# **REIMAGINING** INDONESIA:

### **IDEALS, ACTIONS, AND CHALLENGES**

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### APRIL 11-12 2014 YALE UNIVERSITY

#### DIALOGUE SPEAKERS:

#### JOSEPH ERRINGTON

PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY, YALE UNIVERSITY

#### JAY ROSENGARD

ADJUNCT LECTURER IN PUBLIC POLICY, ASH CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND INNOVATION, HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL

#### **KEYNOTE SPEAKER:**

#### R. WILLIAM LIDDLE

PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

# FRIDAY, APRIL 11

YALE INDONESIA FORUM **SPRING DIALOGUE** SPEAKERS: JOSEPH ERRINGTON, JAY ROSENGARD VENUE: ROOM 100, DOW HALL, 370 TEMPLE STREET, 2:00PM – 5:00PM

SATURDAY, APRIL 12 YALE INDONESIA FORUM AND CORNELL INDONESIAN ASSOCIATION **11TH NORTHEASTERN CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA** KEYNOTE SPEAKER: R. WILLIAM LIDDLE VENUE: ROOM 203, LUCE HALL, 34 HILLHOUSE AVE 8:30AM – 5:00PM



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### SCHEDULE

FRIDAY, APRIL 11 YALE INDONESIA FORUM **SPRING DIALOGUE** SPEAKERS: JOSEPH ERRINGTON, JAY ROSENGARD VENUE: ROOM 100, DOW HALL, 370 TEMPLE STREET,

02:00 – 02:15 PM	Coffee/Tea and Refreshment
02:15 - 02:25 PM	Opening and welcoming
02:25 - 02:30 PM	Brief introduction of all guest speakers
02:30 - 03:00 PM	Perspectives from Guest Speaker 1 Joseph Errington, Professor of Anthropology, Yale University
03:00 - 03:30 PM	Perspectives from Guest Speaker 2 Jay Rosengard, Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard Kennedy School
03:30 - 03:45 PM	Break (Coffee/Tea and Indonesian Traditional Snacks)
03:45 - 04:45 PM	Dialogue with Guest Speakers Moderator: Dinny Aletheiani, Yale University
04:45 - 04:50 PM	Closing and Thank you, followed by dinner announcement
06:30 – 08:00 PM	Dinner in a local New Haven restaurant (Thai Pan Asian)

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VENUE: ROOM 203, LUCE HALL, 34 HILLHOUSE AVE

08:30 - 09:30 AM	Registration and Continental Breakfast
09:30 - 10:30 AM	Keynote Speech by R. William Liddle, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Ohio State University "THE RISE OF CRITICAL DEMOCRATS: REFLECTIONS ON FIFTEEN YEARS OF DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA" (Welcoming and introduction of the Keynote Speaker by Professor Carol Carpenter, Council on Southeast Asia Studies Acting Chair, 2013-2014)
	How successful has democratization been in Indonesia? Over fifteen years, the authors have conducted many national public opinion surveys that assess the extent to which Indonesians are committed to democracy as a form of government, how they evaluate its implementation in elections, and how they evaluate the performance of the governments they have elected.
	In 2014, we find that commitment to democracy and evaluation of its implementation remain strong, while many citizens have become critical of government performance. We call these citizens "critical democrats," and project that they are likely to play a more prominent role in the future. Though generally positive, this development is marred by a growing "democratic deficit" in the form of declining turnout in national elections and weakened identification with political parties. The democratic deficit has already begun to negatively impact evaluations of democratic performance and may indeed threaten commitment to democracy as a form of government in the future.
10:30 – 11:45 AM	<ul> <li>FIRST PANEL - HOW IS DEMOCRACY REPRESENTED IN INDONESIA?</li> <li>Moderator: TBC</li> <li>Media and 'Good Governance' in Indonesian Subnational Politics Jackson Alldredge (Cornell University)</li> <li>"Don't Stop Komandan!": Political Oratory, Charisma, and the Development Imagi nary in an Indonesian Gubernatorial Campaign Andrew Carruthers (Yale University)</li> <li>Minangkabau Legislative Candidate's Representation on the Campaign Posters on Local Mass Media Feri Rahmat Chandra (University of Indonesia) and Perdana Puteri (University of Indonesia)</li> </ul>

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11:45 AM-12:30 PM	Lunch Break (Authentic Indonesian Meal)
12:30 AM-01:30 PM	Tour of Yale University
01:30 – 02:30 PM	SECOND PANEL – WHAT'S LEFT BEHIND IN OUR DISCUSSION ON DEMOCRACY? Moderator: TBC
	<ul> <li>Dialogue as a Way to Resolve Long-Lasting Conflict in Indonesia: Can Aceh Dialogue be Applied in Papua? Aisah Putri Budiatri (State University of New York)</li> <li>Decentralization, Direct Election and Local Government Spending: Assessing the Impact of Local Direct Elections on District Spending in Indonesia Adenantera Dwicaksono (Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy)</li> </ul>
02:30 - 03:00 PM	Break (Coffee/Tea and Indonesian Traditional Snacks)
03:00 – 04:15 PM	THIRD PANEL – WHAT ARE THE VIABLE ALTERNATIVES FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA? Moderator: TBC
	<ul> <li>The Implementation of Strategic Government's Concept to Strengthen the Transitional Leadership in Indonesia Ubaidillah Nugraha (Victoria University)</li> <li>Reimagining Leadership in Indonesia: Good Urban Governance as the New Political Springboard Jason Salim (University of British Columbia)</li> <li>Accelerating Creativity and Economic Development in Indonesia: Why Indonesia Needs a Center for Entrepreneurial Excellence Niruban Balachandran and Ray Smilor, Ph.D (The World Bank)</li> </ul>
04:15 – 04:45 PM	Concluding Remarks and Closing by Ghafur Akbar Dharmaputra, Consulate General of Indonesia in New York (TBC)

### FIRST PANEL

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#### FIRST PANEL – HOW IS DEMOCRACY REPRESENTED IN INDONESIA? Moderator: TBC

# MEDIA AND 'GOOD GOVERNANCE' IN INDONESIAN SUBNATIONAL POLITICS

Jackson Alldredge (Cornell University)

"DON'T STOP KOMANDAN!": POLITICAL ORATORY, CHARISMA, AND THE DEVELOPMENT IMAGINARY IN AN INDONESIAN GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN

Andrew Carruthers (Yale University)

#### MINANGKABAU LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATE'S REPRESENTATION ON THE CAMPAIGN POSTERS ON LOCAL MASS MEDIA

Feri Rahmat Chandra (University of Indonesia) and Perdana Puteri (University of Indonesia) Examining changes in several districts in the periods before 1998 and after 2001, this paper calls attention to several factors contributing to transparency, which might produce some differences in the levels of accountability expected to arise from decentralization. As information availability depends upon such factors as communications infrastructure and press freedom laws, this paper attempts to draw links between regional variations in media activity and levels of political accountability. Media activity varies between regions by the volume of media coverage and the presence of local policy restrictions on the press. Accountability of leaders, defined by the level of efficiency and fairness with which public goods and services are delivered, provides a benchmark to measure the democratic performance of local governments post-decentralization. This paper relies on a maximalist definition of democratic consolidation as defined by Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan to provide a broad theoretic, against which to measure other elements of local political systems.

This paper will center on a gubernatorial campaign that took place in South Sulawesi from 2012-2013, assessing how incumbant governor Syahrul Yasin Limpo and his campaign team deployed political oratory and media to conjure and shape what I will refer to as a 'development imaginary'. An imaginary is not a fiction, but is instead an "image representing 'what we would like to be" (Zizek 1989). A development imaginary, then, is an image of development that is emergent or ongoing but not-yet-fully-achieved. Drawing on ten months of anthropological research in South Sulawesi, I will evaluate how Syahrul's campaign speeches, television ads, and his mobilization of charasmatic figures like Obama in those speeches and ads fueled the imaginations of his South Sulawesi electorate, whose collective desire for provincial development became emblematized by their rallying cry for his re-election: "Don't Stop Komandan! Tuntaskan Pembangunan!" ("Dont Stop the Commander! Finish the development"). I will conclude by examining how Syahrul's vision for a new, modern South Sulawesi articulates with broader visions of development and change in greater Indonesia today.

This research wants to explore the representation of leadership on the posters in the web. The research questions are: How leadership is represented on the campaign posters? What are the basic needs of the candidates to become of leader in order to represent their people? Why these leaders from local community or district or regency choose the internet or local news portals as their bases campaigns? How and what are the local values which is attached and used in their posters? This research is conducted by using cultural studies methods and qualitative descriptive approach. The method approach is using semiotics approach to explain the codes, to study the meaning in signs, myths, symbols, and the dynamics of signs. The goal of this research is to provide an explanation of the candidates' tendency of using the local mass media and representation of leadership among the candidates from local community or regency.

### SECOND PANEL

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#### SECOND PANEL – WHAT'S LEFT BEHIND IN OUR DISCUSSION ON DEMOCRACY? Moderator: TBC

#### DIALOGUE AS A WAY TO RESOLVE LONG-LASTING CONFLICT IN INDONESIA: CAN ACEH DIALOGUE BE APPLIED IN PAPUA?

Aisah Putri Budiatri (State University of New York)

DECENTRALIZATION, DIRECT ELECTION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT SPENDING: ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF LOCAL DIRECT ELECTIONS ON DISTRICT SPENDING IN INDONESIA

Adenantera Dwicaksono (Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy) Aceh and Papua conflicts can be categorized as the most problematic conflicts in Indonesia. Nowadays, the Indonesian government has succeeded to end war in Aceh through a formal dialogue, but it fails to end the almost similar conflict occurred in Papua. It brings a big question about why negotiation as a conflict resolution method has succeeded in Aceh, but not in Papua. Can we adopt dialogue in Papua? This question will be answered by discussing the reasons why Dialogue has occurred in Aceh but not in Papua; and then, by discussing how the government and rebel group in Papua prepare and conduct the dialogue. This research problem is important to be discussed since there is no existing literature talking about the issue.

Direct elections of local leaders are an important feature of Indonesia's decentralization. Proponents of direct elections argue that the process enhances the responsiveness and accountability of local governments to citizens. However, other scholars have argued that the promise of direct elections in local districts might be undermined by the pervasive practices of "money politics" and political corruption. The existing literature on the effects of direct elections on local governments' responsiveness and accountability are not yet conclusive. This study contributes to this literature by examining the effects of direct elections on local government spending. This study examines the impact of direct elections on local government spending. The effect is evaluated through an examination of the changes in the type of district spending over a five year term.

### THIRD PANEL

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#### THIRD PANEL - WHAT ARE THE VIABLE ALTERNATIVES FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA? Moderator: TBC This paper is trying to answer the question of how possible is the adoption of 'strategic THE IMPLEMENTATION OF STRATEGIC leadership' as oppose to 'strong leadership' to respond he challenge of transitional GOVERNMENT'S CONCEPT TO leadership in Indonesia through the utilization of strategic management framework. The STRENGTHEN THE TRANSITIONAL LEADERSHIP IN INDONESIA concept of Strategic government (Gallop, 2007), will be used as one of the key reference beside leadership concept suggested by Joyce (2001) and Nutt and Backoff (1993) as well as collaborative turn to make sure what "government power" approach move to "citizen Ubaidillah Nugraha (Victoria University) power" approach. The key success factors will depend on the various elements such as the effectiveness of 'strategic government' approach, the creation of public value (Moore, 2005), grooming 'mid-level leaders' and smoothing out the 'collaboration turn' among stakeholders in public sector. In addition to that, models of transitional leadership in several countries around the globe (Soviet Union, South Africa and Singapore) have been put to enrich the perspective (MacKinnon, 2008). The wildfire speculations over former Surakarta Mayor and present Jakarta Governor Joko REIMAGINING LEADERSHIP Widodo's possible presidential candidacy in the upcoming 2014 Indonesian presidential IN INDONESIA: GOOD URBAN elections, as well as the intense media attention on the Mayors Tri Rismaharini of GOVERNANCE AS THE NEW Surabaya and Ridwan Kamil of Bandung, are testament to a new trend in Indonesian POLITICAL SPRINGBOARD politics: proficiency in urban governance as the new standard with which Indonesians all across the archipelago measure national leadership potential. Is this an affront to Jason Salim (University of British the Jakarta elite? Will their rise inadvertently perpetuate urban-rural as well as Java-Columbia) outer islands divides? Can problems which face the entirety of Indonesia have urban solutions? Most importantly, is this a permanent change in the electorate's mindset? Using the three examples of Widodo, Risma, and Kamil, this paper will attempt to define good urban governance in the Indonesian context, and assess whether it can be a viable assessment criteria for national leadership potential in Indonesia.

ACCELERATING CREATIVITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA: WHY INDONESIA NEEDS A CENTER FOR ENTREPRENEURIAL EXCELLENCE

Niruban Balachandran and Ray Smilor, Ph.D (The World Bank) This paper proposes the creation of an Indonesia Center for Entrepreneurial Excellence (ICEE), localized for both Indonesia's and the ASEAN region's current economic and sociopolitical environments. The ICEE, based on best practices from existing worldwide centers and previous models by Smilor et al. (2007), would deliver most or all of the following activity options year- round: custom training for Indonesian entrepreneurs taught by distinguished Indonesian and international faculty in a peer-learning and experiential environment, CEO roundtables and a lecture series, international entrepreneur matching programs, global venture capital networking and partnering efforts, an ASEAN Business Plan Competition, optional empirical research and scholarly activities such as an endowed distinguished lecture series, and international partnerships with highly-ranked business schools and universities overseas. This paper also covers proposed quantitative and qualitative success measures, a risk-mitigation framework, as well as how the ICEE would generate jobs, create wealth, and stimulate technological innovation to contribute economic vitality and community well-being in Indonesia.