CONFERENCE ON
TWO DECADES OF REFORMASI: REFLECTIONS ON SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN INDONESIA

- Political System Reform: Reflections on Two Decades of Change
- Islam, Politics and Society
- Foreign Policy and Indonesia’s International Role
- Shifting Dimensions of Conflict, Human Rights and Justice
- Reflections on Two Decades of Governance and Economic Reform
- Contestation in the Resource Sector
- Development and Social Policy
- Public Administration and Legal Reform
- Security Sector Reform
- State Ideology and Reform
SESSION 1

Day 1, Thursday 3 November 2016
Arts West 153 (Forum Theatre)
09.00 – 10.40AM

POLITICAL SYSTEM REFORM: REFLECTIONS ON CHANGE SINCE 1996

Chair: Professor Vedi Hadiz
Asia Institute, University of Melbourne

Keynote - Indonesia's Reformasi Journey: An Insider's Reflection
Professor Dewi Fortuna Anwar
Deputy for Government Policy Support, Secretariat of the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, Research Professor at the Centre for Politics, Indonesian Institute of Sciences

Images of Reformasi
Professor Edward Aspinall
Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, Australian National University (ANU)

Reflections on Political System Reform
Budiman Sudjatmiko
National Member of Parliament, and Steering Committee Chair - Social-Democracy Network in Asia
Professor Dewi Fortuna Anwar

Keynote Speaker

Reflections on Political System Reform

Dewi Fortuna Anwar has a long and distinguished career in both public service and academia. Prior to assuming her responsibilities as Deputy for Government Policy in the Secretariat of the Vice-President, she held numerous senior positions including Assistant Minister/State Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Deputy Secretary for Political Affairs during President Habibie’s administration. She is also a leading analyst on Indonesia’s foreign policy and democratisation, as well as on ASEAN and regional political and security issues. She is Research Professor at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (P2P-LIPI), and has held visiting professorships at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and Kyoto University. A prominent advocate for human rights and democracy, she is chairperson of the Institute for Democracy and Human Rights at Jakarta-based independent think-tank, The Habibie Center. She is also a board member of international bodies, including the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and the Institute for Peace & Democracy of the Bali Democracy Forum. She holds a doctorate from Monash University, and received her BA (Hons.) and MA degrees from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London.
Images of Reformasi

Twenty years ago, the unravelling of the Suharto regime began, with the 1996 protests in response to the government’s removal of Megawati Soekarnoputri from the leadership of the Indonesian Democracy Party. These protests signalled a serious loss of legitimacy for the regime, and the faltering of its normal mechanisms of political control. They also anticipated the reformasi upsurge two years later, which finally forced Suharto from power. In this presentation, I will interrogate the genesis, history and aftermath of the reformasi years by examining iconic images of these events and their afterlife.

Speaker’s Bio

Edward Aspinall is a Professor in the Department of Political and Social Change, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, Australian National University. He researches politics in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia, with interests in democratisation, ethnicity and clientelism. He has authored two books, Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance and Regime Change in Indonesia (Stanford University Press, 2005), and Islam and Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia (Stanford University Press, 2009) and co-edited ten others, the most recent being Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia: Money Politics, Patronage and Clientelism (National University of Singapore Press, 2016). He has also published about sixty journal articles and book chapters, most on aspects of Indonesian politics, and is the co-series editor of the Asian Studies Association of Australia’s Southeast Asia Publications book series with National University of Singapore Press.
Reflections on Political System Reform

"Reformasi" in 1998 has delivered democratization into Indonesian society. Political processes are more transparent, legislative bodies have become more powerful, and Indonesia now holds free and fair elections, among the many changes. However, the problems of democracy that we face today are different from 20 years ago when the reforms started. On the one hand, public participation has risen sharply, but on the other hand, public confidence in democracy has become low. Can democracy exist without trust? There is no democracy without political parties, but political parties are increasingly losing the support of society. Information technology increases public participation in decision-making and oversight, but social media enables political polarization to occur more easily and to last longer. Political reforms should be directed to address the challenge of democracy in the digital era.

Speaker’s Bio

Budiman Sudjatmiko is a Member of Parliament representing the Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party, PDI-P (from the Electoral District of Central Java VIII: Banyumas and Cilacap). He is a member of parliamentary commission II, which oversees domestic governance, regional autonomy, the state apparatus, and agrarian issues. At the international level, Budiman is actively involved as a board member of the Steering Committee of the Social-Democracy Network in Asia. Currently, he is also chief supervisor on the National Executive Board PARADE NUSANTARA, an organization that brings together heads of the village and the whole village throughout Indonesia.
SESSION 2

Day 1, Thursday 3 November 2016
Arts West 153 (Forum Theatre)
11.00AM – 12.30PM

ISLAM, POLITICS AND SOCIETY

Chair: Tim Mann
Editor, Indonesia at Melbourne, The University of Melbourne

Explaining the Conservative Turn in Indonesian Islamic Politics
Professor Vedi Hadiz
Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne

Performing Morality: Commercial Television and the Remaking of a Muslim Middle Class in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia
Dr Inaya Rakhmani
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia

Centre and Region in Post-Reformasi Islamic Publicness
Dr Julian Millie
Department of Anthropology, Monash University

Reform and the Status of Indonesian Women: The Influence of Religion on Policies and Practices
Dr Dina Afrianty
Institute for Religion and Society, Australian Catholic University
Explaining the Conservative Turn in Indonesian Islamic Politics

Cultural idioms associated with the Islamic religion have been utilised in the Muslim world to mobilise broad-based support in contests over access to the levers of political and economic power. This is because an ummah-based political identity provides a major cultural resource to potentially develop cross-class alliances that can bind together sections of the populace in their grievances against perceived economic and cultural oppressors, whether domestic or foreign. In part, this has produced a kind of Islamic politics that is similar to some forms of right wing populism in the West – being pro-capitalist, pro-electoralism but simultaneously conservative and authoritarian in relation to a range of issues of rights. While such developments have occurred in Indonesia too, there remain Islamic vehicles that reject the institutions of the secular national state because of the limited success that the ummah has achieved in electoral politics as well as competition in the market place. Yet these all make a claim to represent the interests of a notionally undifferentiated, but actually sociologically diverse, ummah. Such claims are directed toward a ‘suspension of difference’ that would theoretically make possible more successful cross-class alliances, underpinned by an ummah-based political identity, engaged in contests over power and resources in the present democratic period. It is suggested that this drive helps to explain what Van Bruinessen has called the ‘conservative turn’ in Indonesian Islamic politics, which refers to the growing prominence of rigid and exclusionary ‘Islamic’ positions in relation to religious minorities along with intolerant attitudes on matters of morality.

Speaker’s Bio

Vedi Hadiz is Professor and Convenor of Asian Studies at the Asia Institute, University of Melbourne. Before joining the Asia Institute in 2016, Vedi Hadiz was Professor of Asian Societies and Politics at Murdoch University’s Asia Research Centre and Director of Murdoch University’s Indonesia Research Programme. An Indonesian national, he was an Australian Research Council Future Fellow in 2010-2014. Professor Hadiz received his PhD at Murdoch University in 1996 where he was Research Fellow until he went to the National University of Singapore in 2000. At NUS, he was an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology until returning to Murdoch in 2010. His research interests revolve around political sociology and political economy issues, especially those related to the contradictions of development in Indonesia and Southeast Asia more broadly, and more recently, in the Middle East. Professor Hadiz has been a visiting scholar in the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (EHESS) in France, the International Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands, the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies in the University of Kyoto and the Department of Sociology in the University of Indonesia, where he is also an Adjunct Professor.
Performing Morality: Commercial Television and the Remaking of a Muslim Middle Class in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia

2003 was the year Indonesian private television stations began broadcasting Islamic-themed programmes to a nationwide audience, signifying a meeting point between commercialisation and religious propagation. The gradual construction of a new Islamic middle class morality, which had its beginnings when Indonesian private television was in its infancy, evolved more rapidly during post-authoritarian times. The presentation of Islam on television was irrevocably altered afterwards. I argue that the performance of religious morality through television depicts how the Muslim middle class simultaneously fear and embrace prospects of neoliberal modernisation in culturally specific ways. Television became the device that anchored the routine production of images that reconstituted the Muslim middle class in Indonesia. During the New Order period, it ritualised new possibilities of upward mobility, while at the same time becoming more privatised, exclusive, and authoritarian. Problematically, this ritual both prolonged and intensified through market mechanisms. I conclude that commercial television is a system that reorders the representation of Muslims and the opportunities accessible to them, which, both private and for public view, have introduced and normalised modes of socioeconomic organisation around the primacy of markets.

Inaya Rakhmani is a lecturer in Communication Studies at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences of the University of Indonesia and Director of its Communication Studies Research Centre. She is also an associate at the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Australia. She is a media sociologist with a particular interest in the cultural political economy of knowledge, information, and entertainment as well as the role of media in processes of democratisation. Palgrave Macmillan will be publishing her book, *Mainstreaming Islam in Indonesia: Television, Identity and the Middle Class*, in 2016.
Based on his recent fieldwork experiences in West Java, Millie draws attention to a significant tension between national Islamic visions and those that reflect regional and local Islamic sensibilities. He argues that there is an inevitability to this tension: national visions will materialise in abstractions that grapple with citizen equality and heterogeneity, while local and regional Islamic expression foregrounds the disciplining of pious selves.

In the present, the mutual play of two developing trends has added bite to the centre/regional tension. The first is the supercharging of Islamic identity and symbolic politics that has emerged since the introduction of sub-national electoral democracy: in the present, commitments to Islamic piety are non-negotiable elements of many regional political programs. The second is the advantages that activist groups gain from exploiting the sensitivity of voting publics to Islamic politics. In electorates where respect for Islamic symbols and identity is high, activist groups find fertile ground for advocating for homogenous Islamic spheres.
Reform and the Status of Indonesian Women: The influence of Religion on Policies and Practices

Indonesia’s gender equity is said to be progressing. Increasing access to education allows women to enter the workforce, secure public office, and enter representative politics as democratic spaces are widened. Yet, women continue to face discrimination on a daily basis as a result of discriminatory social policies and practice both at local and national levels. Regulations to limit women’s freedom of movement are put in place, such as those regarding women’s clothing and the introduction of virginity tests for female students who want to enter higher education. At the same time, the government is not doing enough to bring to an end some cultural practices, such as, female genital mutilation, child marriage, polygamy and that involving gender violence, for women to enjoy their equal constitutional rights. Indonesia’s democratisation provides the space for social conservatives to dominate doctrinal debates, reinforcing and defining women’s roles, to be translated into state policies. My paper will discuss how religion continues to shape and influence state gender politics in the country’s democratisation.

Dina Afrianty is a Post-Doctoral Research fellow at the Institute for Religion, Politics, and Society at Australian Catholic University. She is currently involved in ShariaSOURCE project and working on a project on disability rights and inclusive education in Indonesian Islamic educational institutions. She received her MA and PhD from Melbourne University. After completing her PhD in 2010, she resumed her role as a senior lecturer and Head of Department of the International Relations Department at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, at the State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta, where she was also Deputy Director for the Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM). Dina is a an Associate at the Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society (CILIS) at Melbourne Law School and a research fellow at Center for the Study of Social Difference at Columbia University. Her research interests include researching gender and politics, social justice and international development.
SESSION 3

Day 1, Thursday 3 November 2016
Arts West 153 (Forum Theatre)
1.30 – 2.45PM

FOREIGN POLICY AND INDONESIA’S INTERNATIONAL ROLE

Chair: Professor Greg Barton
Chair in Global Islamic Politics, Faculty of Arts and Education, Deakin University

Indonesia’s approach to the South China Sea
Dr Dave McRae
Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne

A Free and Active Foreign Policy: Its Contemporary Relevance
Dr Philips J. Vermonte
Executive Director, The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Leadership or Post-ASEAN Foreign Policy? Indonesia’s Role in ASEAN
Dr Avery Poole
School of Social and Political Sciences, The University of Melbourne
Dr Dave McRae

Profile

Abstract

Indonesia’s Approach to the South China Sea

Democratisation in Indonesia has opened the country’s foreign policy-making to the influence of a greater number of actors, made foreign policy making subject to electoral dynamics and public opinion, and increased the space for debate between a values-based and interests-based foreign policy, amongst its other influences. This paper explores Indonesia’s policy on the South China Sea in the context of these influences, analysing the response of the Jokowi government by comparison with its predecessors.

Speaker’s Bio

Dave McRae is a senior research fellow at the University of Melbourne’s Asia Institute. His current research interests include contemporary Indonesian politics, Indonesian foreign policy, Australia-Indonesia relations and regional security issues. He is the author of A Few Poorly Organized Men: Interreligious Violence in Poso, Indonesia (2013) and translator of Solahudin’s The Roots of Terrorism in Indonesia (2013). He writes and comments frequently in both English and Indonesian in the Australian, Indonesian and other international media. He is a co-founder and editorial board member of the Indonesia At Melbourne blog, and founder and co-host of the Talking Indonesia podcast. He is also an associate in the Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society. Dave has researched conflict, politics, democratisation and human rights issues in Indonesia for well over a decade.
A Free and Active Foreign Policy: Its Contemporary Relevance

The idea of a ‘free and active’ foreign policy – promulgated by Vice President Mohammad Hatta in 1948 – has become the basic starting point for discussions within Indonesia of the nation’s foreign policy orientation. ‘Free’ is variously interpreted to mean no formal alliances with major powers, maintaining balance in relations with other nations, and autonomy in determining the country’s interests. ‘Active’ is typically taken to mean making a constructive contribution to a peaceful global order. The Indonesian nation, its external environment and scholarly understandings of international relations have all changed fundamentally since Indonesia first declared itself ‘free and active’. This paper will consider how this basic tenet shapes Indonesian foreign policy and whether it is time for a re-appraisal.

Philips Vermonette is an expert in political affairs and the Executive Director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Indonesia’s leading international policy thinktank. An in-demand speaker and one of Indonesia's foremost political observers, Dr Vermonte's insights have been sought out by Indonesia's top politicians, including President Joko Widodo. He received his PhD in Political Science at Northern Illinois University, Dekalb, USA in 2012. He is one of the founding members of the policy research network (ProREP). Over the past fifteen years, he has researched comparative politics, non-traditional security issues in Southeast Asia, Indonesia’s foreign policy and conflict studies.
Leadership or Post-ASEAN Foreign Policy? Indonesia’s Role in ASEAN

Indonesia’s role as a ‘natural leader’ of ASEAN has been called into question at certain key moments during the two decades since Reformasi. Domestic political transition and security challenges meant that foreign policy and regional leadership were de-prioritised around the turn of the century. This began to change as domestic political stability improved during the 2000s, and Indonesia emphasised the importance of ASEAN as central in the broader Asia Pacific security architecture. Since the election of President Joko ‘Jokowi’ Widodo, however, Indonesia’s leadership role has again been called into question. This paper will explore Indonesia’s role in ASEAN in historical context in order to provide a nuanced account of the contemporary situation. It will argue that concerns that Indonesia under Jokowi might ‘turn away’ from ASEAN have been allayed, at least in regard to security matters in the region. Jakarta has responded to continuing tensions in the South China Sea with calls for ASEAN unity and coherence. It has, however, shown less leadership in other fields, such as economic integration and non-traditional security issues including environmental and disaster management. While Jakarta is not embracing Rizal Sukma’s idea of a ‘post-ASEAN foreign policy’, its leadership in ASEAN remains limited to particular policy areas.

Avery Poole

Avery Poole is a Lecturer in International Relations in the School of Social and Political Sciences at The University of Melbourne. Her research focuses on Southeast Asian regionalism, particularly in regard to democracy and human rights in ASEAN. She also examines the nexus between domestic political transition and foreign policy in Southeast Asian states, and Australia’s role in the Asia-Pacific region.
SESSION 4

Day 1, Thursday 3 November 2016
Arts West 153 (Forum Theatre)
2.50 – 3.40PM

SHIFTING DIMENSIONS OF CONFLICT, HUMAN RIGHTS AND JUSTICE I
Chair: Helen Pausacker
Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society, The University of Melbourne

Mobilisation and Socio-political Change: The Political Economy of Conflict and Statebuilding in Indonesia
Dr Rachael Diprose
School of Social and Political Sciences, The University of Melbourne
Dr Muhammad Najib Azca
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIPOL), University of Gadjah Mada

Human Rights Activism and Ongoing Impunity
Associate Professor Kate McGregor
School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, The University of Melbourne
**Mobilisation and Socio-political Change: The Political Economy of Conflict and Statebuilding in Indonesia**

Indonesia’s peripheral islands and border regions constitute an important lens for understanding the intersection and contestation between the forces of statebuilding, market expansion and processes of democratisation and development. These dynamics are explored through the case of Poso in Central Sulawesi in Indonesia, with reference to less conflict-affected neighbouring areas in the province. The paper argues that the initial conflict dynamics in Poso were shaped by local inequalities and power struggles to gain access to and control of the state during a period when economic instability increased the importance of cash crops and other market economies. Religious identity gained both political salience at the onset of the conflict, and symbolic significance in the ‘repertoire of violence’ used during mobilisation. The entry of forces from Java and other conflict-affected areas – bringing networks of international groups espousing jihadist and other extremist ideologies – linked local issues in Poso with national and international discourse and tensions, giving Indonesia’s conflict regions ongoing geopolitical significance. The history of local conflict dynamics and their supra-local dimensions in border and frontier regions such as Poso, have not only influenced the framing of state development interventions to focus on mitigating inter-group disparities, but have also shaped national discourse on threat and insecurity, and contemporary responses to emerging security issues.

**Speaker’s Bio**

Dr Rachael Diprose and Dr Najib Azca

Dr Rachael Diprose

Rachael Diprose is a Lecturer of International Development in the School of Social and Political Sciences at The University of Melbourne. Rachael leads the cross-disciplinary research cluster on Conflict, Development and Justice in the School of Social and Political Sciences, 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, which has a particular focus on Indonesia. Formerly of the University of Oxford, Department of International Development where she gained her DPhil, Rachael has led academic and applied mixed-methods research programs in a number of countries, particularly in Southeast Asia and West Africa.

Rachael’s research broadly focuses on the political economy and sociology of conflict, state-building and development. Her work also explores the dynamics of contention in decentralisation and multi-level governance, with a particular focus on the resource and land sectors and emerging field of...
climate change mitigation. Rachael has a long history of working together with academics, senior policy makers, development practitioners, and civil society organisations in Indonesia. Her co-authored book, *Contesting Development*, published with Yale University Press, explores the dynamics of contention in development processes and was awarded the 2012 American Sociological Association Award for 'best new work in development'.

**Speaker's Bio**

Dr Muhammad Najib Azca

Muhammad Najib Azca is a senior lecturer at the Department of Sociology, Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) and currently Vice Dean for Research and Collaboration of the Faculty of Social and Political Science UGM. Najib holds a BA from the Department of Sociology at UGM, an MA from the Faculty of Asian Studies, the Australian National University (ANU), and a PhD from Universiteit van Amsterdam. His dissertation, completed in 2011, is titled, *After Jihad: A Biographical Approach to Passionate Politics in Indonesia*.

Working as a senior researcher at the Center for Security and Peace Studies (CSPS) and presently Director of the Youth Studies Centre (YouSure) of UGM, Najib has published many articles in both Indonesian and international publications, including “In between military and militia; the dynamics of the security forces in the communal conflict in Ambon” published in the *Asian Journal of Social Sciences* in 2006, and *After the Communal War: Understanding and Addressing Post-Conflict Violence in Eastern Indonesia*, published by CSPS BOOKS in 2011 (co-authored with Patrick Barron and Tri Susdinarjanti).
Abstract: In their transitions to democracy Argentinians and Indonesians have both had to grapple with the legacies of military violence directed at the political Left, in the so called ‘dirty war’ in Argentina from 1976-1983 and the Indonesian genocide from 1965-1968. Human rights activists and survivors have played critical roles in agitating for redress in both cases. What distinguishes Argentina, however, from Indonesia is the fact that in the early transition period Argentinians held a truth commission and trials of key military leaders. Then following a period of stalled justice activists were able to create a new societal consensus on the need for further redress including extended trials. In Indonesia meanwhile a proposed truth commission that would have considered the 1965 case was abandoned and there have been no trials of military leaders for this case. In this paper I seek to assess what forms of memory activism have been most effective in breaking the justice impasse. Here I focus on activist groups that have tried to expose impunity. I pay particular attention to the Argentinian group H.I.J.O.S. (Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio, Children for Identity and Justice Against Forgetting and Silence), whose members led a campaign for a resumption of trials, by emphasizing perpetrators living with complete freedom in society alongside the families of the disappeared. In Indonesia I focus on the KKPK (Koalisi untuk Keadilan dan Pengungkapan Kebenaran, KKPK Coalition for Justice and Truth) whose members have focused on exposing impunity through public hearings of survivor accounts. I assess these activist efforts alongside the different political contexts of both countries including ongoing military influence and the strength of support for activism. I argue that a focus on impunity may be crucial in cracking impasses in justice measures.
SESSION 5

Day 1, Thursday 3 November 2016
Arts West 153 (Forum Theatre)
4 – 5:15PM

SHIFTING DIMENSIONS OF CONFLICT, HUMAN RIGHTS AND JUSTICE II

Chair: Dr Michael Ewing
Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne

Negotiating Political Interests and Human Rights Claims: Komnas HAM in the Age Of Reform
Dr Ken Setiawan
Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne

Freedom of the Media: The Role of Watchdogs
Dr Edwin Jurriens
Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne

Indonesian Migrant Workers' Struggles, Within and Beyond the State
Dr Ratna Saptari Soetikno Slamet
The Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Universiteit Leiden
Wahyu Susilo
Migrant Care Indonesia
Negotiating Political Interests and Human Rights Claims: Komnas HAM in the Age Of Reform

During the New Order, the Indonesian National Human Rights Commission Komnas HAM surprised observers, particularly through its investigations into human rights violations in which the security forces were involved. This raised hopes that following the fall of Suharto and the strengthening and expansion of Komnas HAM’s mandate, the Commission would be able to make a significant contribution to human rights reform in general and addressing past human rights violations in particular. In this paper, I argue that Komnas HAM has failed to meet these expectations because of the politicisation of its organisation and internal discord regarding the roles that Commission should play in the broader context of human rights reform.
Freedom of the Media: The Role of Watchdogs

The media played a substantial role in the Indonesian Reformasi. One of the key moments was the television coverage of the riots and demonstrations following the attacks of the PDI headquarters in July 1996. Reformasi also contributed to greater freedom of expression and the media itself. New challenges and threats have emerged too, particularly the increased commercialisation and oligopolisation of the media. This presentation will focus on the role of watchdogs monitoring and where possible providing answers to these challenges and threats. It will explain that the monitoring individuals and organisations, as essential pillars of media democracy, have not been without their own problems either.

Edwin Jurriëns is Lecturer in Indonesian Studies at The University of Melbourne and Adjunct Lecturer with the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at The University of New South Wales (UNSW) Canberra. Edwin’s research, teaching and engagement interests are in art, media, culture and language in Asia, particularly Indonesia. He is especially interested in the role of art communities as creative laboratories for exploring alternative, more sustainable interactions between virtual, material and natural environments. Edwin is co-editor of the Asian Visual Cultures book series of Amsterdam University Press and the principal supervisor of four current PhD projects on contemporary art and the media in various parts of Asia. He was co-convenor of the 2016 ANU Indonesia Update on ‘Digital Indonesia’. His most recent monographs include Visual media in Indonesia: video vanguard (Routledge, forthcoming) and From monologue to dialogue: radio and reform in Indonesia (Brill, 2009).
Indonesian Migrant Workers’ Struggles, Within and Beyond the State

The Asian Financial Crisis and the years thereafter have been a period of rapid and dramatic increase in migrant workers abroad. State institutions were established to control both the movement of people and their remittances, and a reorganization of various ministries occurred to facilitate these processes. Various studies have examined the changes in government policies and their impact on migrant workers; and also the role of labour unions in relation to their exploitative conditions. Building on earlier work this paper aims to examine the struggles of (documented and undocumented) migrant workers collectively and individually both in Indonesia and in selected destination countries, namely the major Southeast and East Asian receiving countries (Malaysia, Hongkong, Korea, Taiwan) and also one European country (The Netherlands).

The structural environment that migrants and migrant organizations face has become especially complicated not only because of the tensions between different state institutions but also because of the diversity of inter-state agreements.

Placing workers’ struggles in the context of these different structures and mobility patterns provides a better understanding of the various strategies of Indonesian migrants in maneuvering their way through their formal and informal networks both in Indonesia and the destination countries, in order to create their own spaces of struggle.

The issues that migrants and migrant organizations have to deal with are basically experienced within three different stages of mobility: the period of departure, the phase of working in the country of destination; and finally their return and/or their relationship with the families back home. In this paper we will focus mainly on the first two stages, namely the processes of migrants’ movement to the destination countries and their work and living conditions in the receiving countries, as these strongly interrelated stages also shape the way they relate to their families back home.
**Speaker's Bio**

**Dr Ratna Saptari**

Ratna Saptari is an Assistant professor at the Universiteit Leiden. She studied anthropology at the University of Indonesia (MA 1984) and at the University of Amsterdam (PhD 1995). Ratna Saptari is currently writing on 'The Making and Remaking of the Cigarette Labour Communities in East Java: a comparative study of three cigarette towns, 1913-2003'; 'Decolonisation and Urban Labour in Indonesia (1920s to 1965): Continuity and Change' and ‘The Cultures of Tobacco in Indonesia and India.’ She has organized several panels and conferences in collaboration with research/teaching institutions in Europe and Asia focusing on topics such as labour, migration, domestic service, social movements and histories of subaltern groups. In addition to several articles and book chapters on these themes, she has also co-edited a number of books: *The Household and Beyond: Cultural Notions and Social Practices in the Study of Gender in Indonesia; Labour in Southeast Asia: Local Processes in a Globalized World; and on the politics of history-writing Pemikiran Kembali Penulisan Sejarah Indonesia (Rethinking Indonesian History-Writing).*

**Speaker's Bio**

**Wahyu Susilo**

Wahyu Susilo is a Policy Analyst at the Migrant Care. He founded Migrant Care in 2004, an organization that is dedicated to fighting for the rights of migrant workers from Indonesia. In 2002, there was a horrific incident where Malaysia deported 350,000 undocumented migrant workers. Upon arrival in Indonesia, almost nothing was done for the people arriving. This caused 85 deaths; scores more suffered injury and disease. In the aftermath of this disaster, Mr. Susilo was able to bring the plight of migrant workers directly into the public eye, and has continued to build and raise awareness ever since. Mr. Susilo was given the Trafficking in Persons Report Hero Award in 2007 for his efforts to combat human trafficking. Since then, he has continued to work with migrant workers in Indonesia. He was the head of the Advocacy Division of the Forum on Indonesian Development until 2012, and was a coordinator for the Global Call to Action Against Poverty from 2005 to 2008.
SESSION 6

Day 2, Friday 4 November 2016
Old Arts D
9 – 10:20PM

REFLECTIONS ON TWO DECADES OF GOVERNANCE AND ECONOMIC REFORM

Chair: Professor Andrew McIntyre
Deputy Vice Chancellor, Global Development, RMIT University

How Economic Reform has been Shaped by Conflicts over Power and Wealth in Post-Soeharto Indonesia
Professor Richard Robison
Murdoch University

Who Wants What Kind of Institutional Change? Perspectives from the Palm Oil Industry
Professor Natasha Hamilton-Hart
Director of the New Zealand Asia Institute, The University of Auckland

From Change to Change: Success, Challenges and Sustainability of Bureaucratic Reform in Indonesia
Professor Eko Prasojo
Former Deputy Minister for Bureaucratic Reform
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia
Abstract

How Economic Reform Has Been Shaped by Conflicts Over Power and Wealth in Post-Soeharto Indonesia

When the IMF established an agreement for economic reform with the Indonesian government following the Asian Financial Crisis it seemed the oxygen that had sustained Indonesia’s political and business oligarchy and its nationalist ideologues had been removed and resistance to neoliberal market economics finally ended. But this has not been the case. Today we find that economic nationalism is resurgent and institutional reform, particularly in relation to corruption, has faltered. How can this be explained? Partly it relates to the changing circumstances of the global economy and the growing difficulties of Indonesia’s producer exporters but more importantly it is suggested here that it relates to the growing power of interests for whom markets are contingent. In this short presentation I will talk about the interests and political coalitions involved in the struggle to shape the direction of economic reform and use some key cases to illustrate this progress.

Speaker’s Bio

Richard Robison is known for his influential book “Indonesia: The Rise of Capital” and as the foremost political economist of Indonesia. He is currently Emeritus Professor in the Asia Research Centre at Murdoch University. Among his previous positions he has been Professor and Director of the Australian Research Council’s Special Centre for Research on Politics and Society in Contemporary Asia (1994-99). He was Professor of Political Economy at the Institute for Social Studies in The Hague, Netherlands, from 2003 to 2006. He has held a Fulbright Senior Scholar’s Award (1989) and a Leverhulme Trust Award in 2001/2002 as Visiting Professor at the University of Warwick.
# Abstract

**Who Wants What Kind of Institutional Change? Perspectives from the Palm Oil Industry**

Institutions privilege some actors and types of activity over others, with the result that institutional change is always political. Indonesia’s palm oil industry is enmeshed in controversy in part because of the persistence of apparently dysfunctional institutions structuring the way property – the land on which oil palm is grown – is controlled. While some of the dysfunction is rooted in imbalances of power, the nature of the legal system also structures incentives for institutional change by influencing the types of resistance strategy available to those who lose from current arrangements.

# Speaker’s Bio

**Natasha Hamilton-Hart** joined the Department of Management and International Business at The University of Auckland in January 2011. Prior to joining The University of Auckland, she held positions at the National University of Singapore and the Australian National University. She received her PhD from Cornell University in 1999 and BA (Hons) from the University of Otago in 1990. Professor Natasha Hamilton-Hart is also the Director of the New Zealand Asia Institute.
From Change to Change: Success, Challenges and Sustainability of Bureaucratic Reform in Indonesia

Milestone changes to politics, law, economics, and the bureaucracy after 1998 have become known as the ‘first reform’ of the reformasi era. These changes are largely based on the desire to establish democratic government and accelerate the realization of the people’s welfare based on basic values as expressed in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. Indonesia has made significant progress over the last decade in designing, implementing and continually evaluating its public sector reform from 2004-2014. However, there are various and fundamental challenges that require further action from the Jokowi Administration. This presentation focuses on the new challenges of bureaucratic reform.

Eko Prasojo graduated from the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia. He received a Master and a Doctor Degree in Public Administration from Deutsche Hochschule für Verwaltungswissenschaften, Speyer, Germany. Since October 2011 until October 2014, he was the Vice Minister of Administrative Reform in the Republic of Indonesia. He is now Executive Director for Universitas Indonesia’s Center for Study of Governance and Administrative Reform and head of the editorial board of the *Jurnal Bisnis and Birokrasi*. Eko Prasojo is a member United Nation Committee of Experts on Public Administration (UN-CEPA), Vice President of the Asian Group for Public Administration (AGPA), Vice President of the Asian Association for Public Administration (AAPA) and the President of the Indonesian Association of Public Administration (IAPA). Eko Prasojo was involved in the formulation of several drafts of laws on bureaucratic reform and decentralization in Indonesia. He is a member of the advisory council for local autonomy in Indonesia since 2006. He also currently serves as Head of the Independent Team for National Bureaucratic Reform in Indonesia under the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia.
SESSION 7A – PANEL 1

Day 2, Friday 4 November 2016
Arts West 453
10:45 – 12:45PM

RESOURCE GOVERNANCE AND CONTESTATION
Chair: Professor Damien Kingsbury
School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Deakin University

Resources, Autonomy and Conflict in “Reformasi-era” West Papua
Dr Richard Chauvel
Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne

Reform and Resource Nationalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia: The Case of Oil and Gas
Eve Warburton
Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, ANU

After Reformasi: Addressing Indonesia’s Critical Land Governance Questions
Associate Professor John McCarthy
Director of the Resources, Environment and Development program, Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU

Reshaping the Border - Transforming Resource Governance
Professor Purwo Santoso
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIPOL), University of Gadjah Mada
General Ali Moertopo was one of the architects of Indonesia’s conduct of the “Act of Free Choice” in 1969. Papuan nationalists often reference his statement that Indonesia was not interested in Papuans, but only wanted the land and resources of Papua. If Papuans wanted Merdeka they can look for another island in the Pacific or ask the Americans to find them a place on the moon. Besides Ali Moertopo’s contemptuous attitude, his statement highlights the centrality of resources in the Papua conflict. This paper will examine the how resources have influenced the conflict, particularly the way the Freeport gold and copper mine has been a magnet for violence as well as a factor in the political-economy of the Indonesian security forces. The 2001 Special Autonomy Law sought to quell Papuan demands for independence through a more generous allocation of Papua’s resource-generated revenue as well as greater powers to the provincial governments. The paper will examine why support for independence remains strong.

Richard Chauvel is an Honorary Fellow at the Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne. He has research interests in Indonesian history and politics, Indonesia-Australia relations and Australian foreign policy. His research has focussed on issues of national unity, centre-region relations and decentralization as well as political and social change in Papua and Maluku. Prior to joining the Asia Institute, he taught at the University of Sydney, the University of Indonesia and Victoria University. He has been a member of the Joint Selection Team for Australia Awards Indonesia Scholarships, 2007-2013, 2016.
Reform and Resource Nationalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia: The Case of Oil and Gas

Since democratisation, Indonesia’s resource sectors have experienced a marked rise in nationalist mobilisation. Nationalist coalitions emerged in the years following Reformasi, and used new democratic tools to lobby the state for greater restrictions upon foreign capital and more privileges for state-owned and domestic companies. The broader literature on ‘resource nationalism’ suggests this kind of mobilisation is epiphenomenal, emerging in response to high commodity prices. Scholarship on Indonesia’s economic history also suggests a pattern whereby economic nationalism peaks during the ‘good times’ of a resource boom. Upon close inspection, however, these market cycle theories appear misplaced. This paper examines resource nationalism in the oil and gas sector, where nationalist groups seek to reverse liberal legislation introduced during Reformasi. They want to resurrect the New Order-era system, in which state-owned company, Pertamina, enjoyed special dispensations and acted as both a commercial operator and industry regulator. Resource nationalism in oil and gas is not, I argue, simply responding to a price mechanism. In fact, arguments in favour of Pertamina’s privilege have gained more traction with lawmakers during the recent period of low oil prices. Instead, I suggest that nationalist coalitions in Indonesia’s energy sector have gained ground due to particular features of Indonesia’s post-authoritarian political economy. First, Pertamina’s improved corporate credentials have renewed the company’s political legitimacy over the past decade. Second, Indonesia is no longer a prominent oil-exporting nation, and stagnating investment has (ironically) undermined the credibility of liberal reform in policymaking circles. Finally, the assertive nationalist mood of post-Suharto politics more generally has bolstered coalitions in the energy sector. Under these conditions nationalist coalitions find fertile ground for their campaign against the liberal policies of the Reformasi years.

Eve Warburton has spent the last decade studying, working and traveling throughout Indonesia, and is now a PhD candidate at the Department of Political and Social Change, in the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs. Eve has a BA (Languages) (Hons) from the University of Sydney and an MA in Human Rights from Columbia University, where she focused on the human rights responsibilities of businesses. She has worked on various research projects and managed academic programs at the Institute for the Study of Human Rights at Columbia University, the Sydney Southeast Asia Centre, the Earth Institute, Human Rights Watch, and the Aceh Research Training Institute in Indonesia. Her research interests include the relationship between business and politics, and the politics of natural resource policy in Indonesia and the Southeast Asian region. Eve’s work has been published in Inside Indonesia, New Mandala, East Asia Forum, The Alternative Law Journal, and Southeast Asia Research.
**Abstract**

*After Reformasi: Addressing Indonesia’s Critical Land Governance Questions*

Indonesia has transitioned from an authoritarian regime towards a more formally democratic system. In a similar fashion to the other transition countries of Southeast Asia, earlier policy and practice has left a heritage of acute environmental, equity and legitimacy issues, creating difficult challenges for reformists. Since this time the governmentalization of land affairs has led to a localization of land negotiations. In many cases the formalization of tenure has incorporated landowners into land based production systems on unfavorable terms. This paper discusses two efforts to reform land affairs by creating new governance processes and spaces. The first involves rescaling governance up from the local smallholder-investor interface and inserting it into non-state, transnational forms of regulation. The second attempts to address the concerns of marginalized communities by recognizing the tenurial rights of marginal groups. The paper appraises the implications of these approaches for land based livelihoods in the vast lands beyond Java.

**Speaker’s Bio**

John McCarthy is Associate Professor and Director of the Resources, Environment and Development program at the ANU Crawford School of Public Policy. He was previously a Research Fellow at the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Western Australia and Leiden University in the Netherlands. His research interests include agricultural policy and food security; resource rights, governance, and institutions with a focus on forestry, agriculture and land use; and politics, policy and natural resource governance in a developing context. At present he has worked on a discovery project regarding social protection and food security in rural Indonesia with funding from the Australian Research Council.
Reshaping the Border: Transforming Resource Governance

Successful attempts to introduce and advocate the idea of a maritime state through UN Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) have multiplied Indonesia’s territories and expanded its border zone. Legal claims to the sea have not been matched by sensitivity to sea-based natural resources, however, let alone ensured that these resources provide utmost benefit to the people. In the context of a long term exclusion and inclusion process embedded in the territorialistic border governance, this paper aims to analyze an alternative. It places more emphasis on transborder engagement and relying more on market-based voluntary exchange, which is equally insensitive to the issue of distribution. Hence, border zone implies the underdeveloped area. As the government becomes increasingly more aware of its failures in this area, Joko Widodo’s government wants to address it through the idea of developing Indonesia from the margins. Popular expectations are very high, but the government has yet to offer an answer commensurate with the challenges it faces regarding the scale and the diversity of border regimes.

Speaker’s Bio

Purwo Santoso is Professor of Government, and Director of the Doctoral Program on Political Science at Universitas Gadjah Mada. He obtained his MA in International Development Studies from Saint Mary’s University in Canada, and his Ph.D from the Department of Government, London School of Economic and Political Science. His academic interests involve a critical and interdisciplinary approach to the study of contextual governance and policy-making. His main research has been on environmental policy-making, democratization, decentralization, border governance and the politics of knowledge. Apart from his academic works, he serves as Vice Chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) at the provincial chapter of Yogyakarta.
SESSION 7B – PANEL 2

Day 2, Friday 4 November 2016
Arts West 456
10:45 – 12:45PM

DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL POLICY

Chair: Professor John Murphy
School of Social and Political Sciences,
The University of Melbourne

Addressing Poverty and Inequality through Social Programs: Where We Are Heading After the AFC
Dr Sudarno Sumarto
The SMERU Research Institute; Policy Adviser to the Indonesian National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K)

Decentralization and Social Protection in Indonesia: Its Local Dynamics and New Directions
Dr Nurhadi
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIPOL), University of Gadjah Mada

Expanding Universal Health Coverage in the Presence of Informality in Indonesia: Challenges and Reforms
Dr Teguh Dartanto
Institute for Economic and Social Research (LPEM), University of Indonesia

The Political Economy of Education Reform in Indonesia
Associate Professor Andrew Rosser
Anthropology and Development Studies, University of Adelaide
**Addressing Poverty and Inequality through Social Programs: Where We Are Heading After the AFC**

The Asian Financial Crisis (AFC) in 1997/1998 marked the beginning of formal and targeted social assistance programs in Indonesia. Since then, a comprehensive set of safety net programs covering food security, employment creation, education, health, and community empowerment have been implemented to help both households and individuals to cope with impacts of the crisis. Additionally, conditional and unconditional cash transfer programs have replaced highly regressive fuel subsidies, and a National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K) was formed with the mandate to oversee all national poverty reduction programs. Years later, despite solid economic growth and poverty reduction, inequality has been steadily rising and places Indonesia among the countries with the highest inequality in the East Asia and Pacific region. This presentation analyses the success and failures of Indonesia’s social programs after the crisis, drawing key lessons for the future of social protection policy in Indonesia.

**Speaker’s Bio**

*Sudarno Sumarto* is a Policy Adviser of the National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K), Office of the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia and senior research fellow at the SMERU Research Institute. He has a PhD and an MA from Vanderbilt University and a BSc from Satya Wacana Christian University (Salatiga), all in economics. He was formerly a visiting fellow at Shorenstein APARC Stanford University for 2009–10 and served for almost ten years as the director of SMERU, an independent institute for research and public policy studies. He was also a lecturer at Bogor Institute of Agriculture (IPB), Bogor, Indonesia.

Sudarno has contributed to more than sixty co-authored articles, chapters, reports, and working papers. In addition to researching and writing papers, Sudarno has for a number of years worked closely with the Indonesian government, giving advice on poverty issues and government poverty alleviation programs. He has spoken on poverty and development issues in Australia, Chile, Peru, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Japan, Morocco, Thailand, and the United Kingdom, among other countries.
Abstract

Decentralization and Social Protection in Indonesia: Its Local Dynamics and New Directions

Two decades after reformasi commenced, Indonesia has reached a point where decentralization, a fundamental response to democratization, is more institutionalised in the governmental reform process. Social protection as one of the key instruments in promoting welfare is following this trend, with the increase of the role of local governments in the prevention and protection of vulnerable people.

This analysis seeks to examine the local dynamics of social protection and its new directions in Indonesia. Based on literature review, policy review and media analysis, the main finding of this analysis shows that the provision of social protection has been coloured, on one side, by social conflicts and clientelism (patronage), and on the other side, by the emergence of local initiatives.

The main finding also shows that the new directions of social protection in Indonesia are characterised by three emerging issues: its response to the new systematic needs, such as natural disaster; the evolution of universalism; and the new delivery system in the context of digital society.

Speaker’s Bio

Nurhadi is the Secretary of the Masters Programme in Social Development and Welfare, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia. He was formally trained in social policy and social work in the University of York, United Kingdom. His PhD thesis focused on child labour in Indonesia. His research interests include child and family policy, social security/social protection, and social policy for developing countries or global social policy. He teaches introduction to social policy, social policy and globalisation, social security, and social work for undergraduate students. He also teaches social policy planning, social analysis, and comparative social policy for masters students. In 2007, he published a book on social security and poverty reduction (in Indonesian). He also wrote some book chapters on poverty alleviation, social philanthropy and community empowerment.
Expanding Universal Health Coverage in the Presence of Informality in Indonesia: Challenges and Reforms

The Indonesian government integrated a fragmented health insurance scheme into a single national insurance scheme, *Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (JKN)* as a milestone to achieve Universal Health Coverage. The implementation of the new system highlights the “missing middle” problem in which the non-poor workers in the informal sector remains uncovered from the health care due to self-enrollment. This presentation aims at exploring some challenges and reforms to accomplishing UHC in 2019. Two important challenges of UHC especially dealing with informality are: 1) how to mandate workers in informal sectors to join JKN; 2) how to ensure those who have already joined JKN pay their premiums regularly. Our study found that the insurance premium is not the primary impediment. Rather, the two main obstacles were: availability of health services; and a lack of insurance literacy. Moreover, in the terms of sustainability, we found that almost a quarter of members registered when they fell ill, and tend to stop paying the premium when they do not use services. Both insurance literacy and health service availability are two important factors attracting self-enrolled members to sustainably pay a premium. Expanding coverage as well as ensuring sustainability calls for increased investment in health care facilitates as well as campaigns to educate the public about the importance of health insurance. BPJS Kesehatan - the managing institution of JKN - has enacted some regulatory reforms to tackle issues of the missing middle and sustainability, but there is a time lag between the policy reforms and the outcome of the reform emerging.

**Speaker's Bio**

*Teguh Dartanto* is currently Director of the Undergraduate Program in Economics, Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Indonesia and Head of Poverty and Development Studies, Institute for Economic and Social Research (LPEM), University of Indonesia. He pursued his Masters of Economics at Hitotsubashi University and his PHD in International Development at Nagoya University. His specialization is in poverty analyses, development economics, applied general equilibrium, and microeconometrics. Besides at the University of Indonesia, Dartanto has engaged actively in numerous research collaborations and consultations with many international counterparts, such as the Australian National University, Nagoya University, Asian Development Bank, ERIA, UNDP and OECD. His current project involves several researches on universal health coverage in the presence of informality, a sustainability of premium payment, financial analysis of social security in Indonesia, poverty and inequality.
Abstract

The Political Economy of Education Reform in Indonesia

Since the Fall of the New Order, the Indonesian government has adopted a range of market-oriented education policy reforms in an effort to improve access to and the quality of Indonesia’s education system. For the most part, these have run aground in the face of fierce political resistance from predatory and popular forces. This presentation examines the reasons for this outcome and assesses the implications for the future of Indonesia’s educational development.

Speaker's Bio

Andrew Rosser is Associate Professor of Development Studies at the University of Adelaide. He is currently researching the relationship between law, politics and socio-economic rights in Indonesia. His other research interests include the resource curse, the political economy of policy-making, the politics of inclusion, aid governance, rebuilding governance in fragile states, and corporate governance/corporate social responsibility. He is the author of The Politics of Economic Liberalisation in Indonesia. Besides Adelaide, he has worked at the Institute of Development Studies (Sussex), AusAID, the University of Sydney and Murdoch University and been a consultant to the World Bank, the UK Department for International Development, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Oxfam, UNRISD, UNDP, and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. From 2012 to 2015, he was an Australian Research Council Future Fellow.
SESSION 8A – PANEL 1

Day 2, Friday 4 November 2016
Arts West 453
1:45 – 3:15PM

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LEGAL REFORM

Chair: Professor Mark Considine
The Dean, Faculty of Arts, The University of Melbourne

The Smart City As a Bureaucracy Reform Program: A Case Study of the Adoption of the Smart City in Ten Cities in Indonesia
Professor Erwan Agus Purwanto
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIPOL), University of Gadjah Mada

New Approaches in Policy Delivery
Anwar Sanusi
Secretary General of the Ministry of Villages, Underdeveloped Regions, and Transmigration

Combating Corruption in Yudhoyono’s Indonesia: an Insider’s Perspective
Professor Denny Indrayana
Former Deputy Minister for Law and Human Rights,
Melbourne Law School and the Faculty of Arts, The University of Melbourne

The Role Of Academics as Non-State Policy Entrepreneurs in Policy Transfer for Reforming The Civil Service In Indonesia
Dr Wahyu Sutiyono
Centre for Change Governance, University of Canberra
Abstract

The Smart City As a Bureaucracy Reform Program: A Case Study of the Adoption of the Smart City in Ten Cities in Indonesia

The Jokowi government has a strong commitment to reform the bureaucracy by adopting e-gov. In its development, the implementation of e-gov has not only limited efforts to improve the efficiency of bureaucracy, but also to achieve more comprehensive goals of increased efficiency of the entire community with the ultimate objective to boost productivity and competitiveness of Indonesia in facing global challenges. At the level of municipal government, efforts to enhance overall efficiency have taken the form of application of the smart city program.

This paper proposes to discuss smart city program implementation in several cities in Indonesia. The main question to be answered is: whether the smart city is able to bring change to the lives of Indonesian citizens? What are the problems faced by municipalities in implementing the smart city program?

Speaker’s Bio

Erwan Agus Purwanto is the dean of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM). He is also lecturer at the Department of Public Policy and Management (PPM). He received his PhD in social science from the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research (ASSR), University of Amsterdam, in 2004. He has conducting research on Indonesian administrative reform, local government transparency, and public service reform in Indonesia. Currently, He is coordinating a research program entitled: Popular Control and Effective Welfarism, a five-year collaborative research program between the University of Oslo, the University of Agder and Universitas Gadjah Mada. He teaches public policy analysis, research methodology, and Publicness in the undergraduate, masters and doctoral program of public policy and management.
Dr Anwar Sanusi, MPA. Ph.D

New Approaches in Policy Delivery

Speaker’s Bio

Anwar Sanusi is the Secretary General of the Ministry of Villages, Underdeveloped Regions and Transmigration of the Republic of Indonesia. He was formerly the Head of the Centre for Research on Organisational Performance in the Institute for Higher Education in Administration, at the Indonesian Institute for Public Administration (STIA-LAN). During this time he was 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.
Abstract

Combating Corruption in Yudhoyono’s Indonesia: an Insider’s Perspective

Combating corruption in Indonesia is not an easy task, even for a president. In this public lecture, Professor Denny Indrayana, who was President Yudhoyono’s Deputy Minister of Law and Human Rights (2011-2014) and Special Advisor for Legal Affairs, Human Rights and Anti-Corruption (2008-2011), shares his own experiences of just how complicated it was. More specifically, Professor Indrayana will analyse the Yudhoyono government’s efforts to protect the Indonesian Corruption Eradication Commission from attack by its many enemies, including corruptors. President Yudhoyono tried very hard to beat corruption and had some successes but many basic problems persist. In particular, the corrupt political landscape makes war against corruption extraordinarily difficult - even for a president.

Speaker’s Bio

Denny Indrayana is an internationally recognised anticorruption campaigner who has played a leading role in law reform efforts in Indonesia. He is currently a Visiting Professor at Melbourne Law School and the Faculty of Arts at the University of Melbourne and Professor of Constitutional Law at Gadjah Mada University. Before being sworn in as Vice Minister of Law and Human Rights, Denny was Special Advisor for Legal Affairs, Human Rights and Anticorruption to President Yudhoyono, Chair of the Centre for the Study of AntiCorruption at Gadjah Mada University, and Director of the Indonesian Court Monitoring NGO. Denny has a PhD from the Melbourne Law School and won the prestigious Australian Alumni Award in 2009. He has written hundreds of articles and books.
Abstract

The Role of Academics as Non-State Policy Entrepreneurs in Policy Transfer for Reforming The Civil Service In Indonesia

This study pertains to policy transfer by non-state policy entrepreneurs after two decades of reformasi. It examines the involvement of academics as policy entrepreneurs in the policy cycle within civil service reform initiatives. The study’s findings reveal that unlike the common practice of merely providing knowledge to the bureaucracy and worrying about non-adoption, academics as policy entrepreneurs in this period, albeit facing mounting obstacles, were able to participate in various stages of the policy cycle. Their participation was to a large extent influenced by the changing of democratic government administrations that enabled them to move in and out of the bureaucracy, forging knowledge transfer throughout the stages of policy formulation, adoption and implementation. Opportunities and challenges reflect the dynamics of reform in the transition period of democratisation mired with resistance to change and the quest for quality policy skills in the civil service. The two decades of reform demonstrate an evolutionary process not only on the roles of academics as policy entrepreneurs but also the contents of the policy itself and, hopefully, on meaningful reform in the civil service system.

Speaker’s Bio

Wahyu Sutiyono is Assistant Professor of Human Resource Management at the Faculty of Business, Government and Law, University of Canberra. She teaches in the areas of human resource management, performance management and organisational change. Wahyu’s research areas are on the human resource management dimension of public administration in Indonesia, particularly related to civil service at the national and sub-national levels. As Coordinator of the DFAT/PSLP grant implementation at the University of Canberra from 2011-2015, working with the Vice President’s Office and the Ministry of Administrative Reform (KemenPAN RB), she led capacity building programs on bureaucratic reform for a number of ministries and local governments that involved learning exchanges with counterpart agencies in Australia. The research side of this project has extended her areas into policy transfer and knowledge-informed policy making in public administration reform.
SESSION 8B – PANEL 2

Day 2, Friday 4 November 2016
Arts West 456
1:45 – 3:15PM

SECURITY SECTOR REFORM

Chair: Dr Dave McRae
Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne

Military Politics and Coalitional Presidentialism in Post-Suharto Indonesia
Associate Professor Marcus Mietzner
Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, ANU

Evan A. Laksmana
The Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Military Reform and Defense Transformation in Indonesia
Andi Widjajanto
Former Cabinet Secretary
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia
Military Politics and Coalitional Presidentialism in Post-Suharto Indonesia

While the Indonesian armed forces lost a significant amount of their political power during the democratic transition between 1998 and 2004, they remain highly influential to this day. The cultural and institutional embeddedness of the military in Indonesian society is a popular explanation for its persistent political clout. But as this presentation will show, the extent of the military’s political power depends to a large extent on the incumbent president’s perception of his or her position vis-à-vis other civilian forces. Most post-Suharto Indonesian presidents have, rightly or wrongly, concluded that they needed the military’s support to protect themselves from impeachment by civilian rivals. Even after the 2002 constitutional amendments made presidential impeachments extremely difficult to achieve, incumbents continued to treat the military as an insurance policy against potential threats from parties and parliament. Thus, the military has become an important actor in the architecture of coalitional presidentialism in Indonesia, with incumbents adjusting their reliance on the military to the actual or imagined threat levels confronting their presidential rule.

Speaker’s Bio

Marcus Mietzner is Associate Professor at the Coral Bell School of Asia-Pacific affairs at the Australian National University in Canberra. He has published extensively on Indonesian politics in peer-reviewed journals, such as Governance, Journal of Democracy, Asian Survey, Journal of Contemporary Asia and Journal of East Asian Studies. His latest book is "Money, Power, and Ideology: Political Parties in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia", Honolulu: Hawaii University Press (2013). He also worked as a program officer for civil-military relations on a USAID-funded project in Jakarta from 2001 to 2007.

The presentation seeks to examine how Indonesian military officers were promoted and rotated for the past decade (2005-2015). Using a unique dataset consisting of almost 4,000 high-ranking officers, the research seeks to unpack broader patterns of how the TNI has shuffled its officers around. The research seeks to identify and show how organizational pressures within the TNI can help us understand broader questions surrounding military politics, defense policy, and civil-military relations in contemporary Indonesia.

Evan Laksmana is currently a Visiting PhD Scholar at the University of Sydney’s Southeast Asia Centre. He is also a researcher at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta and a political science PhD candidate at Syracuse University’s Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, where he was a Fulbright Presidential Scholar. He taught at the Indonesian Defense University and held fellowships with the Lowy Institute for International Policy, German Marshall Fund of the United States, and Nanyang Technological University’s S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. He has published for *Asian Security, Contemporary Southeast Asia, Journal of the Indian Ocean Region, Defence Studies, Journal of Strategic Studies, Harvard Asia Quarterly, Security Challenges, Foreign Affairs, Washington Post*, and others. He holds a BA in Political Science from Parahyangan Catholic University, MS in Strategic Studies from Nanyang Technological University, and MA in Political Science from Syracuse University. He tweets at @EvanLaksmana
Military Reform and Defense Transformation in Indonesia

Indonesia initiated military reform as an integral part of the process of democratization. This reform was launched to strengthen the character of military professionalism by removing the character of political and business army.

One can argue that most of the agenda of military reform has been completed in 2014. Law on State Defense (2002) and Law on Armed Forces (2004), for example, were passed to strengthen the democratic principle of civilian control of armed forces. These laws give mandate to the government to abolish army’s political role by abandoning the military dual function doctrine.

In Jokowi’s era, the term military reform is not used as a political reference to transform the military. Jokowi introduced the new doctrine of a global maritim fulcrum to accelerate defense transformation. The acceleration is done by restructuring military organization and troop deployments to create an integrated armed forces, and by remodeling the process of military modernization to achieve the strategic goal to create a Minimum Essential Force by 2024.
Day 2, Friday 4 November 2016
Old Arts D
3:45 – 5:15PM

STATE IDEOLOGY AND REFORM

Chair: Dr Nadirsyah Hosen
Faculty of Law, Monash University

The Challenge of Reform under the Jokowi Presidency
Dr Hilmar Farid
Director General of Culture, The Ministry of Education and Culture

Two Decades of Ideology in Indonesia: From Exceptionalism to Cosmopolitanism and Back Again
Associate Professor David Bourchier
Asian Studies, The University of Western Australia

It's All in the Family: Prabowo, Gerindra and Dynastic Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia
Dr Jemma Purdey
Faculty of Arts and the Australia Indonesia Centre, Monash University
The Challenge of Reform under the Jokowi Presidency

While it is a cliché to say any reform faces a multitude of challenges that cannot be reduced to one single factor, it is necessary to understand the complexity of reform from a certain point of view. In the context of state ideology I argue that the many challenges of reform under the Jokowi Presidency are symptoms of lacking a theory of change: where are we now, where do we want to go, how are we going to get there. Here, the fundamental problem lies in the collective “we” since Indonesia still has not developed an empirical basis for its huge diversity. Lack of continuous research and sheer ignorance in certain cases of policy-making are part of the problem. I further argue that the hijacking of gotong-royong — once a dynamic concept (paham yang dinamis) that guided the development of religiosity, nationalism and democracy of the Indonesian society under President Soekarno, to become a fixed value of economic development under President Soeharto — is one of the main reasons behind the malaise of knowledge production. Fixed as a central value, gotong royong became an unquestioned ideal. Finally, I argue that it should be a platform for debate and a paradigm of research.

Speaker’s Bio

Hilmar Farid is a historian and cultural activist. In the 1990s he was active in the pro-democracy movement. He is a founding member of Jaringan Kerja Budaya, a collective of artists and cultural workers in the early 1990s, and also the Institute of Indonesian Social History in 2000. He taught history and cultural studies at the Jakarta Arts Institute and University of Indonesia for several years. He received his PhD from the National University of Singapore and wrote his thesis on Pramoedya Ananta Toer and the politics of decolonization in Indonesia. He has been an active member of the Asian Regional Exchange for New Alternatives (ARENA) and the Inter-Asia Cultural Studies Society. On 31 December 2015, after a long selection process, he was appointed as the Director General for Culture at the Ministry of Education and Culture.
Pragmatism and promiscuity among Indonesian political parties has led some to conclude that ideology is no longer a significant factor in Indonesian politics. This paper argues that ongoing debates about whether the state should take an active role in upholding Islamic values demonstrates that ideology is as relevant as ever. Secular-religious arguments, however, need to be understood in the context of other ideological disputes between liberalism and conservatism and between cosmopolitanism and exceptionalism. After looking briefly at the character and importance of state ideology in the discourse of the New Order this paper examines first the rejection of Pancasila and then the attempt to reclaim it as a symbol of tolerance and pluralism in the face of rising religious tensions. This attempt was undermined by resurgent exceptionalism on the part of conservative nationalist elites and legal activism by an increasingly sophisticated and mainstream movement promoting Islamic values. The Constitutional Court’s landmark validation of the blasphemy law helped transform Indonesia into an overtly religious state and paved the way for greater state involvement in enforcing moral norms based both on Islamic values and a conservative reading of indigenous culture. The paper thus identifies a shift in the ideological centre of gravity since the reformasi period (1998-2002) away from a more or less secular, democratic cosmopolitanism towards an inward-looking, theistic conservatism.
Abstract

It's All in The Family: Prabowo, Gerindra and Dynastic Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia

In 2008, brothers Hashim and Prabowo Djojohadikusumo set out to create a political vehicle to carry Prabowo to the presidential palace in 2014. Gerindra was founded on a platform of economic justice and redistribution of wealth and its earliest constituents were members of the national farmers’ union and the small traders’ organisation. Given the vast collective wealth of this family, its close connections with the Suharto family, and Prabowo’s own tarnished military record, how could such an ideological construct hope to convince the Indonesian people? In conversation with Jeffery’s Winters’ theory of oligarchic power, Marcus Mietzner’s observed: ‘Although money politics plays a significant part in Indonesian democracy, opportunities also exist for the founding of parties that both challenge the ruling parties and appeal to deeply embedded social, cultural and ideological characteristics’. Though ultimately failing in its task to carry Prabowo to the presidency, nevertheless, in the space of just six years Gerindra rose to become the nation's third largest party and the leader of the opposition coalition in the early stages of Jokowi’s government. This paper seeks to examine Gerindra's ideological foundations in the Djojohadikusumo family and to argue for the need to consider ‘the family’ as a political institution in and of itself.

Jemma Purdey is a Research Fellow in the Faculty of Arts at Monash University. She has written widely on Indonesian politics and contemporary history and about Australia’s relationship with Indonesia. She is editor of Knowing Indonesia: Intersections of Self, Discipline and Nation (Monash University Publishing, Clayton, 2012) and co-editor with Antje Missbach of Linking people: Connections and encounters between Australians and Indonesians (Regiospectra, Berlin, 2015). She is Chair of the board that publishes the magazine Inside Indonesia and a member of the Board of the Herb Feith Foundation and its working committee.