



Australian  
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INDONESIA UPDATE 2014  
THE YUDHOYONO YEARS:  
AN ASSESSMENT  
CONFERENCE PROGRAM

ANU Indonesia Project

Crawford School of  
Public Policy

ANU College of  
Asia & the Pacific



# THE YUDHOYONO YEARS: AN ASSESSMENT

In 2014, the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono presidency draws to a close after 10 years, marking a watershed in Indonesian history. Yudhoyono was not only the first directly elected Indonesian president; he was also the first to be democratically re-elected. The 2014 Indonesia Update will evaluate the achievements and failings of the Yudhoyono presidency, the role of Yudhoyono the man, and the evolution of the major political forces and institutions he presided over. What is the legacy that President Yudhoyono leaves behind? Has Indonesian democracy consolidated, stagnated or weakened during his decade in power?

The conference brings together experts on politics, social and cultural affairs, the economy, decentralisation, law, the environment, women's affairs, military politics, and other key areas, to assess the impact of Yudhoyono's presidency on Indonesia's development. In combination, these evaluations will weigh Yudhoyono's legacy within a broader historical and international context, comparing his contributions with those made by Indonesian presidents before him and by political leaders of post-authoritarian states at similar stages of democratic development.

Conference convenors

**Edward Aspinall**

The Australian National University

**Marcus Mietzner**

The Australian National University

**Dirk Tomsa**

La Trobe University

ANU Indonesia Project wishes to thank The Australian National University and the Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade for their substantial and continuing support.

*\*Cover photo credit: Partai Demokrat (Indonesia)*

# CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Day 1, Friday 19 September 2014

- 8.30am            **Registration**
- 9am                **Welcoming remarks**  
**Michael Wesley**  
The Australian National University
- Political and economics update**
- 9.05am            **Political update**  
Chair: Jemma Purdey, Deakin University  
**Edward Aspinall**  
The Australian National University  
**Marcus Mietzner**  
The Australian National University  
**Discussant: Douglas Ramage**  
Bower Group Asia
- 10.20am           *Morning tea*
- 10.40am           **Economics update**  
Chair: Arianto Patunru, The Australian National University  
**Hal Hill**  
The Australian National University  
**Haryo Aswicahyono**  
Centre for Strategic and International Studies  
**Discussant: Susan Olivia**  
Monash University
- 12pm               *Lunch*
- 1pm                **Keynote speech. The Yudhoyono years: an assessment**  
Chair: Greg Fealy, The Australian National University  
**Dewi Fortuna Anwar**  
Office of the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia
- 1.30pm            **Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono: personal, domestic and global perspectives**  
Chair: Dirk Tomsa, La Trobe University  
**The politics of SBY: majoritarian democracy, insecurity and hubris**  
**Greg Fealy**  
The Australian National University  
**Men on horseback and their droppings: SBY's presidency and legacies in comparative regional perspectives**  
**John Sidel**  
London School of Economics and Political Science

- 2.30pm **Institutions and political processes**  
Chair: Dave McRae, The University of Melbourne
- The balancing act: presidency, cabinet and parliament during the SBY years**  
**Stephen Sherlock**  
The Australian National University
- The security sector: professionalism without reform**  
**Jacqui Baker**  
The Australian National University
- 3.30pm *Afternoon tea*
- 3.50pm **Decentralisation, corruption and rule of law**  
Chair: Amrih Widodo, The Australian National University
- Regional autonomy during the Yudhoyono years: decentralisation or recentralisation?**  
**Dirk Tomsa**  
La Trobe University
- Corruption and the rule of law**  
**Simon Butt**  
The University of Sydney
- 4.50pm **Gender equality and social policies**  
Chair: Allaster Cox, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
- SBY's politics and the implications for gender inequality in Indonesia**  
**Melani Budianta**  
University of Indonesia
- Kamala Chandrakirana**  
UN working group on discrimination against women
- Andy Yentriyani**  
Komnas Perempuan
- Social welfare policies under President SBY**  
**Faisal Basri**  
University of Indonesia
- Dinna Wisnu**  
Paramadina University
- 5.50pm **Close of sessions, day one**
- 6.30pm **Conference dinner\***  
**Delhi 6**  
14 Childers Street  
Canberra, ACT 2601
- \*for those who have registered and paid

# CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Day 2, Saturday 20 September 2014

- 9am                   **Security, human rights and civil liberties**  
Chair: Sharon Bessell, The Australian National University
- Counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency under Yudhoyono**  
**Sidney Jones**  
Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict
- Human rights under Yudhoyono**  
**Dominic Berger**  
The Australian National University
- Religious politics and minority rights during the Yudhoyono administration**  
**Robin Bush**  
RTI International, Jakarta
- 10.20am              *Morning tea*
- 10.40am              **Foreign policy and environmental protection**  
Chair: Michael Wesley, The Australian National University
- Yudhoyono's foreign policy: Indonesia's rising?**  
**Evi Fitriani**  
University of Indonesia
- Big commitments, slow implementation: changes in environmental governance and climate change mitigation under the SBY administration**  
**Patrick Anderson**  
Forest Peoples Programme
- Asep Firdaus**  
**Avi Mahaningtyas**  
Climate and Land Use Alliance
- 12pm                   *Lunch*
- 1pm                    **Economic policy and outcomes**  
Chair: Budy Resosudarmo, The Australian National University
- The Indonesian economy during the SBY decade: a balance sheet**  
**Hai Hill**  
The Australian National University
- Job, poverty and income distribution: a mixed record**  
**Chris Manning**  
The Australian National University
- Riyana Miranti**  
The University of Canberra
- 2pm                    **End of conference**

# POLITICAL UPDATE

The Indonesian presidential election of 2014 was a major event in the history of Indonesian democracy. In our presentation, we argue that the defeated Prabowo campaign represented a threat to the continuation of Indonesia's democratisation process, while the victorious Jokowi candidacy – in spite of its many deficiencies – stood for democratic continuity, and perhaps even deepening. Our talk discusses Jokowi's rise to the presidential nomination; the parliamentary elections in April (which saw the highest levels of vote-buying in Indonesian history); the spectacular decline in Jokowi's popularity ratings during the presidential campaign; his narrow victory in July; and the dramatic attempts by Prabowo to sabotage and overturn the results. In explaining the outcome of the election, we refer to polling data which demonstrate that while Prabowo's ultranationalist, populist challenge was able to attract a significant constituency, it ultimately did not connect with the overall mood of the electorate. This mood longed for change, but not a complete overthrow of the incumbent democratic order.

## Edward Aspinall

### The Australian National University

Edward Aspinall is a specialist on the politics of Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia. His interest in the study of politics, especially Southeast Asian politics, began when he lived in Malang, East Java, as a teenager. After studying Indonesian language and politics at high school and university, he completed his PhD at ANU in 2000 on the topic of opposition movements and democratisation in Indonesia. After that, he researched a range of topics related to Indonesian democratisation and civil society, especially the separatist conflict in Aceh. His current research interests include ongoing research on Indonesian national politics and democratisation. He is also starting systematic research on the role of ethnicity in everyday politics in Indonesia and is part of a multi-country study on 'money politics' in Southeast Asia. He is currently an Australian Research Council Future Fellow.



## Marcus Mietzner

### The Australian National University

Marcus Mietzner has been interested in the politics of Indonesia since his first visit to Jakarta as a teenager in 1986. While pursuing an MA degree at Goethe University in Frankfurt in the mid-1990s, he spent one year in Ambon to collect material for his thesis on the rebellion of the South Moluccan Republic in 1950. After graduation, he moved to ANU to obtain his PhD. During fieldwork for a thesis on the Indonesian military, he began working for USAID in Jakarta – an engagement that would last for more than seven years. Eventually, however, he returned to academia, finishing his PhD in 2005 and starting his new position as a lecturer at ANU in 2008. Since then, his research has primarily focused on political parties in democratic Indonesia.



## Douglas Ramage, discussant

### Bower Group Asia

Doug Ramage was the Asia Foundation's Country Representative in Jakarta, responsible for the Foundation's activities in Indonesia, Malaysia and East Timor. Doug also conducted research at the East-West Center and taught at the University of Hawaii. He spent two years (1991–93) as Fulbright Scholar at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta and was Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore in 1989.

His publications include *Seeing Indonesia as a Normal Country: Implications for Australia* (Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2008, with Andrew MacIntyre); 'A Reformed Indonesia?' *Australian Financial Review*, 12 October 2007; 'Democracy: The New Order's Ironic Legacy', in *Indonesia in the Soeharto Years* (Eds: John McGlynn et al.; KITLV Press, second edition, 2007); and *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam and the Ideology of Tolerance* (Routledge, 1995 and 1997).



# ECONOMICS UPDATE

The Indonesian economy is slowing, although it is holding up quite well by comparative international norms. The government navigated through the 2013 mini economic crisis effectively, employing conventional macroeconomic tools, and guided by a strategy of 'stability over growth'. However, the economic headwinds both at home and abroad are significant. Without subsidy reform, the government has practically no fiscal policy space, while the large mandated wage rises of 2013 occurred just as the global economy became more difficult, with declining commodity prices and global economic shocks emanating from the high-income northern economies. Looking forward, Indonesia is likely to continue to experience slower growth – and poverty reduction – for as long as the country's political narratives and the government's microeconomic policies are premised on an era of plenty funded by a fading commodity boom. The 2014 election campaign rhetoric bore little relation to the economic challenges the country currently faces.

## Hal Hill

### The Australian National University

Hal Hill is the HW Arndt Professor of Southeast Asian Economies, Arndt–Corden Department of Economics, Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University. He was Head of this Department from 2004 to 2007. He is also a past Head of the university's Indonesia Project and Editor of the *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*. His general research interests are the economies of ASEAN, including country case studies and thematic, comparative work; industrialisation and foreign investment in East Asia; regional (sub-national) development; and the political economy of economic policy making. He is the author or editor of 17 books and has written about 150 academic papers and book chapters.



## Haryo Aswicahyono

### Centre for Strategic and International Studies

Haryo Aswicahyono is a researcher in the Department of Economics at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta, Indonesia. He specialises in trade and industry issues. Haryo Aswicahyono received his Civil Engineering degree at Bandung Institute of Technology in 1983 and joined CSIS in 1985.

In 1990, he continued his graduate study at the National Centre for Development Studies, The Australian National University. He received his doctoral degree in 2000, with a thesis: *Total Factor Productivity in Indonesia Manufacturing, 1975–1993*.



## Susan Olivia, discussant

### Monash University

Dr Susan Olivia is a post-doctoral research fellow in the Department of Econometrics and Business Statistics at Monash University. She holds a PhD from the University of California, Davis. Prior to joining Monash, Susan was a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Melbourne. Prior to her PhD, she worked at the University of Waikato, New Zealand. Susan has expertise in spatial econometrics and geographic information systems (GIS). She is interested in various micro-econometric aspects of development and focuses almost exclusively on China and Indonesia.





# KEYNOTE SPEECH. THE YUDHOYONO YEARS: AN ASSESSMENT

The two full terms of the administration of Indonesia's first directly elected president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004–14), marked the country's return to normality and full recovery after the multidimensional crises that ended President Soeharto's long-term rule and the turbulent early transition period. In the past 10 years, due in large measure to President Yudhoyono's high political legitimacy as a popularly elected president and the large coalition of parties in DPR supporting the government, Indonesia has enjoyed political stability that has often eluded countries undergoing transition from authoritarianism to democracy. This propitious condition has enabled the government as a whole to pursue a comprehensive range of policies that has largely been beneficial to both Indonesia and its external environment. Notwithstanding its many shortcomings, Indonesia is now recognised as the world's third-largest democracy, an emerging economy with a seat in the G20, a leader within ASEAN and a valued member of the international community which always strives to be part of the solutions. Under Yudhoyono, as the world's largest Muslim nation, Indonesia has prided itself as being a model in demonstrating that Islam can go hand in hand with democracy and modernity. The Yudhoyono government has also succeeded in achieving a peaceful settlement of the long-drawn-out conflict in Aceh, in pursuing an effective counter-terrorism measure within the boundary of respect for human rights, and in protecting the space within which political and civil liberties can flourish. Without belittling the many undoubted achievements, however, the Yudhoyono years also saw many missed opportunities. Indecisiveness and a reluctance to make necessary but unpopular policies made the Yudhoyono government much less effective and productive than it could have been. The large and unwieldy coalition cabinet aimed at securing majority support in the DPR did not always deliver the expected outcomes. The government's serious effort to fight corruption was undermined by corruption in high places close to the president, and Indonesia's reputation as a pluralistic and tolerant country was harmed by unchecked attacks against a number of religious minority groups. The Yudhoyono years provide many lessons learned of both what and what not to do for the next government, but on the whole the past 10 years have given Indonesia a strong foundation on which to move forward with confidence at home and abroad.

## Dewi Fortuna Anwar

### **Office of the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia**

Dewi Fortuna Anwar straddles the world of academia, political activism and government. She has written widely on Indonesia's foreign policy and democratisation, as well as on ASEAN and regional political and security issues. She is a Research Professor at P2P-LIPI (Indonesian Institute of Sciences) and was the Deputy Chairman for Social Sciences and Humanities-LIPI from 2001 to 2010. Since October 2010 she has served as the Deputy Secretary for Political Affairs to the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia. Dewi is also the Chairman of the Institute for Democracy and Human Rights, The Habibie Center, a private think-tank based in Jakarta. Dewi was Assistant Minister/State Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1998–99. Dewi was a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS), Kyoto University, in early 2010 and a Visiting Professor at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, in 2007. Dewi sits and has sat on a number of national and international advisory boards. She is currently a member of the Governing Board of Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and a member of the Advisory Board of the Institute for Peace and Democracy (IPD) of the Bali Democracy Forum. She served as a member of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (WMDC) in 2004–8, and a member of the UN Secretary General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters in 2008–12. She obtained her PhD from Monash University, Melbourne in 1990, while her MA and BA (Hons) were from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, in 1982 and 1981 respectively.



# SUSILO BAMBANG YUDHOYONO: PERSONAL, DOMESTIC AND GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

## **The politics of SBY: majoritarian democracy, insecurity and hubris**

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono remains a political enigma, despite his 10 years as president and at least a dozen books about him. He has been the most private of Indonesia's six presidents, revealing little about his early life and his inner-most thoughts. Even those who have served him closely for many years claim to have few insights into 'what makes him tick'. Perhaps related to SBY's closed personality is his preoccupation with image. To an unusual degree, SBY seeks to cast himself as a wise, decisive, righteous and widely admired leader who has brought stability, prosperity and dignity to Indonesian politics. Indeed, in his own mind, he is a leader without parallel in his country's history and worthy of comparison with other famous world figures such as Barack Obama and Tony Blair.

This paper will consider SBY's political behavior, achievements and failures. It will argue that he has been a good president but not a great one, and will examine the reasons for his inability to achieve more. An ever-present element in his personality appears to be insecurity. Despite his intellect, SBY is deeply anxious about how he is seen and acutely sensitive to criticism. Even with a 61 per cent mandate in his second term, gnawing self-doubt was never far from the surface. He dealt with this by following 'the majority' and was regularly seeking guidance from opinion polls as to what the public wanted on important issues. He justified this majoritarian thinking as being democratic and avoiding upheaval, but it was also often a failure of leadership on his part.

**Greg Fealy**

**The Australian National University**

Greg Fealy is associate professor of Indonesian politics and head of the Department of Political and Social Change, in the College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University. He gained his PhD from Monash University in 1998 with a study of the history of Nahdlatul Ulama, published in Indonesian under the title *Ijtihad Politik Ulama: Sejarah NU, 1952–1967*. He is the co-author of numerous books including *Joining the Caravan? The Middle East, Islamism and Indonesia* (2005) and *Zealous Democrats: Islamism and Democracy in Egypt, Indonesia and Turkey* (2008). He is also co-editor of *Soeharto's New Order and Its Legacy* (2010), *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia* (2008), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: A Contemporary Sourcebook* (2006), and *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditionalism and Modernity in Indonesia* (1995). He is the director of the DFAT-funded Partnership in Islamic Education Scholarships (PIES) program. He was the CV Starr Visiting Professor in Indonesian politics at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Washington DC, in 2003. From 1997 to 1999 he was an Indonesia analyst at the Australian Government's Office of National Assessments.



## **Men on horseback and their droppings: SBY's presidency and legacies in comparative regional perspectives**

Observers of Indonesian politics have long tended to treat the country in splendid isolation and its leaders as a succession of idiosyncratic individuals. But a quick glance at recent Southeast Asian history suggests that a more comparative and structuralist perspective may help to illuminate the two-term presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004–14). After all, Yudhoyono's – clearly overblown – reputation as a 'professional soldier', 'reformist', 'honest broker', 'consensus-builder', and 'steady hand on the tiller' when he took office in 2004 is remarkably reminiscent of the hyperbolic praise accompanying the long prime-ministerial stint of (Ret.) General Prem Tinsulanonda in Thailand (1980–88) and the presidency of (Ret.) Lt. Gen. Fidel V. Ramos in the Philippines (1992–98). All three oligarchical democracies of Southeast Asia, it appears, have experienced a phase of rule –

and re-equilibration – by retired military officers who came to office in the wake of turbulent early post-authoritarian experiments with democratic and civilian-led politics. These parallels suggest that the early aftermath of the SBY presidency is likely to involve considerable political conflict if not crisis, as seen with the disappointing if not disastrous Chatichai administration (1988–91) and the brief, failed return to military rule in Thailand (1991–92), and the spectacularly stormy and short-lived presidency of Joseph ‘Erap’ Estrada in the Philippines (1998–2001).

## John Sidel

### London School of Economics and Political Science

John Sidel is the Sir Patrick Gillam Professor of International and Comparative Politics at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). He is the author of *Capital, Coercion, and Crime: Bossism in the Philippines* (Stanford University Press, 1999), (with Eva-Lotta Hedman) *Philippine Politics and Society in the Twentieth Century: Colonial Legacies, Post-Colonial Trajectories* (Routledge, 2000), *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia* (Cornell University Press, 2006), and *The Islamist Threat in Southeast Asia: A Reassessment* (East-West Center, 2007). He is currently working on a book manuscript titled ‘Republicanism, Communism, Islam: Cosmopolitan Origins of Revolution in Southeast Asia’.



# INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL PROCESSES

## The balancing act: presidency, cabinet and parliament during the SBY years

This paper examines the question of how important institutional relationships between presidency, cabinet and parliament (DPR) were in determining the character and achievements of SBY’s administrations. When SBY became Indonesia’s sixth president he stepped into constitutional arrangements and political circumstances that were without historical precedent in Indonesia. In common with Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati, he was operating in a newly democratised polity, but unlike them he had to come to terms with a new set of institutional relationships following the constitutional reforms of 1999–2002 and the first direct popular election of the president. This created a new dynamic in the presidency’s relations with an empowered and assertive parliament. Despite the changes, SBY’s approach to dealing with the DPR was the same as Wahid’s and Megawati’s. He aimed to manage both the cabinet and relations with the parliament in a combined strategy – a ‘rainbow’ cabinet composed of the parties controlling the DPR. This paper argues that, although the strategy largely failed, the actions of the parliament were relatively unimportant in influencing SBY’s success or otherwise in policy-making and reform. This is contrary to a widely held view that SBY’s administration was stymied by an obstructionist legislature that attempted to exceed its constitutional powers.

## Stephen Sherlock

### The Australian National University

Stephen Sherlock is a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Political and Social Change at The Australian National University. He specialises in governance, politics and development, with a focus on Southeast and South Asia, especially Indonesia. He has a PhD and a master’s degree from the University of Sydney in Asian politics and history. Dr Sherlock was an analyst on Indonesia and the South Pacific in the Australian parliament and is now an independent consultant, providing senior-level advice and research on political governance, aid and development and Southeast Asian politics. His clients have included the World Bank, UNDP, ADB, DFAT, The Australian National University and various political party foundations. For three years he was Director of the Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI) at ANU. He has published extensively on Indonesian politics and governance, including political parties, elections and parliament.



## The security sector: professionalism without reform

In the security sector, institutional professionalisation has been the name of the SBY game. Such professionalisation has principally been effected through enhanced budgetary allocations, hardware modernisation and nationalisation, as well as increased international exchange and recognition. But professionalisation, or ‘third generation reforms’, have not been built on the sturdy back of second-generation reforms extending democratic control in the sector. Legal, public and state accountability remains elusive, with SBY avoiding calls to place the police under a ministry, failing to push for further civil bureaucratic control of the military and shelving the attempt to bring the TNI under civilian courts. Even SBY’s commitment to putting the sector ‘on budget’ has been undermined by presidential foot-dragging on the transfer of military businesses, willful disregard of police and military corruption, and ill-advised military procurement. Moreover, the government retreated on important bills on National Security, State Secrets, Auxiliary Component and Military Assistance which would have mapped out inter-institutional security relationships. Without these bills, security decision-making and operational matters will continue to be negotiated case by case. More broadly, the focus on professionalism and not reform mean that security institutions are still embedded within an architecture of authoritarianism. What do these outcomes tell us about SBY’s brand of leadership? Firstly, resource distribution has been an important means of effecting rule and democratic consolidation. Secondly, that SBY personally holds that security institutions should be beyond civilian control and that the TNI should continue to have an important domestic security role. Finally, that institutional reform itself should not undermine personalised and discretionary rule from the presidential office.

### Jacqui Baker

#### The Australian National University

Jacqui Baker is fascinated by the politics and cultures of Southeast Asia – particularly Indonesia, where she has worked and researched for over 15 years. She received her undergraduate degrees from The Australian National University. In 2004 she won a John Monash Award, which supported her Masters in Social Anthropology and a PhD in Government, both from London School of Economics and Political Science. Her research interests include democratisation, illicit economies and the security sector. *Eat Pray Mour*, a collaborative radio documentary examining the killing of petty criminals in Jakarta, recently won a bronze medal at the New York Radio Festival Awards. She is currently writing a book on the political economy of security reform and embarking on a new project on criminal monies. In her spare time, she edits *New Mandala*. Jacqui has also worked for the Asia Foundation, the European Commission, CAVR, International IDEA, Amnesty International and UNODC.



## DECENTRALISATION, CORRUPTION AND RULE OF LAW

### Regional autonomy during the Yudhoyono years: decentralisation or recentralisation?

When Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono became Indonesian president in 2004, one of the biggest challenges he faced was the implementation of regional autonomy. Ten years on, progress has been mixed at best, both in terms of fiscal as well as political decentralisation. Significantly, however, perceptions of the outcomes of decentralisation have differed markedly between regional elites and the general public on the one hand and Jakarta-based elites on the other hand. While newly empowered local actors and the public at large remain supportive of decentralisation, the

central government, senior party officials and members of parliament have repeatedly criticised the decentralisation process and tried to reclaim some of the powers they had earlier ceded to the regions. Against the background of these different attitudes, this paper will first highlight key achievements and problems of regional autonomy during the Yudhoyono years and then proceed to analyse some of the attempts to recentralise power. Contextualising these dynamics within the wider discourse about the stalling of political reform under SBY, the paper will demonstrate that despite broad support from many Jakarta-based political actors, the weakening of regional autonomy is a contested process that has exposed underlying tensions in what are otherwise relatively stable centre-periphery relations.

## Dirk Tomsa

### La Trobe University

Dirk Tomsa is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Politics, Philosophy and Legal Studies at La Trobe University, Melbourne. His main research interests include electoral and party politics in Indonesia as well as comparative Southeast Asian politics. He has published widely in peer-reviewed journals such as *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *South East Asia Research* and the *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*. He is also the author of *Party Politics and Democratisation in Indonesia: Golkar in the post-Suharto era* (Routledge, 2008) and co-editor (with Andreas Ufen) of *Party Politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and Electoral Competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines* (Routledge, 2013).



## Corruption and the rule of law

This paper highlights key developments in the anti-corruption drive and the rule of law during SBY's presidency, focusing on four key institutions: the Anti-corruption Commission (KPK), the Anti-corruption Courts (Tipikor Courts), the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court. For all four institutions, progress has been mixed. For example, the Anti-corruption Commission has graduated from 'small fry' to 'big fish' cases and has won all of its prosecutions, but has been criticised for merely scratching the surface and for politically-motivated investigations. The Jakarta anti-corruption court – initially Indonesia's sole anti-corruption court, designed to exclusively hear the KPK's prosecutions – was joined by 33 new regional anti-corruption courts from 2011. While the reputation of the Jakarta court remains reasonably good, we know little about the performance of these regional courts, but the available evidence is not encouraging. The Constitutional Court built up a good reputation for impartial decision-making only to have it nosedive when its Chief Justice was arrested for corruption in October 2013 and convicted in early 2014. Finally, the Supreme Court appears to have become more transparent, efficient and independent of government, though judicial integrity still appears to be a significant problem.

## Simon Butt

### The University of Sydney

Simon Butt teaches Indonesian law at University of Sydney Law School and is currently an Australian Research Council Post-doctoral Fellow. He has written three books on Indonesian Law: *Corruption and Law in Indonesia* (Routledge, 2012), *The Indonesian Constitution: a Contextual Analysis* (Hart, 2012, with Tim Lindsey), and *Constitutional Democracy in Post-Soeharto Indonesia: the Role of the Constitutional Court* (Brill, forthcoming 2015).



# GENDER EQUALITY AND SOCIAL POLICIES

## **SBY's politics and the implications for gender inequality in Indonesia**

When Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was elected president in 2004, hopes were high among pro-democracy activists, including the women among them who believe that gender equality is crucial to democracy and human rights. After securing a strong mandate, with 60.62 per cent of the people's votes, SBY gave positive signs for improving women's rights in the country, including a renewed support for the National Commission on Violence Against Women and an internationally high-profile commitment to the Millennium Development Goals. But, despite his success in securing political stability and economic growth in his decade in power, SBY adopted a politics that proved disastrous for women. In 2014, the final year of the SBY decade, there were more women who died during childbirth, more discriminatory policies against women by local governments, less women elected to the national parliament in the context of rising inequality in the country overall. This paper argues that SBY's choice of political alliances and his subsequent actions and inactions on key policy decisions contributed to significant regressions in women's rights and gender equality in Indonesia.

**Melani Budianta, Kamala Chandrakirana, Andy Yentriyani**

**University of Indonesia, UN Working Group on discrimination against women, Komnas Perempuan**

Melani Budianta, Kamala Chandrakirana and Andi Yentriyani were among women activists participating in the Reformasi movement in 1998. Melani Budianta is a professor of literary and cultural studies at the Universitas Indonesia. Kamala Chandrakirana was the head of Komnas Perempuan (National Commission on Violence against Women) and now is a member of United Nation Working Group on discrimination against women in law and in practice. Andi Yentriyani is a commissioner of the Komnas Perempuan .



## **Social welfare policies under President SBY**

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has spoken on many occasions about his commitment to improving social welfare for Indonesian citizens. What initiatives did he take during his 10 years in office and what approach did he choose? What targets did SBY set and did he achieve them? This paper evaluates the performance of President SBY's policies on social welfare (healthcare, poverty alleviation, community empowerment and education), but most importantly it specifies the challenges for improving social welfare in the Indonesian context. These include the challenge of aligning poverty alleviation with the framework of subsidies, the challenge of achieving coherent strategic planning and implementation beyond grand planning and meetings, and the challenge of managing social welfare policy within the frame of decentralisation. We find that despite the many programs he initiated, the grand strategies he introduced, and the regulations on decentralisation, SBY's achievement fell far short of expectations. In fact, Indonesia is losing its competitiveness in education, suffers from dependency on subsidies and social assistance, and failed to achieve Millennium Development Goals in healthcare. What we see growing instead is a bureaucratisation of poverty alleviation. The missing element of social welfare leadership in Indonesia results in the poor not being truly empowered but instead becoming dependent on bureaucracies who are themselves struggling to translate policies into action and change.

## Faisal Basri

### University of Indonesia

Faisal Basri is a lecturer at the Faculty of Economics at the University of Indonesia, having been an academic since 1981, and a Chief Editor of *Economic Policy Journal*, which is published by Planning and Public Policy Graduate Program of the University of Indonesia. In April 2006 he was appointed as the Head of External Monitoring Team for the Monitoring of Investment Policy by the Coordinating Minister of Economic Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.

Mr Basri founded the National Mandate Party. Thereafter he established the Indonesia Movement political organisation. He has been Chairman of the National Council since its first Congress in 2004. Mr Basri has actively been involved in several NGOs and non-profit organisations.

Mr Basri has written over 244 articles as a columnist in the *Kompas* daily newspaper and as a contributor to various printed media. In addition, he has been published in scientific journals, and has contributed to more than 67 book titles as author, co-authors, and editors. In his career as a researcher, he has produced 52 research reports, and presented hundreds of other papers at various national as well as international seminars.



## Dinna Wisnu

### Paramadina University

Dinna Wisnu is a political scientist, associate professor, co-founder and director of Paramadina Graduate School of Diplomacy at Paramadina University, Jakarta. She has a PhD and an MA in Comparative Politics from the Department of Political Science, Ohio State University, and BA in International Relations from the University of Indonesia.



# SECURITY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

## Counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency under Yudhoyono

The management of terrorism and insurgency became increasingly intertwined during the Yudhoyono years. During SBY's first term, the two crimes seems to be very different: bombings aimed at foreigners in Jakarta and Bali versus attacks on security forces in Papua. Early in his second term, however, as terrorist groups shifted to shootings of police, the crimes became almost identical, but the charges remained terrorism for jihadists and rebellion (*makar*) for pro-independence Papuans. The appointment of Indonesia's former counter-terrorism chief as Papua police commander in 2012 led to the application of some anti-terrorism lessons learned, but despite hardline Islamist civil society pressure, not once were Papuan insurgents charged with terrorism – for which the Yudhoyono government deserves credit. Instead, the opposite took place: in mid-2014, as pledge-of-allegiance ceremonies to the Islamic State (ISIS) proliferated around the country, some in the government suggested that those involved should be charged with *makar*. The paper will explore how the handling of terrorism and insurgency influenced each other, why keeping them separate was the right thing to do and what choices the Jokowi government will face going forward.

## Sidney Jones

### Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict

Sidney Jones is the Director of the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), which she founded in 2013 on the principle that accurate analysis is a critical first step toward preventing violent conflict. From 2002 to 2013, Jones worked with the International Crisis Group, first as Southeast Asia project director, then from 2007 as senior adviser to the Asia program. Before joining Crisis Group, she worked for the Ford Foundation in Jakarta and New York (1977-84); Amnesty International in London as the Indonesia-Philippines-Pacific researcher (1985-88); and Human Rights Watch in New York as the Asia director (1989-2002). She holds a BA and MA from the University of Pennsylvania. She lived in Shiraz, Iran, for one year as a university student, 1971–72, and studied Arabic in Cairo and Tunisia. She received an honorary doctorate in 2006 from the New School in New York.



## Human rights under Yudhoyono

Throughout SBY's presidency, Indonesia's human rights record received widely diverging assessments. Some assessments portray SBY's Indonesia as an open society where human rights are largely protected. Others suggest that the protection of civil and political rights improved little during SBY's 10-year reign, and in some areas even declined. In the first half of this presentation these contrasting assessments by both local and international human rights organisations will be reviewed, and will be weighed up against internationally accepted standards of civil and political rights. The second half of the presentation will look at four case studies: (1) truth and reconciliation for the crimes of 1965, (2) freedom of expression on the internet; (3) the legal proceedings on the murder of human rights activist Munir Said Thalib; and (4) the political prisoners of Papua and Maluku. The nature of these four cases, and how the SBY-led government has dealt with them, reflects Indonesia's status as a young, consolidating democracy in which universal rights regimes frequently clash with conservative political interests. The presentation will be concluded by evaluating SBY's personal responsibility in the handling of these cases, and by reflecting on his failures and achievements in the protection of human rights more broadly.

## Dominic Berger

### The Australian National University

Dominic Berger completed his BA (1st class Hons) at Flinders University, Adelaide. He spent part of his studies on scholarships at Universiti Sains Malaysia in Penang and at Universitas Parahyangan in Bandung. After graduating he worked at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Jakarta before beginning his PhD candidature at The Australian National University's Department of Political and Social Change in 2011. His PhD looks at how an increasingly democratic Indonesia utilises a sophisticated combination of repression and accommodation in its management of peacefully expressed anti-state dissent.



## Religious politics and minority rights during the Yudhoyono administration

While one might argue that Indonesia has progressed admirably on several fronts during the SBY years, religious affairs is not one of them. During the last few years of the Yudhoyono administration Indonesia has suffered from an increasingly troubled reputation for religious intolerance and violence. Several domestic research institutes and international agencies have issued reports in recent years documenting a rise in religion-related violence and intolerance, as well as deteriorating minority rights. It is difficult to argue that Indonesia has not regressed on these issues under SBY. The question remains, however, as to how much of this can be attributed to SBY's administration and Yudhoyono himself, and further, to what extent his own role and leadership on these issues is a matter of benign neglect, or a more intentional and perhaps ideologically driven stance. The complexity of shifts in religious attitudes in a country as diverse and multi-faceted as Indonesia belies arguments of simple causality, but this paper will argue that the regression Indonesia has experienced on religious tolerance is somewhat if not largely attributable to the SBY administration, and that it was not simply a matter of benign neglect on Yudhoyono's part.



## Robin Bush

### RTI International Jakarta

Dr Robin Bush is the Director for Research and Strategic Collaborations, Asia, for RTI International, based in Jakarta. Until July of 2014 she was a Senior Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute (ARI), National University of Singapore (NUS). There she co-led the conceptual design and development of the cluster's Religion and Development in Asia research program. Prior to joining ARI in December of 2011, she served as Country Representative, and prior to that Deputy Country Representative, for the Asia Foundation in Indonesia, where she developed and led a wide range of governance related programming, including projects on rule of law, economic growth, human rights, and electoral reform. Prior to her management role with the Foundation, she was Director of Islam and Development programs for the Asia Foundation in Indonesia for six years, designing and running poverty alleviation, human rights, and democracy related programs in partnership with Muslim NGOs in Indonesia. She holds a PhD in political science from the University of Washington, and she is the author of *Nahdlatul Ulama and the Struggle for Power in Islam and Politics in Indonesia*, as well as numerous other publications.



# FOREIGN POLICY AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

## Yudhoyono's foreign policy: Indonesia's rising?

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono became president of Indonesia in an era of major changes in the world's politics and economy. As one of the key states in the Asia Pacific – a region that has been perceived as the 'centre of the world's gravity' – Indonesia faced the task of not only pursuing its own national interests but also of contributing constructively to regional and global stability. Yudhoyono undertook these daunting tasks in his first presidential term, when the country was still suffering from the aftershocks of the Asian financial crisis and the post-Soeharto transition. In his second term, the country encountered the global financial crisis and fluctuating geo-political dynamics in East Asia. While Yudhoyono has frequently been criticised for his leadership style, he leaves an important legacy in Indonesia's foreign policy: he re-established Indonesia on the global map as an emerging economy and a functioning Muslim democracy. Moreover, he retained ASEAN as the cornerstone of the country's foreign policy while going beyond Southeast Asia to take up a more international role. In the words of one of the country's former foreign ministers, "Nobody wanted us in the past, everyone wants us now." In this paper, an actor-specific approach is used to analyse why and how Yudhoyono produced such a legacy in Indonesia's foreign policy, and why his good international reputation is not met with similar appreciation domestically.

## Evi Fitriani

### University of Indonesia

Evi Fitriani is the head of the International Relations Department Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia. She is the co-founder of the ASEAN Study Center, University of Indonesia. She also holds the position of Indonesia's Country Coordinator of the Network of East Asian Think Tanks (NEAT). She helped establish the master's program on European Studies at the University of Indonesia and has been part of the peer group in the program.

She accomplished her PhD in Political Science and International Relations at the Crawford School of Public Policy at The Australian National University.



# Big commitments, slow implementation: changes in environmental governance and climate change mitigation under the SBY administration

In 2009, Indonesia's national parliament issued a new law on the environment, increasing environmental protection through more rigorous assessment and permitting processes. In the same year, President Yudhoyono committed to substantially reduce the nation's greenhouse gas emissions. With some 80 per cent of Indonesia's emissions the result of forestry and land use change, in 2010 the president issued a moratorium on new forestry licenses in peat and primary forest areas, and in 2013 established a National REDD+ Agency. The Agency is mandated to promote and coordinate reduction of greenhouse gas emissions at all levels of government, review current forestry licenses, bring all government spatial data into one map, and is supporting recognition of indigenous peoples' forests. Under the president's guidance, the government has opened itself up to public participation and greater transparency in forest governance. This ambitious policy framework is far beyond the commitments of any previous administration. However, implementation of the environment law and the climate commitments has been hampered by inconsistency in law enforcement and entrenched interests in the forestry and agriculture sectors. As a result, the rate of annual rate of deforestation, which doubled over the last decade, is yet to fall. During the same period, Brazil halved its rate of its forest loss, due in part to stronger political support from the public to address deforestation, less powerful and entrenched forestry and plantation sectors, and more transparent and accountable government institutions.

## Patrick Anderson

### Forest Peoples Programme

Patrick Anderson is a policy advisor with the Forest Peoples Programme, a UK human rights group. Patrick lived in Indonesia from 2001 to 2012, where he worked with a wide range of environment and human rights groups helping indigenous peoples and local communities to assert their rights in relation to forestry, agriculture and conservation initiatives. His research in recent years has focused on the right of communities to give or withhold their Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) to development plans that will affect them, including publication of a guidance document on FPIC in REDD+ for project developers, and field surveys of FPIC implementation in oil palm and pulpwood plantations. Patrick is a visiting fellow at ANU College of Asia and the Pacific.



## Asep Firdaus

Asep Firdaus is a public interest lawyer and has held a litigation license from the Indonesian Advocates Association (Persatuan Advokat Indonesia-PERADI) since 2002. He is an expert on natural resources and agrarian law, law-making procedures and systems of law in Indonesia and has conducted legal research on these issues over the last 15 years. From 2005 to 2011 Asep was the Director of HuMa, the leading Indonesian NGO working on natural resources advocacy related to indigenous peoples. Asep has also worked with LBH, the voluntary legal service for the poor.



## Avi Mahaningtyas

### Climate Land Use Alliance

Avi Mahaningtyas has worked in the non-government sector in Indonesia for 25 years, primarily in environmental policy and practice, community business development, women's empowerment, indigenous peoples' rights and governance reform. She is currently an advisor to the Climate Land Use Alliance and works with all the major government, industry and NGO players on climate change policy in Indonesia. She advises and assists the Indonesian REDD+ Agency and the Presidential Delivery Unit on the development of policy in land use, climate change and good governance practices. From 2012 to early 2014, she coordinated the Governor's Climate and Forest Task Force in Indonesia. Previously, she worked for the Indonesian Partnership for Governance Reform, coordinating their environment and economy programs, and from 2001 to 2007 was the coordinator of GEF Small Grants Programme, Indonesia.



# ECONOMIC POLICY AND OUTCOMES

## The Indonesian economy under the SBY decade: a balance sheet

When President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono steps down in October after a decade in power, he will leave an Indonesia more prosperous and arguably more peaceful than any of his five predecessors. He pledged to be a president who would be 'pro-growth, pro-jobs, pro-poor and pro-green'. That is, he staked his leadership credentials on rapid socio-economic development. Has he met these goals? At one level, obviously yes, as the Indonesian economy has enjoyed moderately strong growth during his tenure. Digging deeper, there are contrasting narratives on his economic record. According to one viewpoint, he inherited a fragile economy and political system, and he has consolidated both, to the point where Indonesia is the world's tenth largest economy and a robust democracy. An alternative narrative recognises these achievements, while lamenting SBY's timidity on key reform economic issues, notably the subsidies, the infrastructure deficit, the rising economic nationalism, and sharply rising inequality. These narratives need to be assessed in the light of a range of contextual factors. First, how much, realistically, can be expected of the presidency in a young, pluralistic political system with many veto players? Second, the counterfactuals are relevant – which countries among a broad set of comparators (for example, India, Brazil, South Africa, Thailand) have out-performed Indonesia over this period? Third, the regional and global economic environment has shaped these outcomes significantly. This decade has been a period of unprecedented volatility, including the historic China-induced commodity boom in his first term, and global financial crisis and subsequent anaemic recovery broadly coinciding with his second term.

### Hal Hill

#### The Australian National University

Hal Hill is the HW Arndt Professor of Southeast Asian Economies, Arndt-Corden Department of Economics, Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University. He was Head of this Department from 2004 to 2007. He is also a past Head of the university's Indonesia Project and Editor of the Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies. His general research interests are the economies of ASEAN, including country case studies and thematic, comparative work; industrialisation and foreign investment in East Asia; regional (sub-national) development; and the political economy of economic policy making. He is the author or editor of 17 books and has written about 150 academic papers and book chapters.



## Job, poverty and income distribution: a mixed record

The SBY years have seen some important achievements and breakthroughs in policy on the poverty front, but have been marked by a mixed record and disappointing policies on jobs and income distribution. Moderate economic growth has been a positive factor but it has not been supported by policies pro-poor employment and fiscal policies. The presentation will highlight three specific areas of policy, and discuss policy choices made by SBY and outcomes. First, SBY made a strong political commitment to reduce poverty, with staunch support and innovative policies from the vice president's office. Second, the thrust of government jobs policy has not been coherent and helps explain unsatisfactory outcomes for the poor. One issue is low productivity enterprise and jobs in agriculture, and another few jobs created in manufacturing. Protectionist and populist trade, investment and labour policies have not helped. Third, public spending and subsidies have not been well targeted in education, energy and transport, and this has diverted scarce public funds away from higher priority areas for lower income groups. What explains the sub-optimal policies and outcomes? Three factors seem important: (1) the president's commitment to consensus-based policy making through a broad coalition of political parties, (2) his difficulty in resolving the contradiction between (anti-poor), populist economics, and seeking to promote an open, more competitive Indonesia and (3) slower world economic growth in the wake of the global financial crisis of 2008–9.

## Chris Manning

### The Australian National University

Chris Manning is an Adjunct Associate Professor in the Indonesia Project, Arndt-Corden Department of Economics, Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University. He currently resides in Indonesia, where he is engaged in several research activities related to his interest in labour markets, migration and regional and rural development. In 2012–13 he was an Advisor to the Indonesian Planning Bureau (Bappenas) attached to the Support for Economic Policy and Development Group in Indonesian (SEADI-USAID). He has a PhD in economics from ANU and master's degree from Monash University. He was Head of the Indonesia Project from 1998 to 2010, and an Associate Professor in the Project in 2011. Before moving to ANU in 1991, he worked at Flinders University in South Australia, and Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, and for shorter periods with USAID, the Agricultural Research Institute in Bogor and the University of Indonesia. He is the author or co-author of over 30 refereed journal articles and 30 book chapters, as well as several books, research monographs, edited volumes and consultancy reports. His publications and academic interests are mostly on Indonesia and Southeast Asia in the areas labour markets and migration, in the context of national and regional economic development and poverty alleviation. His most important publications are *Indonesian Labour in Transition: An East Asian Success Story?* (Cambridge, 1998) and *Structural Change and International Migration in East Asia* (Oxford, 1999, with Prema-chandra Athukorala). Two recent co-edited books are *The Great Migration: Rural-Urban Migration in China and Indonesian* (Edward Elgar, 2010) and *Employment, Living Standards and Poverty in Contemporary Indonesia* (ISEAS, 2011).



## Riyana Miranti

### The University of Canberra

Riyana (Mira) Miranti is a Senior Research Fellow at NATSEM, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra. She holds a PhD in Economics from The Australian National University. As a socio-economist, Mira has a strong interest in research related to issues of disadvantage and wellbeing including poverty, social exclusion and inequality in Indonesia and Australia. Mira has been involved in consultancy projects on Indonesian economic development for various international agencies, including USAID, UNESCO and the OECD, where she led a project that investigated trends in poverty and inequality during decentralisation. Prior to her PhD, she worked as a Research Associate at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) in Singapore. Mira has also been working under several Australian Research Council (ARC) grants, including a project that developed the Child and Youth Social Exclusion Index in Australia and she is currently a Chief Investigator of an ARC Linkage project, which investigates workforce vulnerabilities among mature-age Australians.



# ABOUT THE INDONESIA UPDATE

The Indonesia Update has been conducted annually since 1983. It is organised by the Indonesia Project, Crawford School of Public Policy, and the Department of Political and Social Change, School of International, Political and Strategic Studies – both of which are based in the ANU College of Asia and the Pacific.

The conference is free of charge.

The Updates are designed to provide comprehensive overviews of developments in Indonesia, and to present wide ranging discussion on a theme of particular interest each year. They cater to an audience that includes government officials, academics, teachers, members of business and non-government organisations, students and the general public. The Indonesia Update is structured to encourage discussion and questions from the audience, with an expert group of speakers from Indonesia, Australia and elsewhere assembled each year.

The Update proceedings will appear in the Indonesia Update series. Since 1994, the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, has published the proceedings in collaboration with The Australian National University.

Indonesia Update 2013. **Regional dynamics in a decentralised Indonesia**

Convenor: Hal Hill, The Australian National University

Indonesia Update 2012. **The state of education**

Convenor: Daniel Suryadarma, The Australian National University; Gavin Jones, National University of Singapore

Indonesia Update 2011. **Indonesia's place in the world**

Convenor: Anthony Reid, The Australian National University

Indonesia Update 2010. **Employment, living standards and poverty in contemporary Indonesia**

Convenors: Chris Manning, The Australian National University; Sudarno Sumarto, SMERU Research Institute

Indonesia Update 2009. **Democracy in practice: campaigns, parties and parliaments.**

Convenors: Edward Aspinall, The Australian National University; Marcus Mietzner, The Australian National University.

Indonesia Update 2008. **Indonesia beyond the water's edge: managing an archipelagic state**

Convenor: Robert Cribb, The Australian National University

Indonesia Update 2007. **Islamic life and politics**

Convenors: Greg Fealy, The Australian National University; Sally White, The Australian National University

Indonesia Update 2006. **Democracy and the promise of good governance.**

Convenors: Andrew MacIntyre, The Australian National University; Ross McLeod, The Australian National University

Indonesia Update 2005. **Indonesia, Australia and the region**

Convenor: John Monfries, The Australian National University

Indonesia Update 2004. **Natural resources in Indonesia: the economic, political and environmental challenges**

Convenor: Budy Resosudarmo, The Australian National University

Indonesia Update 2003. **Business in the Reformasi era: new challenges, old problems**

Convenors: Pierre van der Eng, The Australian National University, M Chatib Basri, University of Indonesia

Indonesia Update 2002. **Local power and politics**

Convenors: Edward Aspinall, The Australian National University; Greg Fealy, The Australian National University

Indonesia Update 2001. **Gender, equity and development in Indonesia's reform period**

Convenors: Kathryn Robinson, The Australian National University; Sharon Bessell, The Australian National University

# IMPORTANT INFORMATION

## All sessions

### **Breaks and latecomers**

We plan to keep the sessions running on time, so please move back into the theatre when requested or when you hear the gong. If you wish to go in late, please use the rear entrance to the theatre.

### **Registrations**

If you are not yet registered for the conference, please go to the late registration/enquiry desk to register and to collect the conference folder.

## Day 1. Friday 19 September

### **Friday Sholat meeting**

12.15pm Australian National University Muslim Association (ANUMA) Centre, near Law Faculty next to the Menzies Library.

Our student volunteers, Deni Friawan and A'an Suryana, will wait at the front entrance of the Coombs Lecture Theatre from 12–12.10pm to take conference participants to the prayer room for the Sholat Jumat.

### **Conference dinner**

6.30pm for 7pm, Delhi 6, 14 Childers Street, Canberra (for those who have registered and paid).

### **Transport to conference dinner**

If you are a visitor to Canberra and have registered for the Friday night dinner, there will be escorts waiting at University House reception to walk people down at 6.20pm.

## Day 2. Saturday 20 September

### **Saturday Lunch**

As all cafes on campus are closed on Saturday, an Indonesian-style lunch will be provided by the Indo Café near the entrance of Coombs Lecture Theatre Foyer.

Payment will be at the door: \$10 per head, \$7.50 for students. Please ensure you have the correct change and student ID if applicable.

### **Registrations for Saturday Lunch**

If you have registered for Saturday lunch but are no longer able to attend, please inform Cathy Haberle at the Enquiry Desk. This is important for catering purposes.

## Publications

There will be several bookshops and other organisations displaying and selling their publications and literature during the conference.

Please feel free to browse and buy during the morning, lunch and afternoon tea breaks. These displays will be in the foyer and outside the Coombs Lecture Theatre.

Some of the bookshops and organisations represented will be:

- Asia Bookroom
- Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
- Nusantara Indonesian Bookshop



# CONTACT

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