Abstract

Inequality, Oligarchy and Australia's Relations with Indonesia

Australia's engagement with Indonesia is increasingly defined in security terms as China extends its strategic and economic influence into Southeast Asia and Australian foreign policy-makers watch the growing influence of 'terrorism and extremist ideas' in countries like the Philippines and Indonesia. For the past five decades, though, the engagement was seen as a technocratic or an economic project aimed at boosting economic growth and efficiency and replacing entrenched systems of state capitalism and economic nationalism with a new world of market ideas and institutions. The unintended consequence of this has been a vast concentration of wealth and power in the hands of political and business oligarchies and their expropriation of public authority. This means a lot for Australia if growing inequality and marginalisation leads to a political retreat into autocratic or religious populism. There are no easy institutional or technical fixes (building good governance or social capital).

Speaker's Bio

Richard Robison is a political economist who has written extensively about the politics of markets, neoliberalism, authoritarianism and oligarchy, especially in relation to Indonesia. His most important books include, *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital* and *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets* (with Vedi Hadiz). He has published in leading academic journals, including *World Politics*, *World Development*, *New Political Economy*, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *International Political Science Review* and *Pacific Review*. He is a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences Australia and Emeritus Professor at the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University. He has been previously Professor of Political Economy, Institute of Social Studies (Erasmus University), The Hague, Netherlands, and Director of the Australia Research Council's Special Research Centre for Social and Political Change in Asia. He is currently writing a political economy of Australia's foreign policy engagement with Southeast Asia.

Eve Warburton

Abstract

The Political Implications of Economic Inequality in Indonesia

Indonesia is one of the world's most economically unequal countries. But does economic inequality matter politically? Has the rising gap between the rich and the poor had consequences for Indonesians' political preferences and their support for democracy? There's a large comparative literature on the negative political effects of inequality, in which some analysts argue that increasing wealth disparity – or at least *perceptions* of wealth disparity – erodes trust in democratic institutions, makes voters vulnerable to populist appeals, and ultimately threatens democratic stability. Do such arguments resonate with the Indonesian case? Inequality has increased sharply over the past two decades, and various surveys suggest Indonesians are dissatisfied with high levels of income disparity. Since 2014, problems of economic distribution have also been taken up and politicised by populist politicians and religious figures, some of whom frame inequality in ethno-religious and sectarian terms. This paper uses longitudinal polling data on perceptions of economic distribution to examine how Indonesian voters view inequality, who cares most and why, and whether anxiety about inequality predicts scepticism or hostility toward core democratic institutions and liberal principles, as some scholars predict.

Speaker's Bio

Eve Warburton is a Visiting Fellow at ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute. She received her PhD in 2018 from the Department of Political and Social Change, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, Australian National University. Her research focuses broadly on the politics and political economy of Indonesia, and Southeast Asia more generally. Eve's work has been published in the *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, *Southeast Asia Research*, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, *New Mandala*, *The Lowy Institute*, and *East Asia Forum*, as well as in several edited book volumes. Eve's analysis on Indonesian current affairs appears regularly in the media, including the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, ABC, and the *Financial Review*.

SESSION 4

Day 1, Thursday, 1 November 2018

Ian Potter Auditorium

2:30 – 3:50PM

INEQUALITIES OF PARTICIPATION/REPRESENTATION 1

Chair: **Dave McRae**

Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne

Representative Politics: Who Participates?

Edward Aspinall

Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, Australian National University

Elections and Inequality

Titi Anggraini

Perludem

The Contours of Populism in Indonesia

Diego Fossati

Griffith Asia Institute and the Centre for Governance and Public Policy, Griffith University

Edward Aspinall

Abstract

Representative Politics: Who Participates?

This paper begins by analysing the socioeconomic backgrounds and views of members of Indonesia's political class. It does so by presenting new data, derived from surveys of provincial parliamentarians, which highlight the elite social origins of that class, and significant gaps between their political views and those of the majority of the population. To explain these findings, the paper explores the two modes of political incorporation of poor Indonesians which have come to typify the Indonesian pattern in the absence of programmatic politics. These are, first, the dominant clientelistic pattern – which is founded on unequal, hierarchical and personalised relationships and incorporates poor Indonesians through an exchange of political support for particularistic material benefits – and, second, a sporadic and fragmented mode of social-movement activism which both supplements and is intertwined with clientelism. Both modes of incorporation tend to empower intermediate layers of brokers and political operators, rather than poor Indonesians.

Speaker's Bio

Professor Edward Aspinall is a specialist in the politics of Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia. He has authored two books, *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance and Regime Change in Indonesia* (2005) and *Islam and Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia* (2009) and has co-edited a further ten, most recently *Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia: Money Politics, Patronage and Clientelism at the Grassroots* (2016) and *The Yudhoyono Presidency: Indonesia's Decade of Stability and Stagnation* (2015). A co-authored book with Ward Berenschot (KITLV, Leiden) on vote buying and related forms of clientelistic politics in Indonesia is forthcoming with Cornell University Press. He co-edits two book series, the Southeast Asia Publication Series for the Asian Studies Association of Australia, and a new "Elements" series on Southeast Asia for Cambridge University Press. Professor Aspinall is based at the Department of Political and Social Change, Coral Bell School of Asia-Pacific Affairs, Australian National University.

Titi Anggraini

Abstract

TBC

Speaker's Bio

Titi Anggraini holds her Masters of Law from the Faculty of Law University of Indonesia majoring in constitutional law in 2005. She is currently the Executive Director of the Association for Elections and Democracy or *Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi* (PERLUDEM), an NGO engaged in the research and advocacy of elections and democracy in Indonesia. Titi previously was a Member of the Elections Supervisory Committee at the central level for the 1999 general election. She also worked at the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) 2003-2004 and the Democratic Reform Support Program (DRSP RTI-USAID Program) in 2006. In 2006-2008 Titi worked with Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Body for Aceh-Nias or BRR Aceh-Nias in managing legislative strengthening program at the tsunami affected areas throughout Aceh-Nias. In the 2004 election, Titi was appointed the Coordinator of Report of Complaint Division of Election Supervisory Committee at the central level, and in the 2009 elections Titi was appointed as the Coordinator of the Expert Team of the Election Supervisory Body or BAWASLU.

Diego Fossati

Abstract

The Contours of Populism in Indonesia

According to some analysts, Indonesian democracy has been deteriorating in recent years, mainly because of increasing intolerance towards ethnic and religious minorities in this diverse country. This paper focuses on a related trend in Indonesian politics and society, namely the emergence of a populist political discourse similar to that observed in other democracies. In Indonesia, like elsewhere, rising nativism and increasing support for authoritarian values appear to be intertwined with a narrative that contrasts virtuous people with corrupt elites. However, the nature of populist sentiments and the degree to which they overlap with ethnocentrism, religious fundamentalism or support for authoritarianism is unclear. This paper analyzes an original survey of the Indonesian population in which populist attitudes are rigorously measured with indicators used in comparative research. I test the extent to which “populism” resonates with Indonesian citizens as a coherent set of political attitudes, and I investigate if populist attitudes are linked with authoritarianism, ethnocentric views, conceptions of national identity, religious piety, policy preferences and evaluations of economic conditions. Results help to clarify if, and to what extent, the rise of populism constitutes a threat to liberal democracy in Indonesia.

Speaker's Bio

Diego Fossati is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Griffith Asia Institute and the Centre for Governance and Public Policy at Griffith University in Brisbane, Australia, and an Associate Fellow at the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute in Singapore. He works on democratization, political behaviour and identity politics in young democracies, with an empirical focus on Indonesia and Southeast Asia. He was trained in political science at Cornell University, where he completed doctoral studies in 2016. His work has been published in international peer-reviewed journals such as *World Development*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, and *Contemporary Southeast Asia*.

PARALLEL SESSION

SESSION 5A

Day 1, Thursday, 1 November 2018
Collaborative Learning Space 263, Old Arts
4.10 – 5:30PM

INEQUALITY AND CONFLICT

Chair: **Kate McGregor**

School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne

Inequality and Conflict in Post-Soeharto Indonesia

Zulfan Tadjoeidin

Development Studies, Western Sydney University

How Do Inequalities Fuel the Conflict in Papua?

Richard Chauvel

Asia Institute, University of Melbourne

Debating the Link Between Land Inequality and Conflict in Indonesia

Suraya Afiff

Department of Anthropology, University of Indonesia

Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeddin

Abstract

Inequality and Conflict in Post-Soeharto Indonesia (with Athia Yumna, Sarah E. Gultom, M. Fajar Rakhmadi, M. Firman Hidayat, and Asep Suryahadi)

Economic inequality in post-Soeharto Indonesia was on the rise and reached a record high level of 0.41 measured by the Gini index of household consumption expenditure. That level of inequality stayed for a few years and has slightly declined in recent years. Aside from the more familiar economic implications, the issue of rising inequality is also socially and politically important as it may harm societal stability, especially in a large, diverse and young democracy plagued by widespread poverty and vulnerability amid rising expectations. This study finds empirical support for the violence-increasing effects of higher inequality across districts in provinces previously considered 'high conflict' regions. The result is robust after controlling for province and time effects, ethnic and religious fractionalizations and a series of usual determinants of violence, as well as across different measures of violence. This new evidence implies that it is important to include measures to tackle inequality as an explicit focus in the development agenda.

Speaker's Bio

Dr Zulfan Tadjoeddin is Director of Academic Programs - Humanitarian and Development Studies and Senior Lecturer in Development Studies at the Western Sydney University. He has had visiting research appointments at Queen Elizabeth House (QEH), University of Oxford (UK) and at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), Erasmus University Rotterdam (The Netherlands). His areas of research include the political economy of development, employment and the labour market as well as poverty and inequality. His first book titled *Explaining Collective Violence in Contemporary Indonesia: From Conflict to Cooperation* was published by Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. His second, *Employment and Reindustrialisation in Post Soeharto Indonesia* was also published by Palgrave in 2018. His articles have appeared in leading academic journals such as *Journal of Development Studies*, *Oxford Development Studies*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *Journal of International Development*, *Economic and Labour Relations Review* and *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy*. He has consulted for the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and various UN agencies such as ILO, UNDP and UNICEF.

Richard Chauvel

Abstract

How do Inequalities Fuel the Conflicts in Papua?

Papua is the last and most intractable regional conflict in Indonesia. The contemporary conflict has its roots in the way Papua was integrated into Indonesia during the 1960s, the heavy dependence of 'security' approaches in the governance of Papua and the demographic transformation that has accompanied Indonesian rule. This paper will examine how inequalities have fuelled the conflict. The Papuan provinces represent a paradox of resource wealth and subsistence poverty. Measured by GRP per capita, West Papua and Papua are the fifth and sixth wealthiest provinces, while on the HDI scale they are the two poorest. The economy of the urban coastal areas, like *Jayapura* and *Sorong*, is dominated by Indonesian settlers. The predominantly Papuan subsistence economy regions of the highlands have HDI scores 30 below that of *Jayapura* and *Sorong*. The paper will argue the exploitation of Papua's resource wealth and the economic marginalisation of Papuans are key factors fuelling Papuan nationalism.

Speaker's Bio

Dr. Richard Chauvel is an Honorary Fellow at the Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne. Prior to joining the Asia Institute, he had taught at the Universities of Indonesia and Sydney as well as Victoria University. His research has focused on political and social change in eastern Indonesia, particularly in Maluku and Papua, together with Australia-Indonesia relations. His publications include a study of the revolt of the Republic of the South Moluccas, *Nationalist, Soldiers and Separatists: The Ambonese Islands from Colonialism to Revolt, 1880-1950*, two volumes of essays on Papua, *The Land of Papua and the Indonesia State*, together with two policy papers for the East-West Center Washington: *The Papua Conflict: Jakarta's Perceptions and Policies* (with Ikrar Nusa Bhakti) and *Constructing Papuan Nationalism: History, Ethnicity and Adaption*. He was a member of the Australia Awards Joint Selection Committee for Indonesia, 2007-2013, 2016, 2018.

Suraya Afiff

Abstract

Debating the Link Between Land Inequality and Conflict in Indonesia

Although scholars argue that the relationship between landownership inequality and violent conflicts is very conditional, drawing from a number of studies about widespread local land conflicts in rural Indonesia (including my own research), inequality and insecurity of tenure experienced by rural communities can be one condition among other factors that influence (violent) conflicts. Therefore, in the context of Indonesia, government policy to address land ownership and access inequalities to land and community tenure insecurity are an important intervention to reduce one of the potential sources for violent conflicts. Unfortunately, Indonesia government policy has not been coherent. Conflicting development agendas and policies exist. On the one hand, the Jokowi government implemented agrarian reform policy consisting of redistribution of assets and access, but on the other hand, it failed to alter large-scale land acquisitions and ownership for private companies, one of the important sources of inequality in Indonesia.

Speaker's Bio

Suraya Afiff obtained her Ph.D. degree in Environmental Science, Policy and Management from the University of California, at Berkeley. Upon returning to Indonesia, since 2005 she has been teaching at the University of Indonesia in the Department of Anthropology. Prior to study abroad, she had been involved in the Indonesia Forum for the Environment (WALHI), one of the major environmental groups in Indonesia. She continues her activism activities advocating for environmental justice for the rural poor and vulnerable groups in Indonesia. Her research focuses on agrarian and environmental politics. She has written a number of articles publishing in journals such as the *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *Journal of Agrarian Change*, *Sustainability*, *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*. She is also currently the Faculty of Arts Asian Scholar at the University of Melbourne.

PARALLEL SESSION

SESSION 5B

Day 1, Thursday 1 November 2018

North Lecture Theatre, Old Arts

4:10 – 5:30PM

INEQUALITIES OF PARTICIPATION/REPRESENTATION 2

Chair: [Vedi Hadiz](#)

Asia Institute, University of Melbourne

Access to Electoral Politics and Policy-Making: The Case of Academics

[Dave McRae](#)

Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne

Polling, Equality and Deliberation in Indonesia

[Dirk Tomsa](#)

Department of Politics and Philosophy, La Trobe University

Spatial Inequality, Housing Rights, and Urban Poor Movement in Jakarta

[Amalinda Savirani](#)

Department of Politics and Government, Gadjah Mada University

Dave McRae

Abstract

Access to Electoral Politics and Policy-Making: The Case of Academics (with Robertus Robet)

Increasingly, academics are playing a prominent role in direct elections for executive office in Indonesia, making them the latest group of reform-minded actors to seek access to a political sphere still dominated by entrenched interests. Typically, academics act as expert advisors or informal members of candidates' campaign teams, but also occasionally as candidates. This paper assesses the influence of politically-involved academics on the trajectory of political reform in Indonesia, focusing on the 2014 Indonesian presidential election and 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial elections as case studies. We assess both the impact of politically involved academics on electoral outcomes and government policy as well as the consequences of their political involvement for their profession. We treat academics separately to civil society activists, because many academics are public servants and so face distinct formal barriers to political involvement, and because academics do not self-evidently possess an agenda to advance.

Speaker's Bio

Dr Dave McRae is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Melbourne's Asia Institute. His research interests include contemporary Indonesian politics, Indonesian foreign policy and Australia-Indonesia relations. He is author of *A Few Poorly Organized Men: Interreligious Violence in Poso, Indonesia* (2013), translator of Solahudin's *The Roots of Terrorism in Indonesia* (2013) and editor, with Tim Lindsey, of *Strangers Next Door? Indonesia and Australia in the Asian Century* (2018). He is co-founder of the *Indonesia At Melbourne* blog, and founder and co-host of the *Talking Indonesia* podcast. Previously, he has worked for the Lowy Institute, the World Bank and the International Crisis Group.

Dirk Tomsa

Abstract

Polling, Equality and Deliberation in Indonesia

Public opinion surveys and exit polls have been an essential part of Indonesian politics for more than a decade now. Theoretically, the rise of pollsters should add a new dimension of equality to the political process as random sampling should ensure that equal consideration is given to everyone's political preferences. But heavy fragmentation within the industry has posed challenges to the credibility of the industry as ethical and methodological standards vary. This paper examines some of these challenges against the background of Indonesia's recent democratic backsliding. Focusing not only on the pollsters' much-debated role during election campaigns, but also their ability to shape public opinion on key policy issues, the paper analyses to what extent the centrality of pollsters in Indonesian politics has contributed to the declining quality of democracy, especially in regards to key pillars of democracy such as equality and participation.

Speaker's Bio

Dirk Tomsa is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Politics and Philosophy at La Trobe University, Melbourne. His main research interests include electoral and party politics in Indonesia as well as comparative Southeast Asian politics. Dirk has published extensively in peer-reviewed journals such as *Political Research Quarterly*, *International Political Science Review*, *Journal of East Asian Studies* and *South East Asia Research*, while his book *Party Politics and Democratization in Indonesia: Golkar in the post-Suharto era* was published by Routledge in 2008. He is also the co-editor of two volumes on Indonesian and Southeast Asian politics.

Amalinda Savirani

Abstract

Spatial Inequality, Housing Rights, and the Urban Poor Movement in Jakarta

Poverty rates and inequality in urban settings are generally lower than in rural areas, but scholars suggest that poverty in urban areas involves more indicators than in rural areas (Baharaoglu and Kessides 2002). This result means that being poor in an urban area is technically more difficult than in rural areas. Inequality in the urban context has its roots in spatial inequality. Due to spatial inequality the urban poor are vulnerable to 1) evictions because they live in informal settlements, such as *kampungs*. Between 2015-2016, more than 6,000 families were evicted (LBH Jakarta 2016); and 2) relocated far from the city centre, as happens in vertical social housing (*rusunawa*) that the government provides. The urban poor community in Jakarta responds to spatial inequality (especially on issue of housing insecurity) by consolidating themselves and establish a political deal (“political contract”) with Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno, one of candidates in 2016 Jakarta’s election. Their political promises are now in the process of being implemented. Regardless, economic inequality in the urban context, reflected in inequality of housing rights, has paved a way for stronger organization among poor community in Jakarta.

Speaker’s Bio

Amalinda Savirani is a Lecturer at Department of Politics and Government, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia. She is also Head of Department (2016-2020). Her research interests are on social movements in the context of urban and labour politics, particularly their linkages to political institutions. She was a Visiting Fellow at the Department of Politics and Social Change, Australian National University, Australia (2017-2018). Her recent publications are “Adversarial Linkage: The Urban Poor and Electoral Politics in Jakarta”, *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 36, 3, 3–34 (co-authored with Edward Aspinall, 2018); “Distance Matters: The Spatial Politics of Social Housing (Rusunawa) in Jakarta, in *Inside Indonesia* (April 2018), “Juggling While Claiming Rights: Urban poor Community Claiming Rights in North Jakarta”, in Stokke, K, and Hiariej, E (eds) *Popular Citizenship in Indonesia* (2017), and together with Olle Törnquist, she edited a book titled “Reclaiming the State: Overcoming Problems of Democracy in Post-Soeharto Indonesia” (2015).

PARALLEL SESSION

SESSION 5C

Day 1, Thursday, 1 November 2018
Collaborative Learning Space 257, Old Arts
4:10 – 5:30PM

INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATION

Chair: **Andrew Rosser**
Asia Institute, University of Melbourne

Learning Gaps in Indonesia: Magnitude and Long-term Trends
Daniel Suryadarma
SMERU

Education is the Kindling of a Flame: How do We Ignite the Motivations of High-achieving Students into Teaching?
Anne Suryani
Melbourne Graduate School of Education, University of Melbourne

ASEAN and the Right to Post-secondary Education
Avery Poole
Melbourne School of Government, University of Melbourne

Daniel Suryadarma

Abstract

Learning Gaps in Indonesia: Magnitude and Long-term Trends

Indonesia has been successful in increasing access to schooling. Primary school completion is practically universal, and the gap in grade nine completion rates between children from the poorest 20 percent of households and the richest 20 percent has declined from 50 percentage points to 30 percentage points between 1993 and 2009. The gap in grade 12 completion rates, while still large, has also narrowed. In this presentation, I focus on the learning gap, specifically in mathematics, using a nationally representative longitudinal data that spans 14 years. In addition to measuring the gap between children from different socioeconomic backgrounds, I also consider the gap between males and females, and between different regions in Indonesia.

Speaker's Bio

Dr. Daniel Suryadarma is the Deputy Team Leader for the RISE Programme in Indonesia, a five-year education research program managed by the SMERU Research Institute. He conducts applied economics research in the areas of education, poverty and social policy. His work has appeared in peer-reviewed journals, including *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* and *Journal of Development Economics*. His research has informed policy discussions at the Indonesian Vice President's Office, Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, Australian Aid Program, and the World Bank. He is also an Honorary Lecturer at the Australian National University, a member of the expert roster at the International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie), and an Assessor for the Australian Research Council. Previously, he has held positions at the Palladium Group, Center for International Forestry Research, and the Australian National University. Daniel has a doctorate in economics from the Australian National University.

Anne Suryani

Abstract

Education is the Kindling of a Flame: How do we Ignite the Motivations of High-achieving Students into Teaching?

Indonesia manages one of the most diverse education systems in the world, the fourth-largest, with approximately 50 million students. Over three million teachers are employed in more than 300,000 schools located in 34 provinces (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017). To improve teacher quality, it is crucial that high quality teachers be equally distributed to rural and remote areas and only the highest quality candidates become teachers. This is achievable by developing policies that attract and retain motivated and skilled people to teaching. Building on data from a study of 802 final year undergraduate students, the presentation discusses Indonesian students' motivations to enter teacher education, perceptions of teaching as a career, career aspirations, and the extent to which their motivations influence their professional engagement and career development aspirations. This study contributes to the literature on teacher motivations which is limited in the Indonesian context.

Speaker's Bio

Anne Suryani is currently a Research Fellow at the Centre for Vocational and Educational Policy, Melbourne Graduate School of Education, The University of Melbourne. She holds a PhD in Educational Psychology from Monash University and was awarded the Mollie Holman Doctoral Medal for outstanding contribution to PhD research in 2014. Anne has been working on a number of educational projects in Australia and Indonesia focusing on teacher motivation, teacher education, assessment and curriculum. She has received a number of awards, scholarships and grants from international institutions for her research, publications, and professional developments.

Avery Poole

Abstract

ASEAN and the Right to Post-Secondary Education

The right to education is one of several socio-economic rights that ASEAN member states have agreed to 'take steps' to realise. The 2012 ASEAN Human Rights Declaration asserts that 'Every person has the right to education'. It then states that technical and vocational education shall be 'made generally available', and that higher education shall be 'equally accessible to all on the basis of merit'. To what extent have these declarations, and initiatives such as the ASEAN University Network, led to greater fulfilment of the right to post-secondary education in the region? What are the implications for work opportunities and standards of living? And given the socio-economic diversity in Southeast Asia, is a regional approach to enhancing the rights to post-secondary education possible? This paper explores these questions with particular reference to Indonesia – a key member of ASEAN and the country with the fourth largest education system in the world.

Speaker's Bio

Dr Avery Poole is the Assistant Director of the Melbourne School of Government. Her research explores institutional change in regional organisations, particularly ASEAN; conceptualisations of democracy and governance in Australia and Southeast Asian states; and Australian engagement with Southeast Asia and the Indo-Pacific region. She has published various journal articles on these topics and is the co-editor (with Dr Sara Bice and Professor Helen Sullivan) of the volume *Public Policy in the 'Asian Century': Concepts, Cases and Futures*. Avery was a Lecturer in International Relations in the School of Social and Political Sciences at The University of Melbourne from 2011-2016, teaching in the areas of international governance, international human rights and Southeast Asian regionalism. She completed her PhD at The University of British Columbia in Canada.

PLENARY SESSION

SESSION 6

Day 2, Friday, 2 November 2018

Ian Potter Auditorium

08:30 – 10:10AM

SOCIAL POLICY: ADDRESSING INDONESIA'S INEQUALITIES?

Chair: **Azad Singh Bali**

School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne

Indonesian Social Security in Comparative Perspective

John Murphy

School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne

Social Security Coverage for Workers in Indonesia: Challenges and the Way Forward

Falik Isbah

Department of Sociology, Gadjah Mada University

Employment Services Delivery: A Study in Decentralised Indonesia

Phuc Nguyen

La Trobe Business School, La Trobe University

Which Diaspora? Whose Development? The Political Economy of Diaspora Engagement in Indonesia

Andrew Rosser

Asia Institute, University of Melbourne

John Murphy

Abstract

Indonesian Social Policy in Comparative Perspective

Indonesia has recently embarked on an ambitious initiative to extend social security to over 250 million citizens. The National Social Security System (SJSN) aspires to universal health insurance, pensions, old-age savings and occupational benefits such as employment injury protection. This article surveys the successive layers of policy development since the 1960s, in pensions and health benefits for the elites, and then in social protection programs targeted to the poor. Clarifying the nature of prior developments helps understand the challenges facing the SJSN, and the residue of path dependency and vested interests. These initiatives are assessed in terms of welfare regimes literature, as a useful interpretative tool rather than in the expectation that Indonesian developments fit the often-rigid categories of welfare typologies.

Speaker's Bio

John Murphy teaches and researches Australian politics and history, and comparative social policy history, with a developing focus on Indonesian social protection. He has expertise in social policy, examined historically and comparatively. He has published research on Australian social, political and policy history, public narratives about welfare, masculinity and nation, and memory, historiography and biography. He previously taught at RMIT University where he was Director of the Centre for Applied Social Research. In the Faculty of Arts at Melbourne, he was previously the Associate Dean (Research and Research Training), Assistant Dean for the PhD Program, Acting Dean, and is currently Deputy Dean.

M. Falikul Isbah

Abstract

Social Security Coverage for Workers in Indonesia: Challenges and the Way Forward

Social security is a policy concept that rests on three pillars: health cover, social assistance, and social insurance. In 2014, Indonesia transformed the design of its social security system by reformulating existing providing agencies and their programs toward universal coverage. *BPJS Kesehatan* (Social Security Agency for Health Cover) was assigned to deliver universal health cover. *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan* (Social Security Agency for Workers) was assigned to deliver work-related benefits and pensions and the Ministry of Social Affairs continued to handle social assistance. This talk will examine how *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan* has gone so far. What are the challenges and the ways to move forward? While the country now has a population of 257.9 million people and a labour force of 125.4 million people, 117 million of them are in agriculture as well as the informal sector. The current membership of this scheme has reached only 24 million people (as at May 2018). In the context of this employment landscape, *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan* cannot focus on workers in the formal sector only. Instead, it has to pursue strategies to attract members from all employment streams. The challenges are found in fragmented policies and support from different government bodies, low public literacy on insurance, dilemmas related to low enforcement between business sustainability and compulsory social security registration of workers, and some organisational and managerial limitations.

Speaker's Bio

M Falikul Isbah is a Lecturer in the Department of Sociology at Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Among his research interests are issues of employment and social security, the digital economy, and the role of religion in development initiatives. Funded by the Faculty of Social and Political Science of UGM, he is currently researching the nature of work among drivers in the on-demand transportation sector in Indonesia.

Phuc Nguyen

Abstract

Employment Services Delivery: A Study in Decentralised Indonesia (with Mark Considine and Siobhan O'Sullivan)

Indonesia ratified ILO Convention No. 88 of 1948 in 2002, which commits to free provision of public employment services for citizens. Despite unavailability of any kinds of unemployment benefits or unemployment insurance, Indonesian jobseekers are entitled to different employment services provided by the central and local governments. Examples include free online and face-to-face matching services, training services and job fairs. Jobseekers also receive support in placement services, which are however, currently limited to the formal economy only. While the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration has the authority and responsibility to develop and supervise employment services and labour market information systems, with decentralisation in place, the responsibility for the management of labour market information systems is shared between the central and local governments. Specifically, the latter (i.e. provinces and districts) enjoy a certain level of autonomy in terms of service delivery, which explains diverse service delivery practices observed. No sign of service delivery privatisation has materialised; however, private providers, in addition to their traditional fee-based services, were found to be active in government-funded employment services provision via for instance, direct sub-contracting relationships with local governments and/or tendering a contract for training services with the central government.

Speaker's Bio

Dr. Phuc Nguyen is a lecturer at La Trobe University. Phuc's research interests include the welfare state, especially the delivery of employment services; and supply chain sustainability. She has published three book chapters and several journal articles in *Public Management Review*, *Journal of Social Policy and Administration*, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *Third Sector Review*, *Australian Political Asia Pacific Management Review* and *Asia Pacific Journal of Marketing and Logistics*.

Andrew Rosser

Abstract

Which Diaspora? Whose Development? The Political Economy of Diaspora Engagement in Indonesia

In recent years, the Indonesian Diaspora Network and other similar organisations have drawn public attention to the Indonesian diaspora's role in promoting economic development and reducing poverty and inequality in Indonesia and its willingness to contribute further in this respect. At the same time, they have pushed for changes to Indonesian law that they believe will help to realise the diaspora's potential in these respects. These have included the introduction of dual citizenship and the establishment of a special electorate for the diaspora. In response, the Indonesian government has introduced a 'Diaspora Card' recognising diaspora members' connection to the homeland but providing few if any real benefits. At the same time, it has balked at introducing dual citizenship and establishing a special electorate for the diaspora. This presentation examines the political dynamics surrounding this response and its implications for efforts to reduce poverty and inequality in Indonesia.

Speaker's Bio

Andrew Rosser is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Melbourne. His research focuses on the political economy of development in Indonesia with a particular focus on education, health, economic policy, and, most recently, migration and the diaspora. In addition to the University of Melbourne, he has worked at the University of Sydney, AusAID, the Institute of Development Studies (Sussex), and the University of Adelaide. Between 2012 and 2015, he was an Australian Research Council Future Fellow. He has carried out commissioned research projects for and/or acted as a consultant to numerous international development organisations including the World Bank, the UK's Department for International Development, AusAID/DFAT, the OECD, Oxfam, UNRISD, and UNDP.

PARALLEL SESSIONS

SESSION 7A

Day 2, Friday, 2 November 2018

North Lecture Theatre, Old Arts

10:40 – 12:20PM

VULNERABILITY, JUSTICE, AND INEQUALITY

Chair: [Kate McGregor](#)

School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, University of Melbourne

Overcoming Inequality? Opportunities and Challenges for Indonesia's Witness and Victim Protection Agency

[Ken Setiawan](#)

Asia Institute, University of Melbourne

LGBT People and the Law in Indonesia

[Helen Pausacker](#)

Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society, University of Melbourne

Indonesia's Blasphemy Law and the Rise of Political Islam

[Andreas Harsono](#)

Human Rights Watch

Women's Piety, Public Action and Political Inequality in Indonesia

[Julian Millie](#)

Department of Anthropology, Monash University

Ken Setiawan

Abstract

Overcoming Inequality? Opportunities and Challenges for Indonesia's Witness and Victim Protection Agency

Despite significant legislative reform, victims of gross human rights crimes in Indonesia are often unable to obtain redress. In many cases, this has far-reaching consequences for those affected by these crimes and increases social inequalities. In this context, the Witness and Victim Protection Agency (*Lembaga Perlindungan Saksi dan Korban*) may play an important role, as it is mandated to provide medical, psychological and psychosocial assistance to victims of gross human rights crimes, as well as provide them with compensation and restitution. The paper discusses the work of the Agency in the broader context of human rights mechanisms in Indonesia. It draws on interviews with the organisation's staff members, recipients of assistance, as well as those who refuse to claim support despite their eligibility to identify both opportunities and challenges for the Agency in addressing inequalities in contemporary Indonesia.

Speaker's Bio

Ken Setiawan is a McKenzie Postdoctoral Fellow at the Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne. After completing an undergraduate degree in Indonesian language, she completed a Master of Arts and subsequently a PhD in Law from Leiden University, The Netherlands. Ken has taught extensively, both in Australia and overseas, on politics and history in Asia, as well as human rights. Her research interests include globalisation and human rights, transitional and historical justice, as well as reconciliation and reparation. She has published widely on the politics of human rights in contemporary Indonesia. Ken is the author of *Promoting Human Rights: National Human Rights Commissions in Indonesia and Malaysia* (Leiden University Press, 2013).

Helen Pausacker

Abstract

LGBT People and the Law in Indonesia

The Indonesian Criminal Code is currently under revision, as it has been for decades, with the criminalisation of homosexuality under discussion. In the meantime, there have been a number of ‘backdoor’ approaches to criminalise LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) activities, including an unsuccessful petition by ALIA (the Family Love Alliance, a group of conservative Muslim academic and community members) to the Constitutional Court seeking to change a number of clauses in the Criminal Code, to criminalise all sex outside marriage. The 2008 Pornography Law has been used to imprison gay men for behaviour at gay saunas. Vigilante groups have been emboldened and increased violence against LGBT people. Disregarding the human rights of the LGBT minority, in 2016 legislators and government officials, and religious and psychiatric organisations, issued anti-LGBT statements. While the March 2018 draft of the Criminal Code did not criminalise all homosexual acts, the situation remains volatile.

Speaker's Bio

Helen Pausacker is Deputy Director of the Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society (CILIS) and an Executive Editor for the *Australian Journal of Asian Law*. Helen is an Arts graduate of the University of Melbourne (BA Hons, BLitt and Graduate Certificate in Gender and Development) and Monash University (MA) and completed her PhD at the Melbourne Law School in 2013. Helen's research interests in the legal field include charges of ‘pornography’ and prosecution of religious sects, and she also researches in the field of Javanese culture. Helen's publications include *Behind the Shadows: Understanding a Wayang Performance* (Indonesian Arts Society, 1996), *Chinese Indonesians: Remembering, Distorting, Forgetting* (co-edited with Tim Lindsey, ISEAS, 2005) and *Religion, Law and Intolerance in Indonesia* (co-edited with Tim Lindsey, Routledge, 2016).

Andreas Harsono

Abstract

Indonesia's Blasphemy Law and the Rise of Political Islam

Indonesia's President Sukarno wrote the blasphemy law in 1965 to accommodate conservative Muslims dealing with spiritual groups. It punishes deviations from the central tenets of Indonesia's six officially recognized religions with up to five years in prison. It was used only eight times in the next four decades. It got another twist in 2004 when the parliament passed the Public Prosecution Service Law, moving the blasphemy law office from the Ministry of Religious Affairs to the Attorney General's Office. The blasphemy law is often used to prosecute and imprison members of religious minorities and traditional religions. More than 100 cases have been tried under the blasphemy law since 2004 including in 2017 when Sunni Muslim extremists used it to bring down Jakarta Governor Basuki Purnama. Three petitions, including by Muslim scholar and former president Abdurrahman Wahid, still failed to revoke the blasphemy law at the Constitutional Court.

Speaker's Bio

Andreas Harsono has covered Indonesia for Human Rights Watch since 2008, specializing on free speech and religious freedom. In Jakarta, he helped found the Jakarta-based Institute for the Studies on Free Flow of Information in 1995, and in 2003 he helped create the Pantau Foundation, a journalist training organization also based in Jakarta. In *Jayapura*, he helped Papuan journalists to set up *Suara Papua* online news in 2011. A staunch backer of the free press, Harsono also helped establish Indonesia's Alliance of Independent Journalists in 1994 and Bangkok's South East Asia Press Alliance in 1998. Harsono began his career as a reporter for the Bangkok-based Nation and the Kuala Lumpur-based Star newspapers, and he edited *Pantau*, a monthly magazine on media and journalism in Jakarta. In Indonesian Malay, his published books include *Jurnalisme Sastrawi: Antologi Liputan Mendalam dan Memikat* (with Budi Setiyono) and *"Agama" Saya Adalah Jurnalisme*.

Julian Millie

Abstract

Women's Piety, Public Action and Political Inequality in Indonesia

The *majlis taklim* movement is public action that entails an important contradiction. On one hand, the highly visible practices of women's study groups have brought a major reconfiguration of public religion in Indonesia. On the other hand, these women practitioners have such low influence in political processes that they can properly be considered a politically subordinate class. This contradiction invites us to reflect on the nature of the movement as 'public action'. In this paper, I take the women's piety movement as a frame for exploring an under-developed aspect of Islamic politics (broadly understood) in Indonesia: its dependence on differentiations between genres of Islamic practice in reflexive processes. All Islamic politics relies to some degree on reflexive awareness of different evaluations of practices. There is a gendered quality to this: men differentiate practices in order to participate in political contest, while in the *majlis taklim* movement, women are understood as practitioners of an undifferentiated suite of practices for pious purposes. The public programs of Indonesian feminist movements reveal a contest over the meanings of practices.

Speaker's Bio

Associate Professor Julian Millie is ARC Future Fellow in the Anthropology program of the Monash Faculty of Arts. He has completed a number of research projects about Islamic practice, focussing on the social and political meanings of routine Islamic observance. Julian's major publications include: *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic sanctity in West Java* (KITLV, 2009), based on Julian's experiences attending an intercession ritual in West Java over a period of 14 months; *Hearing Allah's Call: Preaching and Performance in Indonesian Islam* (Cornell University Press, 2017), the product of ethnographic research into Islamic preaching in West Java, and; the edited volume *Hasan Mustapa: Ethnicity and Islam in Indonesia* (Monash Vernacular Indonesia Series, 2017), which explores the contemporary meanings of the life and work of the Sundanese cleric Hasan Mustapa.

PARALLEL SESSIONS

SESSION 7B

Day 2, Friday 2 November 2018

Collaborative Learning Space 263, Old Arts

10:40 – 12:20PM

INEQUALITY AND THE POLITICS OF SOCIAL WELFARE

Chair: **John Murphy**

School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne

Brokers and Citizenship: Access to Health Care in Indonesia

Prio Sambodho

SMERU

Democracy, Welfare and Economic Inequality in Indonesia

Luky Djani

Faculty of Administrative Sciences, University of Indonesia

Welfare in Transition: The Political Economy of Income Support in Indonesia

Maryke Van Diermen

Department of Anthropology and Development Studies, University of Adelaide

Health Financing Reforms in Southeast Asia: The Role of Provider Payments

Azad Singh Bali

School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne

Prio Sambodho

Abstract

Brokers and Citizenship: Access to Health Care in Indonesia (with Ward Berenschot and Retna Hanani)

Faced with unresponsive and intimidating bureaucracies, citizens across the Global South regularly rely on intermediaries to gain access to public services. Focusing on how such brokers arrange access to health care in Indonesia, this essay discusses the impact of brokered state–citizen interaction on the character and experience of citizenship. On the basis of extensive fieldwork in both urban and rural Java we argue that brokers not only enable the realization of citizen rights, they also transform the experience and interpretation of these rights. Brokers ‘vernacularize’ citizenship, in the sense that citizenship comes to be experienced and interpreted not just in terms of a formal relationship with a national state, but also in terms of the character of personal relationships and attendant obligations that exist between citizens, brokers and power holders.

Speaker's Bio

Prio Sambodho specializes in public policy and governance research, especially within the field of poverty alleviation programs and social development policies. He is a lecturer in Department of Sociology, University of Indonesia and currently a PhD Candidate at the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam; writing a dissertation on the topics of democratization and citizenship in rural Indonesia. He holds a Bachelor of Social Science in Sociology from University of Indonesia and Master of Public Policy from Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore. His latest research includes the study for system wide improvement of student's learning outcome (with RISE Programme Indonesia), the implementation and governance of Indonesian village law (with World Bank), development of Master Plan of Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia Poverty Reduction (MP3KI) 2012-2015 (with BAPPENAS), Poverty and Vulnerability Mainstreaming Toolkit and on urban poverty reduction (With SMERU Research Institute).

Luky Djani

Abstract

Democracy, Welfare and Economic Inequality in Indonesia

The general picture in the Global South shows that economic inequality is entrenched and therefore the fulfillment of welfare programs has become a challenge for democratic regimes. A competitive democratic space provides opportunities for elite groups to exploit economic inequality by linking-up with social attributes thus transforming economic inequality into social inequalities. Scholars refer to this phenomenon as categorical inequality (Tilly 2006) which potentially threatens democracy or democratization. This paper attempts to provide an illustration of the relationship between democracy and economic inequality. Moreover, it aims to understand the implications of social inequality for democracy.

Speaker's Bio

Dr. Luky Djani is Lecturer in Public Policy in the Faculty of Administrative Sciences at the University of Indonesia. He holds a Masters degree in Public Policy from the National University of Singapore and a PhD from Murdoch University. His research interests lie in fields such as democracy, governance, welfare, social movements, populism, political economy and public policy. His work has appeared in *Southeast Asia Research* and various edited book collections. He acts as a consultant and trainer for various institutions and projects.

Maryke van Diermen

Abstract

Welfare in Transition: The Political Economy of Income Support in Indonesia

This paper argues that there has been significant change in the nature of Indonesia's income support system since the fall of the New Order – greater than in other realms of social protection such as food security and social security. This degree of change has reflected the distinct politics of income support in Indonesia. The Asian financial Crisis provided an opportunity for donors, technocrats and popular forces to push for the introduction of cash transfer programs. With democratisation, political elites then came to recognise the electoral benefits of these programs in terms of gaining support from the poor. Finally, and most importantly, in contrast with the food security and social security realms, predatory officials and their corporate allies did not exercise the dominant influence over income support policy and its implementation after the fall of the New Order. There were no elements broadly equivalent in their political effects to *BULOG* or the state-owned social security enterprises (i.e. *PT JAMSOTEK*, *PT Taspen* and the like). These political conditions served to facilitate reform.

Speaker's Bio

Dr. Maryke van Diermen completed her PhD in International Development at the University of Adelaide in 2018. Her dissertation examined the political economy of social protection reform in Indonesia with a focus on three areas of social protection: food security, social security and income support. Her work has been published in *Third World Quarterly* and *Asia Review*. She has taught courses in Development Studies at the University of Adelaide including Introduction to Development Studies and Poverty and Social Development and been a Visiting Researcher at SMERU and TNP2K in Jakarta. She currently works in the homelessness sector in South Australia.

Azad Singh Bali

Abstract

Health Financing Reforms in Southeast Asia: The Role of Provider Payments (with Sarah Bales and M Ramesh)

Most Asian governments are implementing health reforms aimed at achieving universal health coverage. Faced with ballooning healthcare costs, efficiency enhancing measures are central to these reforms. There is general understanding that a move from retrospective to prospective payment instruments (e.g. fee-for-service to capitation or DRGs) is associated with slower growth in healthcare costs. Despite protracted health reforms towards capitation and DRGs over the past decade, the goals of prospective payment reforms have not fully been realised. What accounts for this? This paper provides a comparative study of health financing reforms underway in Southeast Asia, and argues that effective provider payment instruments (e.g. FFS, DRG, Capitation) require a robust underlying institutional architecture. Often health reform focuses on the instrument itself, and not on building the architecture which underpins its success. This in turn, we argue, stems from weak operational and political capacities. Building these capacities and institutional architecture is critical to achieving the goals of universal health coverage.

Speaker's Bio

Azad Singh Bali is a Lecturer at the University of Melbourne. His research and teaching interests lie at the intersection of comparative social policy, policy design, and public financial management in Asia. His current projects include a) financing age-related spending; b) policy capacity; c) institutional design of health systems. Some of Bali's research has been published in *Public Policy & Administration*, *Social Policy & Administration*, and *Asian Economic Policy Review* among others. Prior to the University of Melbourne, he was based at Murdoch University and Nanyang Technological University. Bali also serves on the editorial team of *Policy Design & Practice*, and he has acted as a resource person/consultant to the Asian Development Bank/Institute on social security reform.

PARALLEL SESSIONS

SESSION 7C

Day 2, Friday, 2 November 2018

Ian Potter Auditorium

10:40 – 12:20PM

DISABILITY AND INEQUALITY

Chair: [Lisa Cameron](#)

Melbourne Institute: Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne

Disabled People's Organisations and Disaster Risk Reduction in Indonesia: Challenges to the Principle of 'Nothing About us Without Us'.

[Alex Robinson](#)

Nossal Institute, University of Melbourne

Disability in Indonesia: What Can We Learn from the Available Data?

[Diana Contreas Suarez](#)

Melbourne Institute: Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne

Workability and Inequality

[Ekawati Liu](#)

Deakin University

Disability Inclusion in the Islamic Education Sector in Indonesia

[Dina Afrianty](#)

La Trobe University

Alex Robinson

Abstract

Disabled People's Organisations and Disaster Risk Reduction in Indonesia: Challenges to the Principle of 'Nothing About Us Without Us'.

A core role of DPOs is ensuring the direct representation of people with disability in decision making- 'nothing about us, without us'. This came to the fore in the establishment of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). More recently, Indonesian disabled people organisations (DPOs) played an important role in ensuring disability inclusion in the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, 2015-2030 (SFDRR). This paper begins by outlining the enabling environment that facilitated this SFDRR engagement by DPOs, including global recognition of Indonesia's leadership in disaster risk reduction (DRR) and the establishment of the non-governmental Disability-inclusive DRR Network (DiDRRN) in Yogyakarta, 2012. The DiDRRN approach to SFDRR engagement was to establish and draw on examples of disability inclusive practice. An example of how a DPO from Central Java was able to engage in DRR and build a more constructive working relationship with local government is provided. Looking ahead, the SFDRR and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development commit to disability inclusive development. This implies increasing demands on DPOs to contribute to development processes. As the Central Java example illustrates, there are examples of DPOs being able to adapt how they work; however, these appear isolated. The paper concludes by asking: to what extent are DPOs more broadly able to respond to increasing and new demands for their services? Further, how can development stakeholders adhere to the principles of 'nothing about us, without us' in the face of increasing demand for, and limited resources of, DPOs?

Speaker's Bio

Dr Alex Robinson is the Head of the Disability Inclusion in Health and Development Unit at the Nossal Institute for Global Health. Alex's work experience crosses development research, policy and practice. He has extensive experience of programme design and direct and partner-led implementation with an emphasis on inclusive practice. Alex's programming experience ranges from inclusive education to livelihoods and emergency preparedness to humanitarian response. His area focus is Indonesia and Southeast Asia with additional experience in Latin America and Southern Africa. Alex is engaged in disability inclusion in disaster risk reduction (DRR) at the regional and international policy level. He was co-founder of the Disability-inclusive Disaster Risk Reduction Network that played a lead role in ensuring disability inclusion in the Sendai Framework for DRR 2015-2030. Alex has a PhD in development studies and is particularly concerned with issues of information, risk and resilience within sustainable human development.

Diana Contreras Suarez

Abstract

Disability in Indonesia: What can we Learn from the Available Data? (With Lisa Cameron)

There are more than 10 million people with a disability in Indonesia, about 4.3% of the population, living in 13% of Indonesian households. Using multiple datasets with variations in the way disability is measured, we find similar patterns of the consequences of disability. Almost half of those who have a disability have multiple disabilities. The most common disabilities are difficulties with vision, hearing and walking. Assistive devices can be used to improve the ability of individuals to function in society, however most people with a disability do not use them. Diseases and accidents cause most disabilities (76%), compared to 17% caused by congenital factors. People with disabilities have lower education attainment, worse health, fewer economic opportunities and limited access to public services than people without disabilities. Households with at least one disabled person have lower monthly expenditure per-capita, with female-headed households being particularly vulnerable. Efforts towards disability prevention and family support would widely benefit the Indonesian population.

Speaker's Bio

Diana Contreras Suarez is a Research Fellow at the Melbourne Institute: Applied Economic & Social Research at the University of Melbourne. She completed her PhD in Econometrics at Monash University. As an applied economist, she uses statistics to understand the determinants of people's outcomes in health, education and work, and evaluate the effect of social policies. Dr Contreras Suarez is interested in the mechanisms through which public policy improves human capital and wellbeing among disadvantaged populations. Her research covers the fields of child development, behavioural economics, determinants of health and gender inequality in the labour market. She is currently working on the effects of access to water and sanitation on maternal health, and the effect of skills mismatch on wages in Indonesia.

Ekawati Liu

Abstract

Workability and Disability

Social policy to reduce inequality and poverty among people with a disability in Indonesia tends to be residual and ineffective, addressing only the right to equal recognition before the law (rights-based) and how legislation can at least remove barriers to political, social, and economic inclusion. There are also assumptions regarding inequality experienced by people with a disability and what roles the state, people with a disability and civil society organizations can play to address inequality and disadvantages experienced by people with a disability. This presentation shares findings from collaborative research conducted from October 2017 to June 2018 on why livelihood opportunities can be considered a concrete indicator of an inclusive society where people with a disability are able to contribute to society and local economic growth and improve their household's well-being.

Speaker's Bio

Ekawati Liu is a PhD candidate at Deakin University in Melbourne. She previously worked with the World Bank and the Asia Foundation as social development specialist and disability inclusion adviser under the National Program for Community Empowerment in Indonesia from 2011-2015. She has worked with grassroots organizations in Jamaica, Nepal and Tibet. As a cross-sector generalist, her interests and work centre on locally developed community programs, youth leadership, employment, social protection and service delivery. Her current research seeks to understand how villagers with disability experience livelihoods and participating in village governance.

Dina Afrianty

Abstract

Faith-based Responses to Disability: How Public Institutions are Leading Rights-based Education Reform in Indonesia

Two years following the adoption of disability rights legislation the education sector still awaits passage of a Government Regulation to guide reforms. In this presentation I explore indirectly the links between social change, policy development and regulation and how it exposes the enthusiasm among faith-based institutions to enact change in practice in pursuit of fundamental rights. I am looking at disability policy in Indonesia's tertiary education sector with a focus on Islamic education. I will discuss what policies are in place, how they have been implemented, and what the challenges in their implementation have been. There are some examples of improved education services and inclusion in Indonesia's tertiary education sector. However, it is clear from surveys of the attitudes of policy makers, parents, students and the community (Muslim faith-based organisation) towards disability that there is still room for improvement.

Speaker's Bio

Dr. Dina Afrianty is a Research Fellow at La Trobe University's Law School. Her research focuses on the intersection of law, gender and politics, Islamic education, international development, and disability rights in Muslim societies. She is the founder of the Australia-Indonesia Disability Research and Advocacy Network (AIDRAN). She has worked for the Asia Foundation, Jakarta, supporting Indonesian legal reform under the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Justice, and held academic positions at State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta, and Australian Catholic University. She is an Associate at the Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society (CILIS) at Melbourne Law School; a Research Fellow in the Gender, Religion and Law in Muslim Societies Program at the Centre for Social Difference, Columbia University; and editor of *Studia Islamika*, an Indonesian journal on Southeast Asian Islam. She earned her PhD from the University of Melbourne in 2011 and the author of *Women and Sharia Law in Northern Indonesia: Local Women's NGOs and the reform of Islamic Law in Aceh*, published by Routledge in 2015.

PARALLEL SESSIONS

SESSION 8A

Day 2, Friday, 2 November 2018

North Lecture Theatre, Old Arts

1.35 – 2:55PM

INEQUALITIES IN HEALTH

Chair: [John Murphy](#)

School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne

Evidence of Narrowing Inequity in Access to Health Care due to National Health Insurance in Indonesia

[Hasbullah Thabrany](#)

Faculty of Public Health, University of Indonesia

Addressing Regional Inequalities in Health: Is the JKN Enough?

[Kris Hort](#)

Nossal Institute, University of Melbourne

Intersectionality and Reproductive Health Inequalities in Indonesia: The Case of Cervical Cancer Among Middle-aged Women

[Linda Rae Bennett](#)

Nossal Institute, University of Melbourne

Hasbullah Thabrany

Abstract

Evidence of Narrowing Inequity in Access to Health Care due to National Health Insurance in Indonesia

Starting in January 2014, Indonesia integrated all social health insurance and medical assistance programs into a single National Pool namely *Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional* or *JKN* (National Health Insurance). By June 2018, this largest single payer covers 198 million people or 74% of Indonesia's population totalling 266 million people. The *JKN* aims at achieving equity in health care and preventing impoverishment of people who need health care. The *JKN* provides comprehensive benefits with zero-dollar coverage with the network of health care providers. To ensure efficiency, the *JKN* pays primary care providers using capitation and hospitals using casemix-based groups nationwide. Entering the fifth year of the *JKN* and 50 years of the implementation of social health insurance schemes in Indonesia, evaluations of concentration indices showed narrowing gaps of inequity. Improvements of access have been higher among the low incomes and in rural areas.

Speaker's Bio

Hasbullah Thabrany is a professor at and former dean of the School of Public Health and a former chairman of the Centre for Health Economics and Policy Studies at the University of Indonesia. He is now an adviser to the National Social Security Council of Indonesia (*DJSN*), the oversight body of the National Health Insurance Program (*JKN*). Dr Thabrany established *PAMJAKI* (Association of Health Insurance Professionals of Indonesia) in 1998. He served as its chairman until October 2010. He was a key person in reforming National Health Insurance in Indonesia. He has published a book entitled *Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional*, detailing the design and current achievement of the *JKN* in Indonesia. Dr Thabrany has a medical degree from the University of Indonesia and MPH & DrPH degrees from the University of California, at Berkeley, USA.

Krishna Hort

Abstract

Addressing Regional Inequalities in Health: is the JKN Enough?

Inequalities in health across a range of measures have been well described in Indonesia, and their importance as a contribution to overall inequality particularly in terms of early childhood health highlighted in the recent World Bank 'Rising Divide' report. A key issue is the interaction between inequalities at a whole of population level by socio-economic status (SES), and inequalities at a geographic level among regions. Recent policy initiatives such as the *Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (JKN)* appear to have reduced some aspects of inequality by SES, but do not appear to have been as effective in addressing regional inequalities. Reflecting on recent experience with maternal health services in NTT, and studies of capitation payments under *JKN*, this presentation will explore some of the challenges to addressing regional inequalities, and propose that more integrated and long term system building efforts are needed to address these issues in 'left behind' regions.

Speaker's Bio

Dr Krishna Hort is currently Senior Technical Consultant, Governance and Financing Unit at the Nossal Institute for Global Health. He has a background as a medical doctor and a specialist in paediatrics and public health. He has worked in the Australian health system as a regional director of public health, and in health assistance programs in developing countries of South and South East Asia. He has had a long-term involvement with Indonesia commencing with a visit as an exchange medical student in 1975. He returned to Indonesia in 1995 as team leader of an AusAID program in maternal and reproductive health, and has continued engagement since then. This has included supporting the post Tsunami Aceh reconstruction; more than ten years collaborative research and teaching with the *Pusat Kebijakan dan Manajemen Kesehatan* at Gadjah Mada University (UGM); and technical support and consultancies in areas of maternal child health, health systems and health security for DFAT programs.

Linda Rae Bennett

Abstract

Intersectionality and Reproductive Health Inequalities in Indonesia: The Case of Cervical Cancer Among Middle-aged Women

Globally, 90% of the women who die from cervical cancer do so in low and middle income countries. In this paper, I examine the high incidence of cervical cancer in Indonesia, and the very poor survival rates for Indonesian women affected by cervical cancer, as a form of reproductive health inequality. I deploy the concept of intersectionality to investigate how multiple forms of inequality experienced by Indonesian women across their life-course coalesce to determine their vulnerability to developing cervical cancer in middle-age. I also examine how these inequalities impact on women's ability to live with and survive cervical cancer after diagnosis. My investigation of intersectionality focuses on inequalities grounded in gender, age, socio-economic status and differential access to health services. It reveals how women's vulnerability to cervical cancer is deeply embedded in social processes, and that a complex matrix of inequalities impacts on different groups of women in distinct ways. I argue that the lens of intersectionality enables a more sophisticated understanding of how health inequalities are enmeshed with and perpetuated by other inequalities, and subsequently that the promotion of reproductive health equity must also address other inequalities that remain highly apparent for many women in Indonesia.

Speaker's Bio

Dr Linda Rae Bennett, PhD, is a medical anthropologist who focuses on reproductive and sexual health and rights, gender-based violence, and gendered health inequities. Over the past two decades she has worked in multiple countries in Asia and the Pacific, and is a global leader in research on sexual and reproductive health in Indonesia. She is Head of the Education and Learning Unit at the Nossal Institute, University of Melbourne. Her current research activities focus on reproductive cancers in Indonesia, the Indonesian health system's response to HIV and AIDS, and infertility and social suffering in Indonesia. These projects all engage with how particular health problems are created through the intersection of multiple inequalities, and in turn how living with these health issues perpetuates further inequalities in the lives of those affected. Her most recent edited volume; *Sex and Sexualities in Contemporary Indonesia: Sexual Politics, Health, Diversity and Representations* (Routledge, 2015; with S. Davies), won the Edited Volume Accolade from the International Convention of Asia Scholars in 2007 and the Ruth Benedict Prize for the Most Outstanding Edited Volume in 2015.

PARALLEL SESSIONS

SESSION 8B

Day 2, Friday, 2 November 2018

Collaborative Learning Space 263, Old Arts

1.35 – 2:55PM

NATURAL RESOURCES AND INEQUALITY

Chair: **Andrew Rosser**

Asia Institute, University of Melbourne

Resource Extraction, Re-centralisation and Inequalities in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia

Rachael Diprose and Poppy Winanti

School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne and Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Gadjah Mada University

A Sideways Scenario: Agriculture, Labour and Food Poverty in the Rice Lands of Outer Island Indonesia

John McCarthy

Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University

Transnational Policy Influence and the Politics of Legitimation

Kate MacDonald and Nanang Kurniawan

School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne and Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Gadjah Mada University

Rachael Diprose and Poppy Winanti

Abstract

Resource Extraction and Re-centralisation and Inequalities in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia (with Nanang Kurniawan)

This paper explores the changing political economy of natural resource extraction in Indonesia's post-authoritarian political order. Drawing on two cases of resource endowed regions—*Riau* and *Bangka Belitung*—we explore the intersection between these centre-periphery struggles for control of resource rents and the subnational political economy in resource rich areas. We identify how, over time, some influential coalitions of interests have adapted to changes in Indonesia's politico-economic system to maintain their influence in resource extraction. In other instances, new interests and coalitions have also emerged, challenging the status quo distribution of power and authority. The latter dynamics, we argue, have underpinned recent efforts to recentralise the locus of power and authority to the national level through changes to the legislation in key resource sectors, winding back Indonesia's reform efforts to decentralise and continue to liberalise. We also argue that alongside these changes, the degree to which narrow sets of politico-economic interests are able to capture resource rents sub-nationally has produced differential outcomes in both the degree to which social interests are able to resist extraction, or gain their share of rents when it does occur.

Speaker's Bio

Dr. Rachael Diprose is a Lecturer in the School of Social and Political Sciences at University of Melbourne. Formerly of the University of Oxford, Rachael's research focuses on the political economy and political sociology of conflict, state-building and development. Her work also explores the dynamics of contention in decentralised and multi-level governance contexts, with a particular focus on the resource and land sectors. She also leads the cross-disciplinary research cluster on Conflict, Development and Justice in the School, and collaborates with colleagues at Melbourne, SOAS, the University of Gadjah Mada for the research project on States, Frontiers and Conflict in the Asia Pacific.

Dr. Poppy S. Winanti is a lecturer at the International Relations Department and Vice Dean for Research, Cooperation, Community Service and Alumni Affairs, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM). Her research interests cover the WTO and the future of the Doha Round; conflict and the political economy of natural resources and extractive industries; and governance in the global political economy. She holds a PhD in Politics from the University of Glasgow, an MSc in International Political Economy from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), and a BA in International Relations from UGM. She was the Director of the Center for World Trade Studies (CWTS) UGM (2015 – 2016) and Head of International Relations Department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences UGM (2016). She also served as a project coordinator of the Asia-Pacific Knowledge Hub for Better Governance on Extractive Industries, jointly managed by the Research Centre for Politics and Government (PolGov) UGM and Revenue Watch Institute/Natural Resource Governance Institute (2013 – 2015).

John McCarthy

Abstract

A Sideways Scenario: Agriculture, Labour and Food Poverty in the Rice Lands of Outer Island Indonesia

Despite sustained economic growth, pockets of deep poverty persist in the countryside of many middle income countries across the global south. In the case of Indonesia some 46% of the nation's population still reside in the countryside, with most living just above or below the poverty line. A pervasive view suggests that, while the solution to rural poverty lies in a transition from agriculture into service or industrial sectors, the poor remain trapped between insecure agricultural livelihoods and labour markets. While many contexts fail to map onto expectations of forward development or agrarian transition, a long history of scholarship has eschewed the idea of a particular transitional trajectory – even this truncated one. This study considers how patterns of agrarian change relate to food poverty and nutritional insecurity, including high stunting rates, in one pocket of outer island Indonesia, the highly productive, Acehese lowlands. While long term and circular migration and non-farm work may offer opportunities elsewhere, in many outer island contexts such as this, such opportunities are fleeting. As an alternative to the truncated agrarian transition scenario, this paper describes a 'sideways scenario' where many of the poor manage to advance slowly in terms of the proxies used in poverty analysis. Rather than constituting a surplus population, the poor are central to accumulation strategies within and outside the agrarian context. Here 'moving sideways' means remaining nutritionally insecure while, for the most part, getting by between agriculture, labour, highly contingent social protection transfers, and local forms of provision.

Speaker's Bio

John McCarthy is an Associate Professor in the Resources Environment and Development Program at Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University. He works on questions of governance, institutions and rural development with a focus on forestry, agriculture, food security and land use. At present he has an Australian Research Council funded project regarding social protection and food security in rural Indonesia. He was previously a Research Fellow at the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Western Australia and Leiden University in the Netherlands. He has carried out various assignments with agencies including AusAID (now DFAT), the World Bank, and the Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR). John is Associate Professor at the ANU Crawford School.

Kate Macdonald and Nanang Indra Kurniawan

Abstract

Transnational Policy Influence and the Politics of Legitimation

Many domains of transnational policy are now governed through dynamic, multi-level governance processes, encompassing transnational, national and sub-national scales. In such settings, both membership of policy communities, and distributions of authority within them, become more fluid and openly contested—increasing the importance of the politics of legitimation as a basis for distributing influence over policy processes and outcomes. Drawing on insights from theories of organisational and institutional legitimation, this paper theorizes three distinctive strategies of policy influence exercised by transnational actors in multi-level governance settings, through which strategic efforts to legitimize transnational actors and forums are deployed as means of transnational policy influence. The three strategies involve: transnational field-building; localized network-building; and role-adaptation. The effects of these influencing strategies on policy processes and outcomes are illustrated with reference to the case of Indonesian land governance, in which highly dynamic, contested and multi-scalar governance processes lend our theorized strategies particular salience.

Speaker's Bio

Dr Kate Macdonald is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Melbourne, having held previous positions at the London School of Economics and Political Science, the Australian National University, and Oxford University. Her research focuses on the politics of transnational production and business, with a particular focus on social, labour and human rights regulation of global business. Publications include *The Politics of Global Supply Chains: Power and Governance Beyond the State* (Polity Press, 2013), and articles in *Governance*, *International Theory*, *Review of International Studies*, *Ethics and International Affairs*, *Journal of Business Ethics*, *European Journal of International Law* and *Third World Quarterly*.

Dr. Nanang Indra Kurniawan is a Lecturer at Department of Politics and Government in Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia. Nanang's research focuses on natural resource politics, social movements, and state-making. He obtained his PhD from the University of Melbourne with dissertation research on participatory mapping of customary land and state-making in Central Kalimantan. He is also the Program Coordinator of Resource Governance in Asia Pacific (RegIna) at Department of Politics and Government, Universitas Gadjah Mada.

PARALLEL SESSIONS

SESSION 8C

Day 2, Friday, 2 November 2018

Collaborative Learning Space 257, Old Arts

1.35 – 2:55PM

REDISTRIBUTION: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Chair: **Phuc Nguyen**

La Trobe Business School, La Trobe University

A Preliminary Note to Formulate a More Responsive Data Update for Food-based Transfer Program in Indonesia

Suzanna Eddyono, Galih Prabaningrum, and Dian Fatmawati

Department of Social Development and Welfare, Gadjah Mada University

Would Indonesians be More Supportive of Redistribution if They Knew the Extent of Inequality?

Christopher Hoy

Crawford School, Australian National University

Who Marries Whom: Social Identities, Stratification, and Inequality in Indonesia

Ariane Utomo

School of Geography, University of Melbourne

Suzanna Eddyono, Galih Prabaningrum, and Dian Fatmawati

Abstract

A Preliminary Note to Formulate a more Responsive Data Update for Food-based Transfer Program in Indonesia

Despite the government's continuous attempts to improve data updating methods for targeting the most vulnerable households in Indonesia, issues of the ineffectiveness of the pro-poor policy, among other things, are closely related to the persisting problem of beneficiary mistargeting. Drawing from selected cases, this study focuses on the existing top-down mechanism of data updates to accurately identify the targeted household for the food-based transfer program. It argues that while the roles of village administrators are important to correct the government list of beneficiaries and while the instrument for accommodating bottom-up correction is available, they are yet to equip themselves with a responsive mechanism to address changes in the list of targeted beneficiaries. Drawing on the experiences of three villages in Yogyakarta and West Java, this paper identifies issues pertaining to the quality of the distributed rice and the mistargeted beneficiaries of the program. Using in-depth interviews with twenty six selected village administrators and program beneficiaries, this study finds, that the food-based transfer program is likely to omit the most vulnerable households from the list of targeted program beneficiaries or, unfortunately, maintain the mistargeted households, due to the lack of a wider public participation, the most substantial aspect of empowerment. This paper further suggests the urgency to accommodate a more responsive bottom-up-initiated data update mechanism that involves direct public participation to improve data update for identifying the most appropriate beneficiaries of food-based transfer program in Indonesia.

Speaker's Bio

Suzanna Eddyono, PhD, is member of the teaching staff at the Department of Social Development and Welfare (PSdK), the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada. Her research interests include nationalism and social development, cultural politics of development, gender and development, and Methods of Social Research.

Galih Prabaningrum, MA, is a Lecturer at the Department of Social Development and Welfare, FISIPOL, Universitas Gadjah Mada. Her research has been focused on corporate social responsibility, business ethics, poverty alleviation, and volunteerism. Her latest research includes Social Mapping in Industrial Society at Aceh Tamiang, Indonesia; and Evaluation Study on Corporate Social Responsibility Program at Plaju, South Sumatera, Indonesia. She is currently planning a dissertation focusing on corporate social responsibility and poverty.

Dian Fatmawati, M.A. is a lecturer at the Department of Social Development and Welfare, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada. She obtained her bachelor and masters degree from Universitas Gadjah Mada. Her research interests include Small Medium Enterprises (SMEs), regionalism in ASEAN, and gig-economy. She is currently taking part in

collaborative research between Flinders University and Universitas Gadjah Mada with the title “Understanding the Nature of Work in the Disruptive Technology Era: Research on Workers of On-Demand Transportation Sector in Indonesia”.

Christopher Hoy

Abstract

Would Indonesians be More Supportive of Redistribution if They Knew the Extent of Inequality?

Using a randomized control trial, we tested whether information about inequality and people's position in the national income distribution has an effect on their concern about inequality and what they want the government to do about it. Our survey of over 3700 Indonesians showed that there is widespread concern about inequality and support for redistribution. The top three policies respondents would like the President to prioritize are to reduce inequality, create more jobs, fight corruption and increase social protection. Informing people about the level of national inequality tends to increase their concern about inequality, however this rarely changes their support for redistribution. In fact, this information lowered people's support for social protection and increased their desire for the government to create jobs and boost the minimum wage. Telling people that they are richer than other Indonesians lowers their support for redistribution and increases their desire for taxes to be reduced. Yet when people are told they are poorer than other Indonesians this has no effect.

Speaker's Bio

Chris is in the final year of his PhD in Economics at ANU and is a part time Lecturer at the university of Sydney. He also works as a Consultant for the World Bank, Asian Development Bank and a number of other organisations. Chris has worked for over ten years in the international development sector including as a Researcher with the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and an Economist for UNICEF Uganda, the Australian Aid Program and the Australian Treasury. He holds a Masters of International and Development Economics from Yale University and First Class Honours degree from the University of Sydney.

Ariane Utomo

Abstract

Who Marries Whom: Social Identities, Stratification, and Inequality in Indonesia

How individuals partner to form a family reveals a great deal about gender relations, social mobility and the nature of social stratification and inequalities. All the more so in Indonesia: as a new democracy where modernisation competes with ethno-religious conservatism, marriage pairing is a prime but understudied measure of tolerance and inter-group boundaries. In this presentation, I draw upon my research on patterns of who marries whom in Indonesia. I use data from the National Socio-Economic Survey series, the 2010 full count Population Census, and the 2015 Intercensal Population Survey to look at coupling outcomes by age, education, ethnicity, and religion. Insights from qualitative data further allow me to explore how social identities matter in dating and marriage markets, and how the consequent patterns in assortative mating can shed light on the complex relationships between development, social change, and inequality.

Speaker's Bio

Dr Ariane Utomo is a Lecturer of Demography and Population Geography at the School of Geography, The University of Melbourne. Ariane's research primarily focuses on gender and the labour force, and in marriage and family change in Indonesia. Prior to joining the University of Melbourne, Ariane was a Research Fellow at the School of Demography and Crawford School of Public Policy (ANU), Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute - NUS, and Gender and Labour Market Adviser at the Australia Indonesia Partnership for Economic Governance, Jakarta. Ariane holds a Bachelor of Economics with Honours in Applied Economics (ANU), Bachelor of Asian Studies (ANU), and PhD in Demography (ANU).

SESSION 8C

Day 2, Friday 2 November 2018

Ian Potter Auditorium

3.25 – 4:55PM

WAYS FORWARD

Chair: **Ken Setiawan**

Asia Institute, University of Melbourne

Inclusive Economic Development Index: A Policy Tool to Address Inequality and Other Development Challenges in Indonesia

Amalia Adininggar Widyasanti

Bappenas

Tax Inequality in Indonesia: Mapping and Proposing Tax-reform as a Tool for Tackling Inequality

Ah Maftuchan

Perkumpulan Prakarsa

Discussants: Hasbullah Thabrany and Anwar Sanusi

Amalia Adininggar Widyasanti

Abstract

Inclusive Economic Development Index: A Policy Tool to Address Inequality and Other Development Challenges in Indonesia

Since early 2000s, the Indonesian economy has grown at a rate of around 5 percent annually. During this period, the poverty rate has been reduced significantly from 18 percent in 2002 to 10 percent in 2017. At the same time, however, inequality has increased substantially from a Gini ratio of 0.32 in 2004 to a record high of 0.41 in 2011 and has remained at this level since, declining slightly to 0.39 by 2017. This highlights the challenges faced by Indonesia in achieving inclusive economic development, where the benefit of development is shared widely among the population. In order to comprehensively measure the inclusiveness of its economic development, the Government of Indonesia has launched an Inclusive Economic Development Index in 2018. This index consists of three pillars – high economic growth, income distribution and poverty reduction, and expansion of access and opportunities; 8 sub-pillars; and 21 indicators of various development outcomes. This index can appropriately capture the development issues supporting inclusive economic development. The ultimate objective of this index is to be used as a policy tool to assist the central and regional governments in formulating more inclusive policies.

Speaker's Bio

Dr. Amalia Adininggar Widyasanti is a Senior Advisor to the Minister for Economy and Financing at the Ministry of National Development Planning/*Bappenas*, Republic of Indonesia. She started her career in the Ministry in 1999 in the Directorate of Industry, Trade, and Tourism. She was appointed Deputy Director of Trade in 2006 and Director of Trade, Investment and International Economic Cooperation in 2011, a position she held until July 2016. She then became Director of Macroeconomic Planning and Statistical Analysis from July 2016 to February 2018. She obtained her PhD in Economics from the University of Melbourne Australia in 2005 with a thesis on Inflation Targeting Framework in Emerging Economies. Her strong interest in economic development as well as in economic modeling and analysis has encouraged her to initiate the development of an Inclusive Economic Development Index for Indonesia. This index was recently launched by Indonesia's Minister of National Development Planning in July 2018.

Ah Maftuchan

Abstract

Tax Inequality in Indonesia: Mapping and Proposing Tax-reform as a Tool for Tackling Inequality

Taxation is a very important mechanism for wealth redistribution. Tax can be a tool to tackle inequality because it can finance public goods and services. At the same time, taxation can also contribute to increased inequality if the tax rate is more favorable to the rich and super-rich than the poor. The super-rich often avoid or evade tax. By contrast, middle-income people are likely to meet their tax obligations because they do not have ability to avoid tax. This paper points out that the annual tax contribution of the *salariat* (employees) is much higher than that of the wealthiest Indonesians. The principle of “sharing the burden” proposes that greater equality can be achieved by taxing the wealthiest people more than to the middle-income people.

Speaker's Bio

Ah Maftuchan is the Executive Director of *Perkumpulan PRAKARSA*, an NGO-based think tank in Jakarta. *PRAKARSA* works with global, national and local actors to nurture and enhance welfare ideas and initiatives through research and engage with development actors to create fiscal justice, social justice and prosperous society. Maftuchan is also the co-founder and coordinator of *Forum Pajak Berkeadilan* (Indonesia Tax Justice Forum) and co-founder of *Koalisi ResponsiBank Indonesia* (Indonesia ResponsibleBank Coalition) and the commissioner of *Komisi Anggaran Independen* (Independent Commission of State Budget). With Ms. Hoang Phuong Thao (Country Director of ActionAid Vietnam), Maftuchan is also co-chair of Tax and Fiscal Justice Alliance (TAFJA) for the Southeast Asian sub-region.

Anwar Sanusi

Speaker's Bio

Anwar Sanusi is the Secretary General of the Ministry of Villages, Disadvantaged Area Development, and Transmigration of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemendesa, PDTT). Prior to this position, he spent for about 22 years as a state apparatus at National Institute of Public Administration (LAN) and held some positions such as director at some research centers' LAN. One of his prominent researches was the research of the "Cabinet Architecture 2014-2019" which became one of the references in the discourse on the posture of the cabinet to be formed by the President Jokowi and Vice President Jusuf Kalla. He was also one of a number of colleagues instrumental in introducing improved training in public policy analysis for the civil service and the introduction of functional positions in policy analysis in the civil service. Anwar Sanusi holds a PhD from the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS), Tokyo, Japan in 2007. He is also a visiting researcher at this institution from 2012 until now.

