TWO DECADES AFTER 1998 REFORMASI: 
Achievements and Challenges

Date: November 10, 2017 (Friday)
Venue: Room 4B (4th floor), National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS), Tokyo

Since 1998, Indonesia has undergone political changes with decentralization and direct elections. While these changes have consolidated democracy on the ground, there are also other unsettled issues which are important to consider the progress of the reform. The last 20 years of democratization has transformed Indonesia as a nation.

This one-day workshop discusses the achievements and challenges of these changes: how the structure of the Indonesian state has evolved, what are the modes of political participation in contemporary Indonesia and its quality, onto what extend the economy has developed beyond the country's economic indicators, how certain issues still persist despite the institutional changes and the relative freedom Indonesia has now, and how the reform has affected the daily lives of many. It will offer new perspectives and fresh analysis for the ongoing discussions on democratization and economic development, political changes in middle-income countries, dynamics of state and society relationship, and social progress in an emerging nation.

The workshop has 5 sessions that reflect the aspects of these contemporary problems: economic issues, political changes, agrarian transformation, civil society and social movement, and managing multiculturalism. It brings together experts, specialists and practitioners alike to highlight important themes for the discussion.

This workshop is open to anyone who wishes to attend. Registration is required. Please register your name and institutional affiliation, no later than November 6, 2017, to: workshop10november@gmail.com.

This workshop is organized under GRIPS’ Emerging State Project, research grant 25101004 (Comparative History 1).

Workshop organizer: Jafar Suryomenggolo (GRIPS)
TIME TABLE

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      Asep Suryahadi (The SMERU Research Institute)
   2. Fiscal Policy and Infrastructure Development in Indonesia
      Maxensius Tri Sambodo (LIPI)
   3. The Dynamics of Education outcome in Decentralized Indonesia, 2000-2014
      Abdul Wahid Fajar Amin (GRIPS)

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      Douglas Kammen (National University of Singapore)
   3. Corruption and Anti-Corruption in Indonesia: Major Challenges to Reform
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      Ito Takeshi (Sophia University)
   2. Farmland Liquidation in Rural Java
      Ernoiz Antriyandarti (Universitas Sebelas Maret)
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  2. Making Use of Politics: Urban Poor Movement in Indonesia after Reformasi
     Amalinda Savirani (Universitas Gadjah Mada)
  3. Women and the Progressive of Law in Indonesia: From the New Order to the Reformation Order
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16.50 - 17.50  SESSION 5: MANAGING MULTICULTURALISM
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     Thung Ju Lan (LIPI)
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     Iqra Anugrah (NIU)

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     Okamoto Masaaki (Kyoto University)

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ABSTRACTS

Understanding Metropolitan Poverty: The Profile of Poverty in Jabodetabek Area
Asep Suryahadi (The SMERU Research Institute)

The rapid economic development in Jabodetabek metropolitan area has caused an influx of inhabitants to the region, subsequently leading to the highest urban concentration in Indonesia. Since many of the migrants were poor, this exerts more pressures on poverty reduction efforts. As a consequence, despite the rapid development, the poverty rate in this area has been stagnant at around six percent since early 2000s. Therefore, it is important to examine further the correlation between household characteristics and poverty in the metropolitan area. This study analyzes the correlates of poverty in Jabodetabek using data from the National Socio-Economic Survey (SUSENAS).

The results point to a negative relation of access to internet, sanitation facilities, and house density to poverty status. Controlling for other variables, it was found that living in urban areas actually increases the probability of people falling into poverty. Meanwhile, a significant impact of education on reducing the probability of being poor is only found at higher education levels, implying that in order to escape from poverty the poor need higher education level than those in non-metropolitan areas. Finally, indicating the importance of accelerating economic transformation, household head working in a job other than agricultural sector reduces the probability of falling into poverty, with industrial sector having the highest marginal effects.

Fiscal Policy and Infrastructure Development in Indonesia
Maxensius Tri Sambodo (LIPI)

Infrastructure is one of the key components of economic development and competitiveness. The global competitiveness index showed that Indonesia ranked 52 of 137 countries (Malaysia 22 and Thailand 43) and in terms of infrastructure, Indonesia ranked 86. Slow of economic recovery post the economic crisis 1998, lack in investment funds in most of state owned companies, and energy subsidy have reduced fiscal space for public infrastructure. Further, uncertainty in regulations across the level of government and sector have been blamed as the
major obstacle of investment. Developing infrastructure needs a strong collaboration among the actors such as government, state companies, private sector, and international agencies. If government too ambitious in developing infrastructure under the revenue constraint, this can increase budget deficit that is not sustainable. On the other hand, there are complex issues in dealing with infrastructure development. It covers financial, economic, political, technical, environment, and social dimension. Thus, government needs to promote favorable environment for ease of doing business. This paper aims to highlight the trends, obstacles, and prospects of investment in Indonesia, by looking at the two decades of experiences. In analyzing infrastructure, we link it with institution and incentives framework.

The Dynamics of Education outcome in Decentralized Indonesia, 2000-2014
Abdul Wahid Fajar Amin (GRIPS)

Over past decades, Indonesia has been making progress in improving its educational outcomes. The national level of primary enrollment rate increased from below 70% in 1970 to above 90% in the mid-1990s. These improvements were affected by central government policy that included expanded coverage and restructuring school-building, the reform-oriented institutional environment, and a constitutional commitment to allocate national budget to education sector. These performances are continuously achieved during decentralization. The primary enrollment rate has been steady in 96% since 2013 while junior-secondary enrollment and secondary enrollment reach 77% and 59%, respectively. Nonetheless, Indonesia still faces several issues in education outcomes, especially there are significant regional variations in junior and secondary enrollment rates.

This study examines the determinants of education outcomes in decentralized Indonesia. Based on statistical analysis of the data that covers 450 districts from 2000-2014, it will show the pattern of education outcome by clustering the country’s regions into several categories. It will focus on junior and secondary enrollment to highlight the disparity among the regions. It will explain how local government policy through its budget allocation may affect and improve educational outcomes.
Beyond the enclave? Post-Reformasi Indonesia and contradictions of human rights practices
Suh Jiwon (Changwon National University, South Korea)

It appears that the post-reformasi Indonesian government became fully equipped with human rights instruments on many levels. Indonesia ratified eight major United Nations human rights treaties, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, after Suharto’s fall. The central government now has a directorate for human rights under the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. The national action plans for human rights are regularly introduced and “socialized” with provincial and local governments. In addition to the National Commission of Human Rights (Komnas-HAM), new bodies such as National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) and the Witness and Victim Protection Agency (LPSK) were created by post-reformasi administrations. A number of local administrations adopted human rights charters and others became certified as human rights cities. These new plans and institutions undoubtedly worked in favor of better human rights protection. At the same time, however, serious violations of human rights such as extrajudicial killings and tortures by security forces are still reported from time to time. Breaches of minority rights by social groups, often assisted by local and central governments, are rampant. Human rights cities are adopting discriminative local bylaws. The persistence of impunity or transitional justice sends a wrong message to perpetrators of human rights abuses. I argue that these contradictions of human rights practices are rooted in the late-New Order strategy of creating a human rights enclave to show off to the outside world, while continuing repressive practices. By discussing cases that initiatives from the “human rights enclave” were obstructed by other state actors with regard to transitional justice, I will show that the contradictions of human rights practices will continue unless the relevant norms reach beyond the enclave.

Polarizing Indonesia
Douglas Kammen (National University of Singapore)

Twenty years after embarking on a transition from authoritarian rule, the Indonesian polity has become intensely polarized, and all indications are that this will deepen further in the lead-up to the 2019 national elections. What are the sources of this polarization and along what axes does it find expression? Recent scholarship has highlighted the divide between political Islam...
and those who (claim to) defend a secular state, resulting in the rise of a new populism, for which there are obvious global counterparts. But it would be a mistake to locate the sources of the current crisis solely in Jakarta and the national elite. In this presentation, I trace the origins of the current crisis to a combination of economic changes unleashed by the 2007 financial crisis, unintended consequences of Indonesia’s far-reaching decentralization and the ambitious infrastructure program promoted by the Jokowi government.

Corruption and Anticorruption in Indonesia: Major Challenges to Reform

Adnan Topan Husodo (Indonesian Corruption Watch)

Corruption in Indonesia has been spread widely since Soeharto era. The legacy of corruption that embedded under New Order administration seems difficult to be eliminated within socio-political structure. In addition, corruption has flowing further to the new government administration that has been established as a result of decentralization policy. Meanwhile, the villages’ government has became vulnerable to corrupt practices as the Central Government began to disburse billion of rupiah (Indonesia currency) for each village since 2015. As a result, corruption becomes serious problem for achieving development goal at best until recently. Many believe that poverty and inequality are the unintended results as the state has failed to eradicate corruption in serious manner.

Notwithstanding the anticorruption efforts during the reform era has been demonstrated attractively by national administration, the effectiveness and the efficiency of corruption reduction remain under question. As of Corruption Perception Index (CPI) of TI, The World Bank Doing Business survey and others domestic research results on anticorruption measure indicates that the good governance ecosystem has not been established well. Despite the fact that Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) - the independent anti-corruption agency- has prosecuted corrupt officials in many layer of government agencies, the results may not really affected the entire government institutions as this institution is only a single corruption fighter. At the same time, KPK has also been facing serious challenges and so then they cannot maintain the best level of performance to eliminate corruption. This paper elaborates the dynamic of corruption over the last 20 years, the anticorruption strategy has employed and the challenges encounter the anticorruption effort in post-Soeharto Indonesia.

In brief, the context of widespread corruption in Indonesia has found a fertile ground under electoral democratic system. The lack of accountability and transparency of political
financing has undermined the democracy principles and has stimulated massive corruption. In this regards, political party system in Indonesia is the central of corruption problem. The anticorruption effort that has taking many forms seems not capable to improve the quality of government and partly failed to control corruption. The focus on institutional reform strategy cannot dramatically changes the culture of government officer’s attitude and behaviour. Among the good anticorruption results Indonesian see today is the performance of KPK. However, KPK also suffers lack of support due to the absence of government political will. The uncertainty of anticorruption agenda in Indonesia in fact has become more obvious under the most democratic government ever seen, Jokowi-JK.

**Agrarian Transformation and Policy Instruments in Indonesia: Challenges for Food Security and Poverty Reduction**  
Ito Takeshi (Sophia University)

Indonesia’s agricultural policy is at a crossroads. Agriculture has contributed to improving the welfare of tens of millions of Indonesians, achieving strengthening food security and bringing down the poverty rate (USD 1.9) from 70.3% to 8.3% in 2014. Since the global food crisis of 2007-08, however, it has increasingly become difficult to develop effective policy instruments for achieving food security and poverty reduction. Global forces to promote industrial agriculture with emphases on an economy of scale and efficiency have met with indigenous peoples’ resistance against land grabbing and welfare policy for small-scale farmers whose livelihoods and rights to land have been at odds with the logics of capital accumulation and state formation. This paper is concerned the changing role of agriculture in food security and poverty reduction in Indonesia. By taking a political economy approach, it addresses three important areas of agrarian change. First, it examines key structural changes in agriculture in the last decade including declining values of agriculture, urban population growth, commodity prices, shrinking size of farmlands, etc. Second, it presents a survey of current policy instruments—land titling, land redistribution, food estates, tariffs, and input and output subsidies—with an assessment of progress. Lastly, this paper shows that policy innovations alone might be insufficient for food security and poverty reduction if they do not take into account impacts of large-scale agrarian transformation under the global corporate food regime.
Farmland Liquidation in Rural Java  
Ernoiz Antriyantri (Universitas Sebelas Maret)

Java Island is the main producer of rice which is the most important crop in Indonesia. However, the area of the farmland has not increased significantly. The small farm size implied the rice sector does not have global competitiveness, especially in Central Java and East Java Province. Farm size is not a new policy subject for Indonesia. The Basic Agrarian Law imposed a limit in the size of agricultural land holdings, with a minimum and maximum size of 2 and 20 ha, respectively. This study attempts to investigate the farmland liquidation in the rural area of those provinces by using household data. We found that the farmland liquidation has not been progressed well due to some reasons. One of the strategies to promote farmland liquidation is off-farm jobs development. By engaging off-farm jobs, small-holder farmer will lease out their farmland and earn higher income. Therefore, land lease supply in the land lease market would be increased and farmland liquidation would be developed well.

Gendered Impact of Large Scale Oil Palm Land Acquisition on Local Women: Insights from Indonesia  
Dian Ekowati (CIFOR)

Oil palm plantation covered 12 million hectares area in 2017. The number is doubled compared to 10 years before, 2006 which the number was 6.6 million (Dirjenbun 2015). This number comprises of smallholders (approx. 40%) and the rest is large scale plantation owned by private and the state. Compared to total number of Indonesian’s agriculture area (39.5 million hectares) (Ministry of Agriculture 2014), oil palm alone covers a third of total area. And compared to production forest area which accounts to 72.1 Mha oil palm is 16.6% (Statistics Indonesia 2015).

The massive development has attracted many research on its impact to communities; however, gender dimensions were not adequately considered. We avoid to pre-assume that men and women is differed by nature in interest on the oil palm, but instead we explore the pre-existing and introduced norms and scheme that affect them differently during the community’s engagement with oil palm introduction (and expansion) into their area. We will present our finding on: 1. Processes of land acquisition and 2. How does men’s and women’s access to, use of and value attributed to land change as oil palm replaces previous crop and as
Wage work emerges. We explored men and women from different community’s categories (local, migrant; social economic status) incorporated into those.

The research was conducted in three villages in East and West Kalimantan

- **Community A (East Kalimantan):** an indigenous Ga’ai Dayak community of swidden cultivators whose communal lands have been acquired by large scale oil palm companies;
- **Community B (East Kalimantan):** a mixed community comprising indigenous Malay and Ga’ai Dayak, and migrants from other parts of Indonesia in which large scale oil palm investments are interspersed with small and medium-sized land acquisitions by migrants and local elites;
- **Community C (West Kalimantan):** a Dayak community which has been incorporated into oil palm through a smallholder outgrower (nucleus-plasma) oil palm scheme.

We used a combination of methods which included analysis of existing quantative and qualitative data sets, key informant community profiles, intra-household survey (focusing on access to resources, divisions of labour, food security, aspirations), semi-structured interviews with different categories of men and women (life/event histories around land acquisition and its impact, knowledge and informed consent processes). These were coupled with key informant interviews with oil oil palm companies, key investors locally, local government, civil society leaders, advocacy organizations. The data was collected in two stages, between June and July 2014, and August and September 2016.

Our findings shows that land acquisition process was lacked of transparency. The FPIC process conducted was more on negotiating benefit instead of consent. Most men and women in the communities were excluded from the process; but women were subject to second layer of disadvantage as a result of the pre-existing norm within the community hinder their full participation in public spaces and scheme introduced by company on negotiation “representative is the male head of household” (Elmhirst et.al. 2017)

After the land acquisition, landscape in the village was altered. Many family’s land that was previously planted with rubber and paddy have shifted to oil palm. Even if the oil palm came with wage opportunities, the shift has cost the family with loss of subsistence agriculture, loss of traditional cash crop and environmental degradation (incl. polluted water sources). Women were particularly loss more due to the existing norms on women’s responsibility to provide meals for the family. And when paddy harvest is not enough, rubber is gone, women don’t have much option to fulfill their family rather than engage themselves into the oil palm
plantation. This leads to further question whether there is decent employment conditions for women workers – that will not be covered during this agrarian workshop.


On the Walls and Along the Streets: The Politics and the Aesthetics of Reclaiming Public Space in Yogyakarta
Brigitta Isabella (KUNCI Cultural Studies Center)

This paper discusses sites of urban infrastructures in Yogyakarta that accommodate the encounters between the contesting ideologies and interests of the emancipated artists-citizens, the government and the capitalist corporate. In the first decade of post-Reformasi era, groups of Yogyakarta’s street artists have been exploring street art as means for activating community engagement and political involvement. Alas, big corporations, with the blessings from the municipal authority, have devalued street art by co-opting it for vulgar advertising. Street wall-the canvas of the commons—becomes the site where the visual struggle of street artists against the commercialization of public infrastructure distinctly appears.

Beyond the aesthetico-political resilience at play in the street walls of Yogyakarta, several artists groups and networks have also initiated performative interventions along the city streets to provoke discussions around the massive construction of malls and hotels, which has caused agrarian conflict and socio-environmental problems over the past decade. Some art projects discussed in this paper are also noteworthy for creating spaces for critical knowledge production through history from below and alternative mapping methods in order to counter the hegemonic vision of state-capitalist urban planning.

This paper attempts to ruminate on questions around the relationship between the aesthetics and the politics of reclaiming public spaces by analyzing urban art practices in Yogyakarta. In what ways art projects in urban setting reflect local social conditions two decades after 1998 Reformasi? How does art community connect to other social forces in the
on-going project of urbanity? What politics does the aesthetic ideology of urban art enable? What are the limitations and challenges of art practices that were shaped by the will for participatory democracy?

**Making Use of Politics: Urban Poor Movement in Indonesia after Reformasi**

Amalinda Savirani (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

This presentation will be on reflection of social movement among urban poor population in many cities in Indonesia, in claiming basic rights such as housing/land security, health care, and education. There have been two trends happening at the same time that become a context of social movement. First, a decreased trend of donors, which social movement to be more independent financially. Second, an increased role of electoral politics in political realm in Indonesia, which provides a new strategy for civil society movement, including the urban poor.

This presentation explores movements’ responses in terms of strategies for advocacy. A case study of Jakarta gubernatorial election in 2012 and 2017 will be explored. The 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election has forced a movement consolidation among urban poor in Jakarta due to massive evictions that Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) governorship (2014-2017) had executed, with 16,000 people become victims of evictions (LBH 2016).

My presentation will answer at least three main questions. What are the impacts of opening up political opportunities (i.e. electoral politics) for movement in term of strategies of advocacy? Have they been part of clientelistic, or more into programmatic linkage with politicians (Kitschelt 2000)? To what extent this linkage of social movement-politicians would this be a future urban poor politics in Indonesia?

**Women and the Progressive of Law in Indonesia: From the New Order to the Reformation Order**

Nurul Ilmi Idrus (Universitas Hasanuddin)

Almost twenty years after the fall of Suharto in 1998, and since the beginning of the Reformation Order (*reformasi*), numbers of laws have been produced and numbers of existing laws have been revised. The process of *reformasi* in Indonesia has resulted in a greater degree of freedom of speech, which is in contrast with the pervasive censorship under the New Order.
The Reformation Order has become the most progressive period of protection of human rights, including women’s rights. This aims to eliminate gender-based discrimination as included in various existing laws.

This article deals with the progressive of law, from the urgency of the need for procurement of certain law, the law itself, to how the law is implemented during this Order. I will examine, through a number of case studies, three existing laws—the Marriage Law, the Election Law, and Domestic Violence Law—as well as how these laws have impacted on women’s life. Despite some debates in urging and ensuring the procurement of Domestic Violence Law and in revising the Marriage Law as well as the Election Law, women play a significant role in such social movement and enforcing the laws in various ways, each with its own uniqueness. The discussion in this article will be divided into three: I will begin by examining the switch from authoritarian state under the New Order to the Reformation Order, regarding the freedom of speech and the debates regarding the laws. This will be followed by discussing how the laws are implemented. Finally, I will assess how the laws have impacted on women’s life.

Managing Multiculturalism: The Ethnic (and Religious) Issues
Thung Ju Lan (LIPI)

Ethnicity is a major issue for Indonesia’s plural society. After a series of massive ethnic riots that struck Indonesia between 1996/1997 and 2001, starting with the Dayak - Madurese clashes, reached its peak during the 1998 May tragic events, and tentatively ended with Moslem-Christian violent conflict in Maluku, multiculturalism becomes the only visible solution. However, it was not as simple as it was thought, because multiculturalism has its own theoretical flaws, particularly in relation to the concept of culture. In the Indonesian context, the problematic interpretation of culture is reflected in the relationship between the so-called national and local cultures, which in reality embodies the difficulties of accommodating and embracing all ethnic groups with each own culture within the nationalistic and democratic framework. The problem grew larger when the issue of religious differences was incorporated into the conflict, because religion brings an ideological element into the on-going construction of Indonesian nation-state. In this paper I would like to discuss the challenges of managing multiculturalism in Indonesia.
Islam and the Public Sphere in post-Reformasi Indonesia: a reassessment
Iqra Anugrah (NIU)

Though peripheral and far from its perceived cultural center, Islam in contemporary Indonesia has gained a significant scholarly attention. Following democratization in 1998, there has been a significant shift in the role of Islam in Indonesian society. A lot has been written on the development of Indonesian Islam since then, covering multiple dimensions of the public sphere. However, the existing literature seems to be caught in a cul-de-sac, overemphasizing a culturalist explanation of Indonesian Islam and its ideal type classification. This tendency, which has become a scholarly orthodoxy, misses the complex reality faced by Indonesian Muslims and their agencies in response to such complexity.

This essay, therefore, offers a reassessment of Islam-public sphere relations in post-Reformasi Indonesia at theoretical, methodological, and empirical planes. Drawing from previous studies as well as recent findings, it reexamines the impact of post-authoritarian transition on Indonesian Islam. It advances several arguments. First, Indonesian Islam after the New Order faces a social landscape shaped by a complex amalgamation of electoral democracy, patronage, neoliberalism, and post-Cold War international order. Secondly, the post-authoritarian transition both limits and opens up opportunities for new Muslim subjectivities as formulated by a variety of social actors – ulamas, intellectuals, local strongmen, politicians, activists, and ordinary Muslims. In other words, this essay attempts to analyze the dialectical relationship between changes in post-Reformasi period and various social, political, and intellectual articulations of Islam that emerged after democratic transition. These findings also suggest a need to formulate a new paradigm in studying contemporary Indonesian Islam amidst capitalist transformation.
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