



JOINT RESEARCH PROJECTS SPIN 2012-2016

Part I:

1. Title of the Joint Research Programme

From Clients to Citizens? Emerging Citizenship in Democratising Indonesia

2. Applicants

a. Main applicant in the Netherlands

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University/ Institute: President University, Faculty of Law

Research Proposal

3. Summary of the Joint Research Project Proposal (*Max. 800 words*)

Word count: 551

Democratic citizenship refers to the capacity and willingness of citizens to actively shape the functioning of



state institutions. While considered a vital correlate of democratization and the rule of law, its largely western-oriented literature rarely studies the forms of democratic citizenship that emerge in the context of a weakly institutionalized state and a largely clientelistic political system. Citizenship is hardly studied in Southeast Asia, as the concept was long considered inadequate to describe the hierarchical and clientelistic relations that characterized much state-citizen interaction during and before the New Order. Yet the nature of Indonesia's democratization process makes it necessary to go beyond the more common elite-focused research on Indonesian politics (e.g. SPIN2 project 'In Search of Middle Indonesia') to study the way citizenship is perceived and practiced by ordinary Indonesians. *From Clients to Citizens?* aims to understand the impact of Indonesia's democratization process on everyday state-citizen interaction: *to what extent is Indonesia's democratic transition changing the way ordinary Indonesians relate to the state in terms of citizenship? How can we explain both the changes and the continuities?*

In addressing these questions *From Clients to Citizens?* aims to make three major contributions to a better understanding of democratization and the articulation of citizenship in Indonesia. Firstly, as citizenship is generally studied in the context of a liberal, high-capacity welfare state, this project aims to improve our understanding of how democratic citizenship takes shape in the context of a weakly institutionalized, post-colonial state. For that reason this program focuses on the relationship between citizenship, political clientelism and the institutionalization of the rule of law – in our eyes a vital issue yet largely ignored in the literature on citizenship. We need to understand under what circumstances clientelistic practices may be displaced by successful citizenship claims. Secondly, this program aims to study how historical trajectories of state formation feed into contemporary forms of state-citizen interaction. This project examines to what extent currently prevailing norms of citizenship can be traced back to older (cultural) notions of authority and political legitimacy. Thirdly, this project aims to improve our understanding of differences in political practices and attitudes within Indonesia. Using in a comparative way the contrasts between (and within) greater Jakarta, South Sulawesi and Lampung, this program aims to understand how regional differences – for example in terms of the size of the informal economy, the character of local trust networks, a history of indirect rule or the regulatory capacity of the state – affects the strategies and attitudes that citizens adopt vis-à-vis powerholders.

To address these questions *From Clients to Citizens?* engages in both historical and ethnographic studies of everyday interactions between citizens, state institutions and (political) intermediaries. The program's seven sub-studies aim to capture the changing norms, practices and discursive strategies that citizens adopt vis-à-vis powerholders as they focus on key citizenship struggles in contemporary Indonesia – such as the campaigns to secure land rights, on public service delivery, social security reform, the anti-corruption mobilization and the campaigns to institute Islamic morality. This program's shared comparative approach maximizes the possibilities for synergy between the subprojects as they study three complementary aspects of the emergence of democratic citizenship in Indonesia: how is democratization affecting (1) the dependence of citizens on political patrons, (2) the strategies and discourse that citizens adopt to realize their rights and (3) the accessibility and the character of Indonesia's public sphere?

4. Detailed description of the Priority Programme (Max. 2500 words)

Word count: 2499

a. Scientific Background (shared research question(s) or mutual research theme, problem definition)

Citizenship denotes the relationship between citizens and agents of the state, referring to both the rights citizens enjoy as well as obligations to contribute to public life (Tilly-1995, Turner-1997; Kymlicka and Norman-1994; Van Gunsteren-1998; Kivisto and Faist-2007; Isin and Turner-2002). Citizenship refers not just to the status of an individual (as a liberal tradition emphasizes) nor to the management of societal diversity (the aim of a communitarian tradition, cf Hefner-2001) but also to something that can be *practiced*: the republican notion of democratic citizenship emphasizes that a vibrant democracy does not only require the institutionalization of civic and political rights, but also the presence of an active and informed citizenry willing and capable of playing an active role in public decision making (Steward-1995; Oldfield-1998; Janoski-1998; Janoski and Gran-2002; Hadenius-2001). This program studies the evolving nature of



democratic citizenship in Indonesia, understood as the capacity and willingness of citizens to be actively involved in shaping the functioning of state institutions.

Following a Tocquevillean tradition, democratic citizenship is regularly upheld as essential for democratic consolidation (Holston-2008; Przeworski e.a.-1995; Hadenius-2001; Cornwall e.a.-2011; Kabeer-2005; Isin and Turner-2002). Scholars have advanced several dimensions of a 'civic culture' as being indispensable for 'making democracy work' – eg. trust, tolerance, political participation, associational activity and social capital, a sense of affiliation with national or even global polities (Almond and Verba-1963; Putnam-1994; Pattie e.a.-2004). The strengthening of collective citizen action has become a central aim of development agencies which have been instrumental in spreading a discourse on 'citizen participation', 'empowerment' and 'civil-society building' which informs state-citizen interaction across the globe.

Given this emphasis on the importance of citizenship for democratic consolidation, the field of citizenship studies has paid surprisingly little attention to the forms that democratic citizenship takes in post-colonial states. In these states the rights-claiming, autonomous and individualistic citizen – as celebrated in the literature on citizenship – might not be emerging in large numbers yet, and a focus on this particular type of citizen is hindering a much needed understanding of the kinds of state-citizen interactions prevailing in post-colonial states (Robins 2008; Cornwell e.a.-2011). These interactions should not be studied in terms of their deviation from idealized western patterns. Rather, we need an understanding how particular conceptions and practice of rights, reciprocity and representation observable in post-colonial countries, are related to their political economy and a particular history of state formation (Chatterjee-2004; Chabal and Daloz-1999; Kaviraj-2001; Mamdani-1996). Different interpretations of the 'proper' relation between the ruler and the ruled should not only be related to age-old cultural or religious traditions concerning the nature of political authority (see Anderson-1972; Day-2002), but also to historical processes of state formation and the way political accountability takes shape in the context of a particular political economy. As citizenship is generally studied in the context of a liberal, high-capacity welfare state, this research projects aims to address the lack of attention for the forms that democratic citizenship take in the context of a more weakly institutionalized state and a predominantly clientelistic political system.

There are as yet few studies of citizenship in Indonesia and the term rarely features in public debate. During and before the New Order scholars found the concept of citizenship hardly useful as they described how the New Order propaganda about a 'child-father'-like citizen-state relation (Parker-2003; Fearnley-Sander-2008) combined with a deferential attitude towards bearers of state authority (Tsing-1994; Antlov-1995) to turn Indonesian citizens into passive 'spectators' of state power (Kuipers-1994). Most of the studies of *reformasi*-era politics has focused on the functioning of political elites (see Aspinall and Mietzner-2010; Erbs and Sulistiyanto-2009). These studies suggest that Indonesia's democratization process is generating a 'patronage democracy' (Simandjuntak-2010; Van Klinken-2009; Schulte Nordholt and Van Klinken-2007) dominated by 'predatory elites' (Hadiz-2010; Crouch-2010) who cement their support-base through ethnic appeals (Schulte Nordholt-2008; 2011) and through a regular subversion of the rule of law (see Aspinall and Van Klinken-2010).

These studies have paid relatively little attention to the way such predatory and clientelistic practices are supported (or curtailed) by the way democratic citizenship is practiced and perceived by ordinary citizens. This research program therefore asks: ***to what extent is Indonesia's democratic transition changing the way ordinary Indonesians relate to the state in terms of citizenship? How can we explain both the changes and the continuities?***

This program argues that democratic citizenship should be studied by focusing on three central themes: (a) the degree of autonomy of citizens vis-à-vis power holders, (b) citizens' capacity to realize their rights, and (c) the extent to which citizens can access the public sphere and participate in public debate (see esp. Oldfield-1998; Janovski-2001; Tilly-1995). These three dimensions themes inform the program's sub-studies:

- a. **Autonomy:** it is a sign of a western bias of citizenship studies that the term 'patronage' or its variants hardly figures in this literature. A remarkable omission, since experiences in post-colonial 'patronage democracies' (Chandra-2004) suggest that clientelistic practices - the exchange of access to state resources for (electoral) support – are a central element of the everyday interaction between citizens and the state. Since the need to secure a personalized access to state resources (through a patron) undermines both the rule of law and the autonomy of citizens vis-à-vis



powerholders, clientelism is generally interpreted as detrimental to democratic citizenship. Yet there is political agency in client-ship: in practice clientelistic exchanges are often adopted strategically by poorer citizens to protect their livelihoods in the context of a weak rule of law (Chatterjee-2004, Gray-1998). There is no scholarly consensus on the impact of democratization processes on the evolution of patron-client relations: while some argue that democratization processes are making patron-clients relations less asymmetrical but not less pervasive (Wilkinson-2007; Gay-1998; Roniger-2004), others are arguing that an 'insurgent citizenship' can succeed in curtailing the dependence on political patrons (Holston-2008; Fox-1994; Gay-2006). This debate highlights the need to dynamize the rather static descriptions of clientelistic practices in Indonesia (eg. Crouch-2010; Hadiz-2010): *to what extent is Indonesia's democratization process weakening the dependence of citizens on political patronage?*

- b. **Rights:** In the context of a weakly institutionalized state, citizenship is not just defined by the extent to which the state grants civil, political or social rights to its citizens (cf. Marshall-1963), but also by the extent to which citizens actually succeed in realizing them. As the long history of struggles over (particularly) land and natural resources (see Fuller-Collins-2007) attests, both the vague and contradictory nature of much legislation, as well as the capacity of local elites to manipulate the course of legal processes (see Lev-2007) have for decades undermined the capacity of ordinary Indonesians to realize their rights. Indonesia's democratization process led to a massive decentralization program and the adoption of various new laws such as the forestry law (1999) and the laws on labour unions (2000) and mineral and Coal Mining (2009), but as yet the verdict is still out whether such a changing 'political opportunity structure' (Tarrow and Tilly-2007) is changing the strategies and capacities of citizens involve in struggles to realize their rights. Everyday attempts to realize citizen rights therefore constitute concrete 'acts of citizenship' (cf Isin-2008) that need further study: to understand the impact of institutional and legal changes on everyday citizen-state interaction, this program studies how the grass-root struggles for land rights and public services have changed over the last decade. *How is Indonesia's democratization process impacting the norms, discursive strategies and practices that citizens employ to realize their rights?*
- c. **Public Sphere:** As an area of social life where individuals interact to discuss and form opinions on matters of common concern, the public sphere is where "the public of "human beings" engaged in rational-critical debate [is] constituted into one of "citizens"" (Habermas-1991: 106). As this sphere between civil society and the state enables the participation of citizens in public decision-making, the evolution of the public sphere and democratization are often described as two mutually reinforcing processes (Pzreworski e.a.-1995, see also Somers 1995): while the extension of civic and political liberties enlarges the capacity of citizens to participate in public debate, the strengthening of the public sphere can enhance democratic accountability. Yet in the context of Indonesia's post-colonial state such arguments face two challenges. Firstly, the extension of civic liberties might not be enough, as the nature of Indonesia's economy – particularly its large informal economy and relatively small middle class – might continue to curtail the access to the public sphere. Secondly, we cannot assume that participation in the public sphere will necessarily bring about the civic virtues - 'tolerance', 'rational-critical debate' and 'equality' – that are central in the discourse of (democratization) programs of development agencies. Public discourse might be shaped by different emphases on, for example, public vs. private concerns, common good vs. (ethnic) group interests, gender equality vs. patriarchy, rights vs. duties, as well as different conceptions of political legitimacy: *how is Indonesia's democratization process affecting the accessibility and the character of Indonesia's public sphere?*



From Clients to Citizens addresses these questions by engaging in both historical and ethnographic studies of everyday interactions between citizens, state institutions and (political) intermediaries. Focusing on key citizenship struggles in Indonesia – on land rights, for public service delivery, for welfare rights, the anti-corruption mobilization through social media and campaigns to reinforce Islamic morality - this program aims to produce comparative analyses of the emerging forms of citizenship in democratizing Indonesia. The sub-studies will all focus on three regions – South Sulawesi, Jakarta and Lampung – which will not only enable synergy between the sub-studies, but also serves to overcome a lack of comparative attention for Indonesia's heterogeneity in contemporary scholarship.

This research program posits that democratic citizenship in post-colonial states need to be studied particularly in relation to the following three aspects of local political economies – which guide this program's comparative approach and constitute propositions that will be tested during the research:

1. The regulatory capacity of the state. While earlier studies portrayed the Indonesian state – particularly during the New Order – as relatively autonomous and centralized (Anderson-1983), recent studies have emphasized how Indonesia's decentralization process boosted the capacity of local elites to bend implementation of state policies and laws to their needs (Van Klinken and Barker-2009; Van Klinken and Aspinall-2010). Such observations point to the need to study citizenship in terms of its interactive relation with the (historical development of the) regulatory capacity of the state (cf Migdal-2001): *while persistent collective action could serve to discipline and strengthen state institutions, the weak institutionalization of the state boosts the preference of citizens for the more secure patron-client relations.* Particularly the variation in the way Dutch institutionalized their rule - governing indirectly through a local autocracy in some (outer) regions while incorporating this *priyayi* elite in the colonial bureaucracy elsewhere (Sutherland-1972)- might have created a 'bifurcated state' (Mamdani-1996), since some parts of the population grew accustomed to dealing with the state through ethnic intermediaries.
2. The size of the informal economy. Given this limited regulatory power of the Indonesian state, much income earning activities are informal, in the sense that they bypass the costs and are excluded from the protection of laws and administrative rules (Portes-2010). This bypassing of state regulation is so pervasive that in various (particularly extractive) industries one can speak of 'shadow states' (Van Klinken and Schulte Nordholt-2007). As those participating in this informal economy can hardly take recourse to the law, they need to rely on powerful (political) intermediaries as well as on their (ethnic) trust networks to limit transaction costs and to safeguard their livelihoods (Landa-1994). These dependencies affect the scope for collective action as well as the sense of identification with broader non-ethnic collectivities like the Indonesian nation, suggesting this program's proposition that *in areas with a large formally employed, well-educated middle class rights-based collective action will be more common, while the preference for clientelistic exchanges might be stronger in areas with a largely agrarian and state-dependent economy.* In these areas the absence of alternative sources of income makes state-access more valuable (Van Klinken-2007). Such considerations suggest the importance of investigating whether an 'urban-rural divide' (cf. Mamdani-1996) indeed characterizes citizenship in Indonesia.
3. The character of associational life. As most interaction between the state and citizens takes place through trust networks – the interpersonal ties through which people pursue shared goals ranging from labour unions, kinship groups, trade associations etc. (Tilly-2005) – studies of democratic citizenship regularly emphasize that the presence of such networks and its integration into public decision-making is crucial aspect of any democratization process (Tilly-2007; Putnam-1994). There is, however, disagreement as to whether every kind of trust network serves this purpose, since segregated, identity-based trust networks are likely to segment political life and undermine a shared commitment to a common good. Conversely, the



K O N I N K L I J K E N E D E R L A N D S E
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presence of trust networks capable of aggregating collective interests *across* ethnic boundaries is considered conducive to a curtailment of clientelistic practices (Piattoni-2001) since such networks can create a demand for more universalistic policy-making. *The character of local trust networks and their integration into public decision making can thus affect both the strategies and the discourse that citizens adopt in their dealings with state institutions.*

This program focuses on greater Jakarta, Lampung and South Sulawesi because of the way their political economies offer contrasts on these three dimensions (as indicated below).

	State	Economy	Associational life
Greater Jakarta	Relatively strong, direct rule	Metropolitan, diversified economy	Active civil society
Lampung	Relatively weak, direct rule	Rural, less diversified economy	Immigrant-native division, active mobilization for land rights
South Sulawesi	Relatively strong, history of indirect rule	Largely rural, rice-field economy	Politicized ethnic and religious divisions, strong Islamic movements

As the sub studies all focus on these three areas – in the manner indicated below – this program uses this shared focus to boost synergy and to capture the interconnectedness between the subtopics. To study the impact of an urban-rural divide, some subprojects will also engage in comparisons within these provinces.

Regions/project no:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Greater Jakarta	x	x	x		x	x	x
Lampung	x			x		x	
South Sulawesi	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

c. Workplan (approach, methods, deliverables, management)

From Clients to Citizens will conduct a series of comparative in-depth studies (5 PhD projects and two post-doctoral projects) that focus on concrete, everyday citizenship practices in terms of the three dimensions outlined above. This project will result in five dissertations, one edited volume, two monographs and at least 6 articles in peer-reviewed international journals. SPIN-funding for 2 PhD's and one post-doc is being requested. KITLV will finance one full-time senior researcher (2b) and four 6-months post-doc fellowships for senior Indonesian scholars. For the remaining 4 PhD's Dikti scholarships will be requested, which will be partially co-funded by SPIN resources.

d. Scientific Relevance (including relevance of anticipated results)

The innovative value and scientific relevance of this program lies in (a) its focus on the interaction between weak state institutions, political clientelism and citizenship - in our perception a vital issue but largely ignored by the western-oriented literature on citizenship and (b) its capacity to produce insights about (the limits of) the capacity of new political institutions to change political behaviour (c) its use of regional comparisons to highlight and analyze (the reasons for) differences in political practices and attitudes within Indonesia.

5. Projects within the programme (include project title and reference number, names of Project Leaders and abstracts) (*Max. 400 words per project*)

Word count: 1690



A. How is democratization affecting the dependence of citizens on political patrons?

1. *Shades of Clientelism: A comparative Study of Indonesia's Patronage Democracy (SPIN post-doc)*
Project Leaders: Dr. Gerry van Klinken & Dr. Eric Hiariej

Summary: Has Indonesia's democratization process indeed led to the curtailment of clientelistic practices in some regions while fostering these practices in other regions? If so, how can we explain this divergence? This research project addresses these questions through a combination of an expert survey with ethnographic fieldwork on the functioning of the 'Tim sukses'. A curious feature of Indonesia's budding democracy, *Tim Sukses* ('campaign-teams') are ad-hoc coalitions of businesspersons and local notables, set up by politicians to manage and fund their electoral campaigns. By comparing the functioning of *Tim Sukses* in different provinces both during and after elections, this research project aims to ascertain under what conditions political actors forego clientelistic practices in favor of making a programmatic appeal to voters. This will be combined with an expert survey. In order to establish to what extent local political competition is clientelistic, local scholars, activists and journalists – those observing local politics professionally - will be surveyed, focusing on the practices of candidates, brokers and voters during the last elections for governor and, where possible, for district-head (*bupati*) or mayor (*walikota*). By combining these different methodologies, this project aims to boost our capacity to study political clientelism in a systematic comparative manner.

2. *From kawula to village citizen: Village Leadership and Public Service Delivery in Rural Indonesia (Dikti PhD)*
Project Leaders: Dr. Pujo Semedi & Prof. H. Schulte Nordholt

Summary: Village life in Indonesia has long been characterized by highly hierarchical relations, largely structured by the unequal access to land. This continued under the New Order, as the expanding state used existing patron-client relations to strengthen its local authority. This research-project studies the impact of Indonesia's democratization process on the relations between villagers and their elected leaders. Through a (partial) restudy of ethnographic studies of village politics under the New Order, this project examines the changing norms and practices that villagers adopt vis-a-vis village elites and asks to what extent the authority and power that village and supra-village leaders wielded during the New Order have been curtailed and whether older hierarchical relations are becoming more symmetrical.

For this purpose, this project will engage in ethnographic fieldwork on everyday struggles to gain access to public services in different villages in West Java and South Sulawesi, focusing on the norms, practices and discursive strategies that villagers adopt in their interaction with local power-holders. This study's comparative approach serves to understand how the influx of educated youth, the diversification of rural economies and the changing access to farmland is affecting these changes.

3. *Citizenship and Historical Practices of Rule (KITLV Post-doc)*
Project Leaders: Dr. Gerry van Klinken & Prof. Bambang Purwanto

Summary: Some parts of Indonesia, particularly Java, have a long history of direct colonial rule and intense capital penetration. By contrast, most areas outside Java have a much shorter history of colonial penetration, and the Dutch ruled indirectly through local rajas. The present sub-project investigates the impact that these different histories of state formation continue to have on contemporary state-citizen relations/ local politics. Local politics in areas with a history of indirect rule are today dominated by ethnic trust networks. This can be seen for example in the ethnic violence in parts of Kalimantan in 1997-2001 and in ethnicised local electoral rhetoric since then. The sub-project hypothesises that this is a legacy of the particular history of state formation in these areas. The modern state was weakly present and negotiated



with and actually strengthened the leaders of pre-existing “ethnic” trust networks. Political scientists consider that the state-citizen relations underlying such politics are clientelistic. In areas with a history of direct rule, by contrast, local politics are less dominated by identity issues. The iconic revolutionary youth (pemuda) of 1945-49 in Java, for example, identified with state institutions such as the army and national political parties rather than with local networks. We hypothesise that the much more pervasive presence of the state and modern capital has weakened or dissolved local trust networks, allowing individuals to relate directly to the central state. This direct relationship between state and citizen is the basis for democratic citizenship .

In order to test these ideas, this sub-project will reconstruct historical trust networks and their associated discourses of citizenship in the two types of areas. As source material it will use ego-documents from various periods in the 20th century and from various areas. We hypothesise that relational networks in documents from the (predominantly rural) areas with a history of indirect rule are dominated by within-group relations, with an associated discourse of ethnic rights and obligations and a distant modern state. Those in documents from more urbanised areas with a history of direct rule and significant modern capital have a greater proportion of between-groups relations and a discourse of citizenship in which the modern state is immanent.

B. How is democratization affecting the strategies and discourse that citizens adopt to realize their rights?

4. *Securing Land rights: Land Conflicts in Democratizing Indonesia (Spin-PhD)*
Project Leaders: Dr. A. Bedner & Dr. M. Safitri

Abstract: This project studies the trajectories of land conflicts over the last 15 years, asking how Indonesia’s democratic and legal reforms have impacted the discursive strategies, practices and capabilities of peasants and state agents to settle land conflicts. Focusing on protracted land conflicts in Mesuji (Lampung) and Bulukumba (South Sulawesi), the projects aims to study to what extent the opening up of new avenues for contestation after the fall of Suharto have affected the capacity of peasants to address land conflicts, and whether these developments have impact the way in which state agents implement land policies. The comparison between South Sulawesi and Lampung serves to ascertain to what extent local conditions – particularly the nature of the networks available to patterns and the regulatory capacity of the state – has impacted the trajectories of these land conflicts

5. *Realizing Welfare Rights? The Collectivization of Social Security in Indonesia (Dikti-PhD)*
Project Leaders: Prof. Dr. Willem van Schendel & Dr. N. Warouw

Summary: In November 2011 Indonesia’s House of Representatives adopted a ‘New Social Security Law’ which aims to ensure universal health coverage as well as life-insurance and pensions. Scheduled to be enacted in January 2014, this bill represents a major step in collectivization of social security arrangements in Indonesia. While Indonesia’s politics is regularly depicted as oligarchic and elite-dominated, the adoption of the new social security bill suggests that Indonesia’s democratization process is generating possibilities for poorer sections of society to realize social rights.

This project studies the contemporary politics as well as the history of social security reform in Indonesia. The Indonesian state has played a relatively minor role in social security arrangements, as adversities – such as sickness or a disability to work – are commonly addressed through informal trust networks. But a gradual collectivisation of social security arrangements can be discerned. While early state provision of social welfare was more commonly presented as giving gifts to loyal clients, policy changes over the last 20 years have gradually institutionalized the role of the state in social security arrangements. This project



studies this process of 'statification' by focussing on the politics, practices and discourse of social security reform: how can we explain the capacity of labour unions and their working class supporters to expand collective social security arrangements? To what extent does the evolving public debate on social security reflect changes interpretations of citizenship in Indonesia? And to what extent are common Indonesians actually turning away from informal trust networks towards the state to address adversities such as sickness, health and death? To address these questions this project will combine ethnographic fieldwork with a study of policy making on social security reform over the last 20 years.

3. How is democratization affecting the accessibility and the character of Indonesia's public sphere?

6. *Digital Citizenship and Indonesia's anti-corruption campaign: New Forms of Public Action and Accountability?* (Dikti PhD)

Project Leaders: Dr. Nico Warouw & Prof. Dr. Patricia Spyer

Summary: This project investigates the ways in which digital/social media are deployed in internet-based campaigns against corruption and judicial failure. Indonesia has been especially enthusiastic in its embrace of communication technologies, boasting today the second largest number of Facebook users in the world and notable as well for the rapid proliferation of smart phone use across social classes. This rapidly increasing use of social media is shaping the way the public sphere is evolving in post-Suharto Indonesia, and might be promoting forms of civic engagements that weaken the importance of primordial affiliations and clientelistic relations in Indonesia's politics. The overarching question of this project is how the avid and often creative use of digitalized media in anti-corruption campaigns contributes to the consolidation of a viable public sphere, the fostering and conceptualization of new forms of citizenship and collective action, and offers alternatives to and/or challenges the largely elite-driven politics of the country.

7. *Pious Citizens: Islam in Indonesia's Public Sphere* (Dikti PhD)

Project Leaders: Dr Muhammed Najib Azca & Prof. Dr. W. Van Schendel

Summary: Democratization in post-Suharto Indonesia has witnessed the simultaneous expansion of the public sphere and the emergence of political Islam. The growth of Islamic movements has led to fierce debates on the role of Islam in public life. These debates revolve around the nature and content of citizenship in Indonesia, as Islamic organizations engaged in campaigns to institutionalize the involvement of the state in enforcing Islamic morality. Focusing on three such campaigns – the campaign on the adoption of religious bylaws, on the anti-pornography law and the banning of a church – this project studies how the rise of political Islam is affecting the nature and conceptualization of citizenship in Indonesia. Through a study of the public debate on these three controversies, this project investigates how these debates are shaping the content and interpretation of citizenship. By studying the mobilizational strategies of proponents and opponents involved in these controversies, this project furthermore aims to understand the conditions enabling Islamic organizations to successfully access the public sphere and influence public debate.

6. Relevant publications by members of the research group(s) (as defined under 2)

(a limit of 25 publications applies for each research group member referred to. Only list those publications most pertinent to this application.

International (refereed) journals

- Spyer, Patricia (2012) "Growing Up in Indonesia: Experience and Diversity in Youth Transitions"



- The Asian Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 13(1) (Special Issue), co-edited with Ben White.
- Schulte Nordholt, H. (2008) 'Identity politics, citizenship and the soft state in Indonesia: and essay', *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities* 1: 1-22.
 - Schulte Nordholt, H. (2011) "Indonesia in the 1950s: Nation, modernity, and the post-colonial state", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* vol 167 (4), 2011.
 - Semedi, P. 2011 *Padvindens, Pandu, Pramuka. Youth and state in the 20th century Indonesia. Africa Development*. Vol. XXXVI, No 3 & 4, 2011, pp. 19 - 38.
 - Schendel, W. van. 'Stretching Labour Historiography: Pointers from South Asia,' *International Review of Social History*, 51 (2006), 229-261.
 - Schendel, W. van. 'The Borderlands of Legality,' Guest Editor, Special Issue 'Underworlds and Borderlands,' *IIAS Newsletter* (September 2006), 42.
 - Schendel, W. van. 'Geographies of Knowing, Geographies of Ignorance: Jumping Scale in Southeast Asia,' *Development and Planning D: Society and Space*, 20 (2002), 647-668.
 - Warouw, Nicolaas. 2003. 'Keeping Up Appearances: Manufacturing Workers in Tangerang Make A Special Effort to Look Good'. In *Inside Indonesia* 75 (July-September), pp.24.
 - Warouw, Nicolaas. 2003. Book review of "Social Movements, Old and New: A Post-Modernist Critique" by Rajendra Singh. In *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* Vol.3(2), pp.127-128.
 - Warouw, Nicolaas. 2006. 'Community-Based Agencies as the Entrepreneur's Instruments of Control in Post-Soeharto's Indonesia'. In *Asia Pacific Business Review* Vol.12(2), pp.193-207.

National (refereed) journals

- Purwanto, B. (2005) "Conflict and Coexistence: Multicultural Images of Urban Yogyakarta in the First Half of Twentieth Century", *Urban Culture Research* Vol.2, 2005, Yogyakarta: Faculty of Cultural Sciences UGM, pp.27-38

Books or contributions to books

- Aspinall, E., & Klinken, G. v. (2010). *The State and Illegality in Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
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Part II:

JRP Sub-Projects

PROJECT 1

1. Project title

Shades of Clientelism: A Comparative Study of Indonesia's Patronage Democracy

2. Research Group

a. Project Leader in the Netherlands

Name / Title(s): Dr. Gerry van Klinken
University/ Institute: KITLV

b. Project Leader in Indonesia

Name / Title(s):
University/ Institute:
University/ Institute: Political Science Department (Fisipol) at Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM)

c. Proposed Researcher:

OSPIN PhD fellow
ODIKTI PhD fellow
OPhD (AIO position)
X Post doc
OSenior researcher (NB for this category SPIN will not provide funding for salary)

Name / Title(s): Dr. Ward Berenschot
University/ Institute: KITLV

Research Proposal

3. Summary of the Project Proposal (Max. 400 words)

Word count: 231

Summary: Has Indonesia's democratization process indeed led to the curtailment of clientelistic practices in some regions while fostering these practices in other regions? If so, how can we explain this divergence? This research project addresses these questions through a combination of an expert survey with ethnographic fieldwork on the functioning of the 'Tim sukses'. A curious feature of Indonesia's budding democracy, *Tim Sukses* ('campaign-teams') are ad-hoc coalitions of businesspersons and local notables, set up by politicians to manage and fund their electoral campaigns. By comparing the functioning of *Tim Sukses* in different provinces both during and after elections, this research project aims to ascertain under what conditions political actors forego clientelistic practices in favor of making a programmatic appeal to voters. This will be combined with an expert survey. In order to establish to what extent local political competition is clientelistic, local scholars, activists and journalists – those observing local politics professionally - will be surveyed, focusing on the practices of candidates, brokers and voters during the last elections for governor and, where possible, for district-head (*bupati*) or mayor (*walikota*). By combining these different methodologies, this project aims to boost our capacity to study political clientelism in a systematic comparative manner.



4. Detailed description of the Project (Max. 2000 words)

Word count: 1714

a. Scientific Background

Political clientelism refers to the practice of exchanging electoral support for personal benefits such as money, access to public services or jobs. Long considered a pre-modern artifact destined to be swept away by modernization (Scott 1972, Lemarchand 1972, Crouch 1979), political clientelism has proven amenable to economic development and democratization (Van Klinken 2009). As clientelism is associated with various societal ills – from low economic growth, inefficient governance to a weak rule of law – we need to improve our understanding of the processes favoring or curtailing clientelistic practices. That is the aim of this research project: this project aims to boost our capacity to study political clientelism in a systematic comparative manner.

Clientelism was long seen as an exploitative, undemocratic practice arising out of hierarchical social relations (Eisenstadt and Lemarchand 1981, Landé 1977, Eisenstadt and Roniger 1980). A new wave of research, however, suggests that democratization processes are making patron-clients relations less asymmetrical but not less pervasive (Wilkinson 2007, Gay 1998, Krishna 2007, Roniger 2004, Chandra 2004, Kitschelt 2011). The unremitting preference of voters for clientelistic exchanges suggests that political clientelism does not necessarily constitute a diminished, but rather an *alternative* form of democratic accountability – a particular exchange relationship between politicians and voters (Piattoni 2001) that can be contrasted with programmatic accountability (Kitschelt 2000, Wilkinson and Kitschelt 2007). Whereas programmatic parties try to attract supporters by offering policy-based benefits accruing to a voter irrespective of his/her vote, clientelistic parties attract supporters by offering *personalized* (i.e. non-policy-based) benefits that are made *contingent* on actual electoral support.

If democratization is indeed unlikely to eradicate clientelistic practices, then when and why do politicians and voters develop a preference for programmatic exchanges over clientelistic exchanges? Despite the urgency of this question, the study of conditions favoring political clientelism “is, perhaps surprisingly, still in its beginnings” (Roniger 2004: 369, Keefer and Khemani 2005:23). This lack of knowledge is largely due to an unhelpful divide between qualitative and quantitative approaches. On the one hand there is a large body of case-studies adopting an ethnographic approach. In this literature three main, recurring arguments about conditions fostering clientelism can be identified: (a) a history of indirect colonial rule restrains the development of rights-based collective action; the resulting weakness of civil society hampers the demand for more programmatic politics (Mamdani 1996, Piattoni 2001) (b) a state-dependent economy – in which the most significant economic activities are either regulated or owned by the state – generates both high demand and abundant supply of clientelistic goods (Sidel 2004) (c) a weakly institutionalized bureaucracy enables politicians to develop discretionary power over the distribution of state resources, thereby discouraging the adoption of programmatic strategies (Shefter 1994). The generalizability of such arguments is difficult to assess as ethnographic studies lend themselves badly for systematic comparisons. Ethnographic studies particularly struggle to overcome a dichotomous description of political systems (i.e. clientelistic vs. non-clientelistic) because they lack methodological and conceptual tools to establish *to what extent* a political system is clientelistic – thus obstructing fine-grained comparisons.

On the other hand a recent, emerging body of research is adopting exclusively quantitative methods, using surveys, statistical proxies and, very recently, a cross-national expert survey (Kitschelt 2009, 2011) to identify various conditions favoring clientelism, such as inequality, democratic youthfulness, weak political competitiveness and ethnic heterogeneity. Their quantitative approach facilitates comparative analyses, but both the reliability and the analytical depth of these studies suffer from a lack of integration with ethnographic fieldwork. Firstly, given the shadowy and complex nature of clientelistic networks, the reliability of either statistical proxies or expert evaluations remains suspect without corroboration through systematic fieldwork. Secondly, the quantitative studies struggle to interpret and explain the observed correlations because they lack the means to identify the acting mechanisms between political clientelism and various variables. Only through ethnographic fieldwork we can pay attention to the perspectives of voters, brokers and politicians and study their reasons for preferring clientelistic exchanges.

We need, therefore, an integration of ethnographic fieldwork with a quantitative survey. The proposed project is, to my knowledge, the first study to do so (see Muno 2010, Wilkinson and Kitschelt 2007,



Hicken 2011, Kitschelt 2009:747). To successfully achieve this integration this project will focus on regional comparisons within Indonesia – which could at a later stage lead to cross-national comparisons. Indonesia's democratization process provides a promising occasion for such a comparative study. After the New Order's highly-centralized, authoritarian and clientelistic rule ended in 1998, Indonesia's regions were all subjected to the same combination of democratic reform and decentralization, leading to the adoption of elections for regional leaders in 2004. This provides a fascinating opportunity to study how Indonesia's heterogeneity impinges on the resulting local political competition. Observers have argued that Indonesia's democratization process is creating a 'patronage democracy' (Simandjuntak 2010, Van Klinken 2009) run by 'predatory elites' (Hadiz 2010) who have created local versions of the patronage channels that existed under the new order (Crouch 2010). The pervasiveness of these patronage networks is said to deinstitutionalize Indonesia's party system (Buehler and Tan 2007) and fuel the politicization of ethnic divisions. Others, however, have argued that in some (particularly urban) areas an increasingly vocal civil society is using newly gained civil liberties to curtail clientelistic practices and corruption (Mietzner 2011). This research project addresses this debate: has Indonesia's democratization process indeed led to the curtailment of clientelistic practices in some regions while fostering these practices in other regions? If so, how can we explain this divergence?

b. Workplan and Objective(s)

To address these questions, this project combines an expert survey with ethnographic fieldwork. For the expert survey an existing, all-Indonesia network of experts will be used which has been brought together for an earlier study on democratization (Tornquist 2006, Priyono 2007). In a targeted 25 of Indonesia's 33 provinces 10-15 local scholars, activists and journalists – those observing local politics professionally - will be surveyed, focusing on the practices of candidates, brokers and voters during the last elections for governor and, where possible, for district-head (*bupati*) or mayor (*walikota*). This method is not only more economical but also more effective than a general survey in addressing – using experts' insider knowledge – the less public aspects of clientelistic exchanges. The reliability of resulting data will be assessed using fieldwork, anonymized expert interaction (Delphi method) as well as questions about political preferences of experts and their confidence in their answers. This methodology builds on Kitschelt's (2009).

A survey questionnaire – summarized below – has been designed around four dimensions of clientelistic voter-politician interaction. To establish to what extent a political system is clientelistic, we need not only ascertain whether politicians adopt clientelistic campaign strategies (cf. Kitschelt 2011) but also to what extent these strategies actually impact voting behavior, the distribution of state resources and campaign organization. Using my earlier fieldwork in India and Indonesia as well as recurring elements in above-mentioned studies, these four dimensions were translated into fourteen indicators, enabling systematic and quantifiable questioning about the extent to which this behavior is observed. Given the individual nature of local elections and the local weakness of political parties, questions (on dimensions one and three) are asked about each candidate (-pair) contesting an election rather than each party. In addition, questions about a perceived increase or decrease in clientelistic practices, political party-organization, salient political cleavages, differences between rural and urban districts and differences between local and national elections are employed to facilitate analysis.



Dimensions of clientelistic voter-politician interaction (<i>vs programmatic interaction</i>):	Indicators
1. Voter Appeal: Promises of personal material benefits (<i>vs. Policy-based voter appeal</i>)	Extent of effort of candidates to attract voters by promising: a. Money and/or consumer goods b. Preferential access to public services c. Employment d. Manipulation of regulatory proceedings e. Preferential access to governmental contracts
2. Distribution of State Resources: Contingent on Electoral Support (<i>vs. Universal, policy-based provision</i>)	a. Vote monitoring b. Winning candidates use distribution of (state) resources (1a-e above) to reward supporters. c. Negligible effort to codify distribution of state resources
3. Campaign organization: political machine (<i>vs. ideological-party driven</i>)	a. Reliance on informal network of local notables and/or associations b. Supporters & campaign funders expect material rewards c. Use of identity-markers (eg. ethnicity or religion) to target mobilizational efforts.
4. Voting Behavior: transactional (<i>vs. policy-program oriented</i>)	a. Voting shaped by (expectations of) personalized benefits b. Vote Pooling (through associations and/or ethnic groups) c. Use of identity-markers to assess credibility of candidate

The ethnographic fieldwork serves, firstly, to improve – through testing and fine-tuning – the reliability of the survey-instrument by acquiring systematic observations on the dimensions of voter-politician interaction mentioned above. Secondly, the fieldwork serves to interpret the survey-results by studying the reasons of politicians, brokers and voters for preferring clientelistic exchanges. This will be pursued through a combination of interviews (with politicians, civil servants and voters), as well as an immersion in the campaign networks of local notables (“Tim Sukses”) that candidates rely on to generate money (Mietzner 2010) and to facilitate interaction with voters (Simandjuntak 2009, Buehler 2009). Three election campaigns for district-heads taking place in 2013 and 2014 in three provinces (Lampung, Jakarta and South Sulawesi) will be studied during one-month fieldwork-stints. A second round of fieldwork after six months serves to assess the impact of campaign-promises and voting behavior on governance after elections. In addition, four short field-visits will be conducted elsewhere to assess the quality of the survey data.

The project’s comparative analysis serves to assess the explanatory value of the three above-mentioned explanations for the prevalence of political clientelism focusing on civil society, economy, and the state. Accordingly, comparisons between areas with a history of indirect vs. direct rule, urban vs. rural economies and weak vs. strong regulatory state-capacity will guide the analysis of both survey and fieldwork data. As this program’s general description outlined, this program’s main fieldwork-sites – Jakarta, South Sulawesi, Lampung - reflect these contrasts. The analytical value of this comparative fieldwork lies in its interaction with the survey data: the survey will be used to assess the generalizability of the conclusions of the fieldwork while the fieldwork serves to identify mechanisms that can explain patterns found in the survey data.

d. Scientific Relevance

The innovative value and scientific relevance of this project lies in (a) its development of a new methodology to study political clientelism in a comparative manner (b) its attention for (explaining) regional variation in the way clientelistic strategies are dominating local political competition.

5. Participation in a graduate School ('onderzoeksschool'):



6. Scientific performance of members of the research group(s) (as defined under 2)

(a limit of 25 publications applies for each research group member referred to. Only list those publications most pertinent to this application.)

- **International (refereed) journals**

(include journal impact factors. Mandatory if your proposal is entered in the themes: Infectious diseases and Health or Food, Non-Food and Water Research. Optional for Social and Economic Development)

Berenschot, W. (2010). Everyday Mediation: The Politics of Public Service Delivery in Gujarat, India. *Development and Change*, 41(5), 883-905.

Berenschot, W. (2011). The Spatial Distribution of Riots: Patronage and the Instigation of Communal Violence in Gujarat, India. *World Development*, 39(2), 221-230.

Berenschot, W. (2011). Political Fixers and the Rise of Hindu Nationalism in Gujarat, India: Lubricating a Patronage Democracy. *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 34(3), 382-401.

- **National (refereed) journals**

Books or contributions to books

Aspinall, E., & Klinken, G. v. (2010). *The State and Illegality in Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

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Integration and Cooperation

8. Integration of research and scientific results in the JRP

Word count : 276

(Max. 1000 words)

This research-project studies a central element of the *From Clients to Citizens?* as it takes up the first subquestion of the research program as outlined in the main text. As this research program considers the involvement of patron-client relations as a central aspect of democratic citizenship in Indonesia, this project studies whether and why Indonesia's democratization process is indeed changing these patron-client relations.

Furthermore, this project is designed in such a way that it maximizes synergy with the research program's other projects:

- By conducting fieldwork on local politics in the program's three areas of study, this project aims to yield vital information other projects, as knowledge of local political practices is of central importance for all the other projects.
- This study helps to understand the interactive relation between changing clientelistic practices and the strategies and norms that citizens adopt struggles to realize land rights and as public services public services (as studied by project 2 and 4). As hypothesized above, increased forms of rights-based of collective action can serve to curtail clientelistic practices (as it affects both demand and supply of clientelistic goods), while a stranglehold of patronage networks over the functioning of the state can discourage citizens from adopting a rights-based discourse (as the maintenance of informal, clientelistic ties comes to be seen as more effective than collective action).
- This study similarly helps to understand the interactive relation between the changing clientelistic practices and the evolution of the public sphere (as studied by projects 6 and 7): active citizen participation in the public sphere can be perceived as more effective when 'insurgent citizenship' can indeed curtail particularistic implementation of state policies.

Management and Administration

9. Information on the managing capacities of the Project Leader(s)

(Max. 250 words)

Word count: 242



K O N I N K L I J K E N E D E R L A N D S E
A K A D E M I E V A N W E T E N S C H A P P E N

Gerry van Klinken was coordinator for the SPIN research program In Search of Middle Indonesia, which formally ended in December 2011, involving five PhDs and nearly twenty short and long-term postdoctoral fellows. Gerry van Klinken also coordinated the research project State of Authority, as part of the KITLV program Modern Indonesia. This resulted in an edited volume of the same name published at Cornell University in 2009. Together with Dr Edward Aspinall of the Australian National University, he edits the internationally peer-reviewed book subseries Power and Place in Southeast Asia, part of the KITLV Press Verhandelingen series. He has or has had minor coordinating roles in other research projects (including Jarak, part of Agriculture Beyond Food, funded by SPIN) and book projects (including The State and Illegality in Indonesia, funded by the Australia Netherlands Research Collaboration).

In the last 10-12 years Eric Hiarij have been involved in a number of research in various parts of Indonesia as a project leader on topics such as transition to democracy, military withdrawal from politics, formation of civil society, human rights, citizenship, poverty alleviation, communal conflict and Islamic fundamentalism. Most of the projects were collaboration with international agency such as NDI, RTI, European Commission, FES, WHO, UNDP and the World Bank. Some of the projects were not only focusing on research but also on empowerment program. He has experience in working with various social and political groups in the country both in urban and rural areas.



K O N I N K L I J K E N E D E R L A N D S E
A K A D E M I E V A N W E T E N S C H A P P E N

Duration and Planning

10. Time table of the project and Milestones

Sept 2012 – March 2013 Preparation

April 2013 – Aug 2014 Fieldwork in Indonesia;

July – September 2013 Preliminary fieldwork to test questionnaire

Fall 2013 Conducting Expert Survey &

2014 3 one-month studies of local elections & 3 one-month after-election studies and 4 short field-visits elsewhere to corroborate expert survey

2015 – 2016* Writing monograph on clientelism and democratization in Indonesia and at least two articles in international peer-reviewed journals

*This project will be funded by KITLV from sept 2012 to April 2014; From May 2015 to May 2017 this project will be funded as a SPIN post-doc

11. Research location(s)

Jakarta, Lampung, South Sulawesi

Part II:

JRP Sub-Projects

PROJECT: 2

Project title

From kawula to village citizen: Village Leadership and Public Service Delivery in Rural Indonesia (Dikti PhD)

2. Research Group

a. Project Leader in the Netherlands

Name / Title(s): Prof. Dr. H. Schulte Nordholt

University/ Institute: Royal Netherlands Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV)

b. Project Leader in Indonesia

Name / Title(s): Dr. Pujo Semedi

University/ Institute: Anthropology Department of Faculty of Cultural Science (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya) - Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM)

c. Proposed Researcher:

OSPIN PhD fellow

X DIKTI PhD fellow

O PhD (AIO position)

O Post doc

O Senior researcher (NB for this category SPIN will not provide funding for salary)

d. Other participants

Name / Title(s): Dr. Ward Berenschot



University/ Institute: Royal Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV)

Research Proposal

3. Summary of the Project Proposal (Max. 400 words)

Word count: 191

Village life in Indonesia has long been characterized by highly hierarchical relations, largely structured by the unequal access to land. This continued under the New Order, as the expanding state used existing patron-client relations to strengthen its local authority. This research-project studies the impact of Indonesia's democratization process on the relations between villagers and their elected leaders. Through a (partial) restudy of ethnographic studies of village politics under the New Order, this project examines the changing norms and practices that villagers adopt vis-a-vis village elites and asks to what extent the authority and power that village and supra-village leaders wielded during the New Order have been curtailed and whether older hierarchical relations are becoming more symmetrical.

For this purpose, this project will engage in ethnographic fieldwork on everyday struggles to gain access to public services in different villages in East Java (around Jakarta) and South Sulawesi, focusing on the norms, practices and discursive strategies that villagers adopt in their interaction with local power-holders. This study's comparative approach serves to understand how the influx of educated youth, the diversification of rural economies and the changing access to farmland is affecting these changes.

4. Detailed description of the Project (Max. 2000 words)

Word count: 1394

a. Scientific Background

This research-project studies the impact of Indonesia's democratization process on the interaction between villagers and their elected leaders. Focusing on everyday struggles to gain access to public services, this project examines the changing norms and practices that villagers adopt vis-a-vis village elites and asks to what extent the authority and power that village and supra-village leaders wielded during the New Order have been curtailed and whether older hierarchical relations are becoming more symmetrical.

For centuries post-tribal rural Indonesian society has been characterized by feudalistic chief – *kawula* ('retainer'), patron-client (Ahimsa Putra, 1988; Pelras, 1996) and land owner – tenant (Breman, 1980) relations. Control over access to farm lands structured this traditional social arrangement. The transformation of Indonesia from a colony to independent state in the 20th century did not alter position of landed gentry in rural Java (Hüsken, 1996, 1998) as village political elite, but during the four turbulence years of Independence War, the rural gentry in many areas lost their wealth and privileges due to mass protests (Lucas, 1991). But their clientelistic practices survived the revolution as they were adopted by the new emerging elites (Pelras, 2000). The rural administration system operated by the New Order used these patron-client relations, albeit that now the state itself, rather than the rural gentry, assumed the role as the Big Patron (Antlöv 1994). The New Order expanded the rural traditional hierarchy far beyond the boundary of the village as it inserted manipulative and patronizing state officials into the system (Antlöv, 2003b). As the Village Administration Law 5/1979 the sole authority in the village, the New Order made rural elites unaccountable to villagers while ensuring *mono loyalitas* to the government. During the New Order, village elites treated villagers as subjects rather than as citizens with rights. While the official responsibility of the village head and his officials (the *perangkat desa*) was to help villagers gain access to public services, in practice the village apparatus engaged in extracted rents for their services rendered to villagers. Backed by enormous power of state, the village head had turned into fierce patron who could only be opposed at great personal risk.

Frustrations with these practices serviced during the protests of 1998. Village heads were forcefully removed from office, they were stripped off their shirts, paraded to district office, and installed on an



elevated platform where they were forced to confess all of misdeeds during their term in office. This was an important turning point as the village elite lost an some of their status or *wibawa* (cf. Anderson, 1990, Hudayana, 2010). While the rural protests in 1946-1949 were curtailed by the emergence of a strong state, the *reformasi* period seems to have a more lasting impact on village hierarchies. The introduction of Local Governance Law 22/1999 has curtailed the dominance of the village head since he/she now he has to share his power with a village parliament (Antlöv, 2003b). Furthermore, the work of local NGO's as well as the steady drip of well-educated youths returning to their villages has fostered more critical attitudes vis-à-vis village elites - sometimes infused with a nostalgic and romantic notion of traditional village life (Li, 20 ; Tsing, 20). Thirdly, the deeper intrusion of global market system and the ongoing commodification of natural and agrarian resources (Fortin, 2011) has created new rural elites. Control over access to farmlands is no longer the only source of wealth; through new business opportunities in services and the agro-industry new elites are becoming more wealthy than the traditional village dynasties(De Koninck, Bernard and Bissonnette, 2011).

Fragmentary evidence suggests that the rural social structure has not been turned upside down, but rather that a wider path to improve one's their socio-economic status has become available for those with skills. For those without skills, life has often become more precarious as they lose control over (and access to) farmland and become increasingly marginalized (Hall, Hirsch and Li, 2011) – thus creating new village hierarchies. This process of exclusion especially obvious in rural areas where farmlands has been turned into commodity and is subjected to market exchange. Similarly, there are indications that clientelistic practices are not disappearing, but that they less marked by power differences as villagers are increasingly able to choose between different patrons (Pelras 2000 and Acciaioli 2000). Antlöv (2003a) and Hudayana (2010) observed that the presence of candidates from among new rich and educated youth has changed the face of village head election in rural Java as older patron-client ties seem to be giving weigh to more immediate exchanges of money and other favours. This research project aims to build on such scattered observations in anthropological studies and produce a more general account of changing village relations in democratizing Indonesia.

b. Specific Objective(s)

This project studies to what extent these developments have changed the interactions between villagers and the village apparatus and whether the older clientelistic, hierarchical relations are giving way to more rights-based, egalitarian relations: is the weakening of rural patrons leading to an empowerment of villagers vis-à-vis village leaders, transforming villagers from *kawula* ('retainer') to rights-bearing citizens? Or are villagers merely going from living at the mercy of local patrons to living at the mercy of market forces?

To study changes in village leadership in rural Indonesia, this project distinguishes 'kawula' and 'citizen' as two modes of interaction between villagers and village leadership. This distinction does not imply a clear-cut dichotomy nor a normative judgment, but serves as an analytical tool to capture variation and changes since 1998: is a shift from 'kawula' to 'village citizen' taking place, and if so, where and why?

State-Citizen interaction:	Kawula	Citizen
Norms ('Rulers should be..')	Accessible and helpful providers	Rule-abiding policy makers
Practices	Informal brokerage through political intermediaries focused on <i>implementation</i> of policies; clientelistic voting	Collective Action, Institutionalized petitioning focused on <i>policy-making</i> ; program-based voting
(Discursive) Strategies	Needs-based favour seeking, invoking communal (identity-based) entitlements and social norms.	Rights-based claim-making, referring to conceptions of the common good and legal norms.

(Inspired by Holston 2008, Houtzager and Acharya 2011, Kitchelt 2000)



c. Workplan

To address these questions this research project will conduct ethnographic studies on village politics in South Sulawesi and East Java (around Jakarta), focusing on the norms, practices and discursive strategies of villagers engaging with village authorities to gain access to public services – ranging from paperwork to roads, electricity and education. In order to capture the changes and continuities, this studies will make extensive use of earlier ethnographic studies on village leadership under the new order in South Sulawesi en Java (Antlov 1995, Antlov and Cederroth 1996 and Pelras 2000). The (partial) restudy – undertaken in, respectively, the early 1990's and the 1970's – offers a unique opportunity to capture the changes taking place.

The project will conduct extensive ethnographic fieldwork in two villages – one in South Sulawesi, one in West Java - focusing on the everyday interactions between villagers and elected village authorities. To assess the idiosyncrasy of these villagers, interviews will be conducted in 16 more villages. On the basis of the discussion above, the selection of (and comparisons between) these villagers will be driven by hypothesized factors driving changes in village leadership: influx from educated youth, equitable access to farm-land and the extent of non-farm activities. Comparisons between South Sulawesi and West Java will furthermore be driven by conditions elaborated in the general proposal, i.e. the size of local informal economy, the impact of a history of indirect rule and the extent to which existing trust networks enable villagers to gain access to power-holders independent of village authorities.

d. Scientific Relevance

In spite of a flood of publications that is concerned with the recent expansion of world market in rural Indonesia, there are only a few studies (see Ibsen 2011) that study the impact on democratization in village leadership within the context of rural Indonesia. There are studies (such as Breman and Wiradi 2002 and Ahmadianto (2003) and Yahya (2006)) that focus on rural laborers who move back and forth between their village and Jakarta and/or overseas. Generally works on this topic focus on national economic, politic and ideological issues, concentrate on recent periods, and perceive the market expansion as a threat to Indonesian life (Budiono, 2001; Soeprapto, 2004). The outcome of the proposed project is meant to add to our understanding of the dynamics of rural Indonesia as the area is subjected to democratization and more exposed to global market system.

5. Participation in a graduate School ('onderzoeksschool'):

6. Scientific performance of members of the research group(s) (as defined under 2)

(a limit of 25 publications applies for each research group member referred to. Only list those publications most pertinent to this application.

- **International (refereed) journals**

(include journal impact factors. Mandatory if your proposal is entered in the themes: Infectious diseases and Health or Food, Non-Food and Water Research. Optional for Social and Economic Development

- Semedi, P. (2011) Padvindens, Pandu, Pramuka. Youth and state in the 20th century Indonesia. Article in *Africa Development*. Vol. XXXVI, No 3 & 4, 2011, pp. 19 – 38.
- Schulte Nordholt, H. (2008) 'Identity politics, citizenship and the soft state in Indonesia: and essay', *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities* 1: 1-22.
- Schulte Nordholt, H. (2011) "Indonesia in the 1950s: Nation, modernity, and the post-colonial state", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* vol 167 (4), 2011.



- **National (refereed) journals**
- **Books or contributions to books**
- Semedi, P. (2009) "A struggle for dignity". Chapter in *Labour in Asia*, de Jonge, Huub and van Meijl, Toon (eds.). Nijmegen: De Walvis.
- Semedi, P. (2012) "Masculinization of a Javanese Farming Society" in Rigg, Jonathan and Peter van der Geest (eds.) *Revisiting Rural Places*. Singapore: NUS.
- Schulte Nordholt, H. (2011) "Decentralization and Democracy in Indonesia: Strengthening Citizenship or Regional Elites?" In: D. Robison (ed), *Handbook of Southeast Asian Politics*. Oxford: Routledge, 2011, pp.229-241.
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Pelras, Christian, 1996, *The Bugis*. Oxford: Blackwell Publisher Ltd.

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Rodolphe de Koninck, Stephane Bernard and Jean-Francois Bissonnette (Eds), 2011, *Borneo Transformed: Agricultural Expansion on the Southeast Asian Frontier*. Singapore: NUS Press.

Soeprapto, 2004, *Pancasila Menjawab Globalisasi*. Jakarta: Taman Pustaka.

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Yahya, Ranggoaini, 2006, *Identitas Sosial Perempuan Pekerja Luar Negeri*. MA thesis. Jogjakarta: Dept. of Anthropology, Gadjah Mada University.

Integration and Cooperation

8. Integration of research and scientific results in the JRP

(Max. 1000 words)

Word count: 293

This study focuses on a key aspect of the evolving nature of forms of citizenship in Indonesia: the expectation that the democratization process will weaken patron-client bonds and that citizens will be more inclined and more capable to engaged in rights-based claim-making. While project one studies this process by looking at political campaigns, this project studies the same process focussing on the interaction between villagers and the lowest level of the state bureaucracy.

Furthermore, this project is designed in such a way that it maximizes synergy with the research program's other projects:

- This project can yield vital information for the other projects – for example this study of the changing nature of village leadership will be relevant for the projects on the struggle for land rights (4) as well as the study of the collectivization of social security arrangements (5). Furthermore, the proposed comparison between Lampung and West Java will speak to the study on the lingering impact of a history of indirect rule (as in south Sulawesi) on contemporary state-citizen interaction.
- As hypothesized above, increased forms of rights-based of collective action can serve to curtail clientelistic practices (as it affects both demand and supply of clientelistic goods), while a stranglehold of patronage networks over the functioning of the state can discourage citizens from adopting a rights-based discourse (as the maintenance of informal, clientelistic ties comes to be seen as more effective than collective action). In this sense this project relates to all other sub-projects that focus on strategies of citizens to claim their rights (particularly projects 4 and 5)

The focus of this project on South Sulawesi – an areas also studied in most other projects – will ensure that the possibilities for such interactive sharing of insights and fieldwork-data will be maximized.

Management and Administration

9. Information on the managing capacities of the Project Leader(s)

(Max. 250 words)

Word count:

Prof. Henk Schulte Nordholt graduated in 1980(cum laude) and defended his PhD thesis (cum laude) in 1988 at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. From 1985-2005 he was Associate Professor at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Amsterdam. From 2002-2005 he designed and co-ordinated the KNAW program 'Indonesia in Transition' and from 2003-2006 he coordinated the KITLV/KNAW program Renegotiating Boundaries. From 2005 onwards he is the head of the research department of KITLV where he coordinated a.o. the KNAW funded program in Search of Middle Indonesia (2006-2011) and the NWO funded program Articulating Modernity: popular music in Southeast Asia (2010-2013). He is also chariman



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of the board of the International Institute of Asian Studies and member of various international editorial and advisory boards.

Pujo Semedi

2007 – 2013 Head of Research and Community Development Division, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Gadjah Mada University.

2010-2014 Project leader with dr Jacqueline Vel, VVI, Univ. Leiden and dr Suraya Afiff, Univ. Indonesia, "JARAK: the commoditization of an alternative biofuel crop in Indonesia"

2010-2012 Project leader with prof dr Tania Li, Univ. of Toronto, "Production of Wealth and Poverty in New Indonesian Rural Economies".

2010-2013 Project leader with prof dr Signe Howell, Univ. of Oslo and dr Nicolaas Warouw of Univ. Gadjah Mada, "Implementation of REDD Program in Indonesia".

Duration and Planning

10. Time table of the project and Milestones

Sept 2012-may 2013 Selection and preparatory phase for Dikti scholarships

Jan 2013 Start of the Project

Jan 2013 – Nov 2013 Preparation

Dec 2013 – May 2015 Fieldwork in Indonesia, alternating between East Java and South Sulawesi

June 2015 – Jan 2017 Writing of PhD thesis, writing of peer-reviewed academic article, contribution to edited volume.

11. Research location(s)

West Java, South Sulawesi

Part II:

JRP Sub-Projects

PROJECT 3

1. Project title

Citizenship and historical practices of rule in Indonesia

2. Research Group

a. Project Leader in the Netherlands

Name / Title(s): Prof Dr Henk Schulte Nordholt
University/ Institute: KITLV

b. Project Leader in Indonesia



Name / Title(s): Prof Dr Bambang Purwanto

University/ Institute: History Department, Faculty of Cultural Science, Gadjah Mada University

c. Proposed Researcher:

Name / Title(s): Dr Gerry van Klinken

University/ Institute: KITLV

Research Proposal

3. Summary of the Project Proposal (*Max. 400 words*)

Word count:

Some parts of Indonesia, particularly Java, have a long history of direct colonial rule and intense capital penetration. By contrast, most areas outside Java have a much shorter history of colonial penetration, and the Dutch ruled indirectly through local rajas. The present sub-project investigates the impact that these different histories of state formation continue to have on contemporary state-citizen relations/ local politics. Local politics in areas with a history of indirect rule are today dominated by ethnic trust networks. This can be seen for example in the ethnic violence in parts of Kalimantan in 1997-2001 and in ethnicised local electoral rhetoric since then. The sub-project hypothesises that this is a legacy of the particular history of state formation in these areas. The modern state was weakly present and negotiated with and actually strengthened the leaders of pre-existing "ethnic" trust networks. Political scientists consider that the state-citizen relations underlying such politics are clientelistic. In areas with a history of direct rule, by contrast, local politics are less dominated by identity issues. The iconic revolutionary youth (pemuda) of 1945-49 in Java, for example, identified with state institutions such as the army and national political parties rather than with local networks. We hypothesise that the much more pervasive presence of the state and modern capital has weakened or dissolved local trust networks, allowing individuals to relate directly to the central state. This direct relationship between state and citizen is the basis for democratic citizenship .

In order to test these ideas, this sub-project will reconstruct historical trust networks and their associated discourses of citizenship in the two types of areas. As source material it will use ego-documents from various periods in the 20th century and from various areas. We hypothesise that relational networks in documents from the (predominantly rural) areas with a history of indirect rule are dominated by within-group relations, with an associated discourse of ethnic rights and obligations and a distant modern state. Those in documents from more urbanised areas with a history of direct rule and significant modern capital have a greater proportion of between-groups relations and a discourse of citizenship in which the modern state is immanent.

4. Detailed description of the Project (*Max. 1000 words*)

Word count: 965

The project "From Clients to Citizens?" aims to investigate how changes in the structure of the state influence state-citizen relations. The present sub-project extends this investigation back over the longue duree. It wishes to explain why there appears to be significant geographical variation in patterns of state-citizen relations throughout Indonesia. It hypothesises that the clientelistic relations that have been thought to typify Indonesia as a whole are in reality a legacy of a history of state formation in certain areas of the archipelago. If this hypothesis is supported by good evidence, it should stimulate political work to build a more effective, more democratic state particularly in those areas that need it most.

The incorporation of citizens into the nation occurs through their collective imagination of a shared community, but also through the gradual expansion of their dealings with the budding institutions of the state. People may be coerced into joining the nation, as they were in Ambon in 1950. Or they may be drawn into it by the lure of money – a job in the civil service or the provision of national shipping. A historical



approach to state formation will include the revolutions that stimulate the imagination, but will also examine longer-term coercive and economic processes by which people in various networks are brought into some relationship with (agents of) a national political regime. In general the relationship between citizens and powerholders experiences a shift from intense and localised relational networks (strong ties) to broader, looser and more cosmopolitan ones (weak ties).

Charles Tilly's book *Trust and Rule* (2005: 31) points to some key mechanisms by which people involved in "trust networks" are gradually integrated into a national regime. A trust network is one in which people's ties to others are so intense that, were they to break down, it would cause considerable pain. Kinship/ family ties comprise the basic trust network; ethnic and religious trust networks resemble or are built on those of the family. National rulers wish to integrate trust networks into the state, in order to gain access to the resources controlled by these networks. They may do this by using force against them (pacification), by negotiating with them (while largely allowing them to manage their own affairs), or by bypassing the trust network altogether and incorporating individuals directly (as in a modern democracy). In the middle levels of the historical trajectory of integration, people are connected to the national regime through some form of indirect rule, mediated by powerful individuals who protect their trust network clients but who also demand dependent loyalty in return. The clientelism inherent in this negotiated connection is common in Indonesia. The current project asks about historical processes by which the level of integration sometimes rises from clientelism to democratic citizenship.

A comparative history of the integration of trust networks in two Indonesian regions extends the Tilly analysis by introducing a geographic element into it. The comparison will be between Riau (in Sumatra) and Java. Broadly speaking, we expect both areas to show similar patterns of integration up until, let us say, the early nineteenth century. They diverged after that as the modern state became more present and agrarian capitalism more invasive in Java than in Riau. By the early twentieth century this had produced a demonstrably higher level of integration in Java (measured by the level of mobilisation for national political organisations) than in Riau. We expect the divergence to remain demonstrable to the present day.

This project lies on the frontier of historical knowledge. We base our hypotheses on work done in Africa (Mamdani 1996) and in a number of British colonies (Lange 2004). But no one has so far addressed this problem of the impact of variety in state formation in a single large state such as Indonesia. Recent texts have looked to history for explanations for contemporary problems – for example why Indonesia seems to lack a clear identity (Elson 2008), or why (by contrast) radicalism remains a lively tradition (Vickers 2005). But even in earlier texts on the history of state formation (eg Reid 1974) the emphasis was on Indonesia as a whole rather than on local networks and regional variation (though see Cribb 2010). There are of course many points of contact with previous literatures, for example on regional variations in the experience of the national revolution, on customary law, on the slow decline of the aristocracy in the outer islands, and on the continuities between colonial and independent state structures.

Moreover we propose a novel methodology to bring the geographical contrasts to light. In order to carry out research on the history of these trust networks we must bring actual networks to light, built around real individuals. This is virgin territory in Indonesian historiography, and it will be challenging research. We intend to quarry the rich descriptions of personal networks in ego-documents such as diaries or biographies (Wellman and Wetherell 1996; Elson, Dames, and McKeown 2010). There are a surprisingly large number of these in Indonesia (Klinken 2007). By reconstructing and comparing the networks revealed in ego-documents written by "ordinary" individuals (not at the top of their ethnic group) in areas characterised respectively by direct and indirect rule, we expect to be able to show differences in the way they related to (agents of) the central state. Each type of network will also be associated with a typical discourse of citizenship. The networks extracted from these documents, highlighting the trust networks characterised by either strong or weak ties, should then be linked to the broad history of state formation and capitalist penetration in their area. All the usual social network analysis questions should be most enlightening in this regard. These include questions of network boundaries, small world problems, cliques, centrality and hierarchy, and strong vs weak ties (Wasserman and Faust 1994).



5. Participation in a graduate School ('onderzoeksschool'):

nvt

6. Scientific performance of members of the research group(s) (as defined under 2)

(a limit of 25 publications applies for each research group member referred to. Only list those publications most pertinent to this application.)

- **International (refereed) journals**

(include journal impact factors. Mandatory if your proposal is entered in the themes: Infectious diseases and Health or Food, Non-Food and Water Research. Optional for Social and Economic Development)

- Schulte Nordholt, H. (2008) 'Identity politics, citizenship and the soft state in Indonesia: and essay', *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities* 1: 1-22.
- Schulte Nordholt, H. (2011) "Indonesia in the 1950s: Nation, modernity, and the post-colonial state", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* vol 167 (4), 2011.

- **National (refereed) journals**

- Purwanto, B. (2005) "Conflict and Coexistence: Multicultural Images of Urban Yogyakarta in the First Half of Twentieth Century", *Urban Culture Research* Vol.2, 2005, Yogyakarta: Faculty of Cultural Sciences UGM, pp.27-38

- **Books or contributions to books**

- Aspinall, E., & Klinken, G. v. (2010). *The State and Illegality in Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Klinken, G. v. (2007). *Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia: Small Town Wars*. New York: Routledge.
- Klinken, G. v. (2009). Patronage Democracy in Provincial Indonesia. In O. Törnquist, N. Webster & K. Stokke (Eds.), *Rethinking Popular Representation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Klinken, G. v., & Aspinall, E. (2010). Building relations: Corruption, competition and cooperation in the construction industry. In E. Aspinall & G. v. Klinken (Eds.), *The State and Illegality in Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Klinken, G. v., & Barker, J. (Eds.). (2009). *State of authority : the state in society in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Purwanto, B (2009). "Economic Decolonization and the Rise of Indonesian Military Business", in Thomas Lindblad and Peter Post (eds), *Indonesian Economic Decolonization in Regional and International Perspective*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2009, pp.39-57

- **Other**



7. Literature references (Max. 1 page)

- Collier, David, and Steven Levitsky. 1997. Democracy with adjectives: conceptual innovations in comparative research. *World Politics* 49 (3):430-51.
- Cribb, Robert. *Digital Atlas of Indonesian History*. 2 ed. Copenhagen: Nias Press, 2010.
- Elson, David K., Nicholas Dames, and Kathleen R. McKeown. 2010. Extracting social networks from literary fiction. To appear in *Proceedings of the 48th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL 2010)*, Uppsala, Sweden.
- Elson, Robert E. (2008) *The idea of Indonesia: a history*: Cambridge University Press.
- Klinken, Gerry van. 2007. The combative 'I': state domination and Indonesian self-writing. *Life Writing* 4 (2):197-214.
- Lange, Matthew K. (2004) "British colonial legacies and political development," *World Development*, 32: 905-22.
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- Reid, Anthony. *Indonesian National Revolution 1945-1950*. Hawthorne: Longman, 1974.
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- Wasserman, Stanley, and Katherine Faust. 1994. *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications, Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences*.
- Wellman, Barry, and Charles Wetherell. 1996. Social network analysis of historical communities: some questions from the present for the past. *The History of the Family an international quarterly* 1 (1):97-121.

Integration and Cooperation

8. Integration of research and scientific results in the JRP

(Max. 1000 words)

Word count: 132

This project is one of two investigating the first and most fundamental of the three questions guiding the research programme *From Clients to Citizens?* That question reads: Are citizens/clients becoming less dependent on mediation by patrons and more able to secure their rights directly with state institutions? This will be one of only two projects to adopt a historical perspective. The answers produced in this project will inform all the others.

It asks this question geographically. If the underlying hypothesis turns out to be correct, then there has indeed been a historical evolution from clients to citizens. But the process has not gone the same distance in every part of the country. Some parts show more clientelistic patterns of citizen-state relations than others, and the reasons lie in the history of state formation.

Management and Administration

9. Information on the managing capacities of the Project Leader(s)

(Max. 250 words)

Word count: 169

Prof. Henk Schulte Nordholt graduated in 1980 (cum laude) and defended his PhD thesis (cum laude) in 1988 at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. From 1985-2005 he was Associate Professor at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Amsterdam. From 2002-2005 he designed and co-ordinated the KNAW program 'Indonesia in Transition' and from 2003-2006 he coordinated the KITLV/KNAW program *Renegotiating Boundaries*. From 2005 onwards he is the head of the research department of KITLV where he coordinated a.o. the KNAW funded program *Search of Middle Indonesia* (2006-2011) and the NWO funded program *Articulating Modernity: popular music in Southeast Asia* (2010-2013). He is also chariman



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of the board of the International Institute of Asian Studies and member of various international editorial and advisory boards.

Prof Bambang Purwanto (PhD SOAS 1992) is professor of history and acting Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Culture at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta. He participated in a large number of international research projects and is a member of various international advisory boards.

Duration and Planning

10. Time table of the project and Milestones

Two years fte, at 60% full-time, equals 36 months, Sept 2012 to August 2015.

Year 1 (Sept 2012 – May 2013): List suitable ego-documents and analyse four. Draft historical essays on two regions.

Year 2 (June 2013 – May 2014): Analyse a dozen more ego-documents. Write two journal articles.

Year 3 (June 2014 – August 2015): Finish book manuscript.

11. Research location(s)

Mainly library work at KITLV, with some field visits in Indonesia for interviews and searching for ego-documents. These will be to an area noted for its weak modern state formation (South Sulawesi), and to an area noted for its strong history of state formation (Jakarta).

Part II:

JRP Sub-Projects

PROJECT 4

1. Project title

Securing Land rights: Land Conflicts in Democratizing Indonesia (PhD (Aio))

2.. Research Group

a. Project Leader in the Netherlands

Name / Title(s): Dr. A. Bedner

University/ Institute:

b. Project Leader in Indonesia

Name / Title(s):

University/ Institute:

c. Proposed Researcher:

OSPIN PhD fellow

ODIKTI PhD fellow

X PhD (AIO position)



O Post doc

O Senior researcher (NB for this category SPIN will not provide funding for salary)

If known:

Name / Title(s):

University/ Institute:

Research Proposal

3. Summary of the Project Proposal (Max. 400 words)

Word count: 135

This project studies the trajectories of land conflicts over the last 15 years, asking how Indonesia's democratic and legal reforms have impacted the strategies, practices and capabilities of peasants, their organizations and state agents to settle land conflicts. Focusing on protracted land conflicts in Mesuji (Lampung) and Bulukumba (South Sulawesi), the projects aims to study to what extent the opening up of new avenues for contestation after the fall of Suharto have affected the capacity of peasants to address land conflicts, and whether these developments have impact the way in which state agents implement land policies. The comparison between South Sulawesi and Lampung serves to ascertain to what extent local conditions – particularly the nature of the networks available to patterns and the regulatory capacity of the state – has impacted the trajectories of these land conflicts

4. Detailed description of the Project (Max. 2000 words)

Word count: 1851

a. Scientific Background

How states determine and guarantee access to natural resources for their subjects and how these subjects champion their claims to natural resources offers important insights into 'the state of citizenship' (Holston 2009). This certainly applies to Indonesia, where the state is still struggling to come to terms with the consequences of the decision after independence to radically break with the colonial past and move from an *adat*-based system to a national system of land rights (Fitzpatrick 1997, Peluso 2001). While the Basic Agrarian Law of 1960 paid lip service to *adat*, it was clear that this statute attempted to actually get rid of the recognition of collective *adat* rights and to replace individual *adat* rights with a uniform system (Bedner & Van Huis 2010). This move was supported by the attempts of legal scholars such as Koesnoe to keep on board the legitimising force of *adat*, in transforming it from a locally entrenched and developed system into a national *adat* (Burns 2004).

If we look at the Basic Agrarian Law in retrospect, we can hardly imagine that its drafters seriously thought that the radical transformation programme they presented could possibly work out, both because the state lacked the capacity to carry out the necessary steps of registration and redistribution and because of the resistance to be expected against such changes from *adat* communities all over Indonesia (Lucas & Warren 2003). Similarly, replacement of local by national *adat* through judicial precedent – a famous example being rights to land of female Karo Batak – was contested (Pompe 2005). However, where the latter concerned individual cases and was by its nature piecemeal-oriented, the legislative change created differences between law and local norms which were almost impossible to bridge. In other words, the national citizenship programme of the government was too far removed from the allegiance at lower level to *adat* notions of citizenship.

The consequences of the introduction were far-reaching. First, through the construction of 'state land (*tanah negara*) in combination with the difficulty of proving the existence of collective rights, the national government acquired powers in usurping land that stretched even beyond those the colonial government enjoyed on the basis of the Domain Declaration (Parlindungan 1998, Bedner 2001). Secondly, by creating a system of land administration that required registration and by declaring no longer acceptable the practice carried over from colonial times to accept tax receipts as evidence of property, the legislator pulled the rug from under a system of gradual transformation from a 'cultural'/ethnic model of property rights to a national system. It is not difficult to see why the New Order maintained this system, as it perfectly



served the regime to implement its policies of exploitation. The power of the state over natural resources – as laid down in Article 33 of the Constitution – was further reinforced by the extension of the area marked as ‘forest’, which legally speaking pushed millions of people out of their livelihoods (McCarthy 2006). Contemporary economic developments in combination with rapid population growth have seriously complicated this situation. While during the New Order outside Java and Madura the logging boom was probably the main driver of growing land scarcity, now the timber industry has been replaced by oil palm and to a lesser extent other cash crops such as cocoa. While the overall effects are still being debated, it seems that in some places the oil palm leads to new opportunities for local populations, but in others it has led to extensive dispossession and poverty (McCarthy 2010, Li 2010). An important finding is also that it has led to stratification within villages to a degree hitherto unknown.

All of this does not proceed in a smooth manner, because many peasants do not meekly accept the new situation. The first years of *reformasi* saw active campaigning by local peasants and legal aid organizations to annul the land-concessions to big plantation companies that were handed out during the New Order (Fuller-Collins 2007). This opening up of possibilities for democratic protest has led to a boom in land conflicts,¹ which are extremely hard to resolve because of the defects in the legal construction of rights to land and a transition to a modern society where *adat* no longer has the ‘natural’ position it used to have (McWilliam 2006). We are thus faced with the consequences of the ‘law as a programme’ approach (Allott 1980; Noer Fauzi Rachman 1999) adopted by the Indonesian state when it enacted the BAL, as well as as of 40 years of emasculation of the judiciary (Pompe 2005) – the latter institution now in the process of being rebuilt, but at a slow pace.

Research on these land conflicts suggests that Indonesia’s democratization process is opening up new avenues for local peasants to secure control over land: local (ethnic) organizations are increasingly invoking *adat* to strengthen their claim over land (Henley and Davidson 2008), while the new class of locally elected politicians are also regularly sought after support land claims (Bakker 2009). The rise of new NGOs, the strengthening of their links with national level NGOs and the increase in freedom of the press have furthermore turned many local conflicts into national ones, drawing the attention from both the government and political parties, as well as from ‘guardian institutions’ such as the National Human Rights commission and the Ombudsman. The increased possibility for many to access a diversity of actors who may help them to support or resolve their cause has led to new constellations of power at all levels. At first glance this looks similar to the insurgence of democratic citizenship in the urban peripheries in São Paulo, Brazil, where the society defines its ‘own’ citizenship in opposition to that of the state (Holston 2009). However, it seems that in the end Indonesian communities rather phrase their complaints in terms of the system and do not situate themselves outside of it.

b. Specific Objective(s)

This sub-project proposes to look at the trajectories of a selection of serious land conflicts about agrarian land use change. Its objective is to contribute to a history of the struggle for land rights in Indonesia over the last 15 years, with a focus on how Indonesia’s reforms towards democracy and the rule of law have impacted the strategies, practices and capabilities of peasants and their organisations involved in land conflict:s, as well as the responses of the state agents involved.

The research will examine discursive strategies, comparing the use of ‘adat’ arguments in selected land conflicts to more ‘insurgent forms of citizenship’. It will further examine whether more traditional conceptions of land rights (including, but not limited to, *adat*) are translated within such a citizenship based rights framework (cf. Henley and Davidson 2008) - i.e. argued in terms of the Basic Agrarian Law and other laws involved (the Forestry Law, the Mining Law, the Plantation Law, etc), but also an internationally oriented human rights framework - or whether those involved in such conflicts opt for other strategies based on clientelistic or other structures that can be considered as alternatives to liberal citizenship. This includes not only an evaluation of the policies of spatial/development planning, but also legal interpretations by the judiciary. In so doing the research will directly contribute to unearth the relations between political mediation and accessing rights.

A second major concern is to assess in what ways the changed ‘political opportunity structure’ (Tilly

¹ Of course the New Order saw the occurrence of many land conflicts as well: Human rights’ NGO ELSAM, has reported 1.497 cases during that period (Aritonang 2004).



and Tarrow 2006) has affected the mobilization strategies of actors involved in conflicts over land. Given the overarching theme of the project we are particularly interested to see whether the practice of securing control over land through clientelistic exchanges is giving way to forms of rights-based collective action.. This leads us to the following research-questions:

- 1) What are the serious land conflicts involving dispossession that have emerged in Lampung and South Sulawesi, how and why have they started and evolved since?
- 2) What has been the impact of Indonesia's legal and institutional reforms on the capacities of peasants to actualize land rights: have increased civil liberties affected the mobilization capacities of peasant groups?
- 3) What strategies have the disputants followed, which choices have they made in the pursuit of their objectives and why have they made these choices?
- 4) What are the outcomes of these strategies, how can they be explained and what do they mean for the notions of citizenship and rule of law of those involved?
- 5) What can we learn from this about the current Indonesian legal-institutional framework for land governance and how it might be improved?

c. Workplan

To answer the research questions, this project will trace the history of recent land conflicts in Mesuji (Lampung) and Bulukumba (South Sulawesi). Through a combination of ethnographic fieldwork on current activism for land rights and interviews with actors involved in the struggles, this project will capture the evolution of strategies, practices and capacities of local land-rights movement during Indonesia's democratization process.

We will furthermore examine the legal aspects of these cases. This serves to establish a kind of yardstick to evaluate to what extent the arguments made by both sides are actually supported by law. Furthermore, we will look how these national legal rules filter down to the level of local state agents' policies and practices and thus examine whether and if so how they take new shapes (cf. Moelionio 2011). The comparison between Lampung and South Sulawesi serves to ascertain the conditions facilitating or hindering the capacity of land-rights movements to realise land rights. In the line of the general research proposal, the comparisons will focus particularly on the nature of local trust networks and linkages to higher levels through NGOs and other organisations facilitating them. We will also compare the regulatory capacity of the local state and how it is politically embedded.

Both Lampung and South Sulawesi have seen serious land conflicts as a consequence of dispossession and the development of plantations (S. Rahma Mary H. and Noer Fauzi Rachman 2011; Muannas 2003). They typically involve a state owned corporation, or a corporation supported by the government, against local residents. The role of an *adat* community in the land conflicts can also be identified in both places: the Megou Pak community in Lampung and the Kajang community in South Sulawesi. Some of these conflicts have led to serious violence resulting in several casualties and allegations of human rights abuses. At the end of 2011 a video was circulated on the internet, showing horrific acts of violence allegedly having taken place in Mesuji (Lampung), leading the central government to form a fact finding team. A similar case occurred in Bulukumba (South-Sulawesi). The land conflict between the corporation and the Kajang community, which took three lives in an incident in 2003, has remained unresolved to this moment.

d. Scientific Relevance

While the struggle for land rights in Indonesia has received considerable attention (see for example Fuller Collins 2007, McCarthy 2006, Li 2010, Lucas and Warren 2003), this project will add to this literature by (a) interpreting the changing nature of the structure for land rights in the light of changing forms of citizenship in Indonesia and (b) its attention for regional comparisons and variation between different provinces.



5. Participation in a graduate School ('onderzoeksschool'):

Leiden University

6. Scientific performance of members of the research group(s) (as defined under 2)

(a limit of 25 publications applies for each research group member referred to. Only list those publications most pertinent to this application.

- **International (refereed) journals**
(include journal impact factors. Mandatory if your proposal is entered in the themes: Infectious diseases and Health or Food, Non-Food and Water Research. Optional for Social and Economic Development)
- **National (refereed) journals**

Books or contributions to books

Myrna A. Safitri:

- *Forest tenure in Indonesia: The socio-legal challenges of securing communities' rights*, Leiden: Leiden University, 2010.
- "Legalisasi hak-hak masyarakat atas tanah dan kekayaan alam dalam peraturan perundang-undangan nasional Indonesia: Model, masalah dan rekomendasi," dalam: Masa Depan Hak-hak Komunal atas Tanah: Beberapa gagasan untuk pengakuan hukum, Rekomendasi Kebijakan, Bappenas, Universitas Leiden, Desember 2010. Pp. 15-33.
- "Reformasi hukum perifer: Kepastian tenurial dan hutan kemasyarakatan di Lampung." In: Myrna A. Safitri and Tristram Moeliono (eds.), *Hukum Agraria dan Masyarakat di Indonesia: Studi tentang tanah, kekayaan alam dan ruang di masa kolonial dan desentralisasi*. Jakarta: HuMa, Van Vollenhoven Institute, KITLV-Jakarta. Pp. 109-142.
- "The Mystery of Formalising Informal Land Tenure in the Forest Frontier: the case of Langkawana, Lampung, Indonesia." In: Ubink, J.M, A.J.Hoekema, W.J.Assies (eds.), *Legalising Land Rights: local practices, state responses and tenure security in Africa, Asia and Latin America*. Leiden: Leiden University Press. Pp. 549-573.
- "Langkawana's Community Forest: Decentralization and Legal Pluralism in Indonesian State Forestlands." In: Zips, W and Weilenmann, D.R.M. (eds.), *The Governance of Legal Pluralism: Empirical Studies from Africa and beyond*. Zurich: LIT, 2011.
- **Other**

7. Literature references (Max. 1 page)

Integration and Cooperation

8. Integration of research and scientific results in the JRP

(Max. 1000 words)

Word count: 325

With its focus on the strategies and capacities of citizens to realize their (land) rights, this research-project



takes up the second subquestion of the research program. As argued above, the capacity of citizens to realize their rights is a key element of democratic citizenship. As such, this study on the struggle for land rights forms a key case-study to capture the evolving nature of citizenship in Indonesia.

Furthermore, this project is designed in such a way that it maximizes synergy with the research program's other projects:

- By conducting fieldwork on the strategies that people adopt to realize land rights and their interaction power-holders, this project can yield vital information for the other projects – for example this study will touch upon the changing nature of village leadership in a manner relevant for project two, while this study will provide a concrete illustration of the ways in which underprivileged groups manage (or fail) to access the public sphere (as studied by project 6 and 7). Furthermore, the proposed comparison between Lampung and South Sulawesi will link in with the study on the lingering impact of a history of indirect rule (as in south Sulawesi) on contemporary state-citizen interaction.
- As argued above, this study helps to understand the interactive relation between changing clientelistic practices and the strategies and norms that citizens adopt struggles to realize land rights. As hypothesized above, increased forms of rights-based of collective action can serve to curtail clientelistic practices (as it affects both demand and supply of clientelistic goods), while a stranglehold of patronage networks over the functioning of the state can discourage citizens from adopting a rights-based discourse (as the maintenance of informal, clientelistic ties comes to be seen as more effective than collective action).

The focus of this project on Lampung and South Sulawesi – two areas also studied in most other projects – will ensure that the possibilities for such interactive sharing of insights and fieldwork-data will be maximized.

Management and Administration

9. Information on the managing capacities of the Project Leader(s)

(Max. 250 words)

Word count:

Graag invullen, ook over Myrna!

Dr. Myrna A. Safitri is the Head of Law Study Program at President University, Indonesia where she also teaches Agrarian Law and Law and Society. She is also the executive director of the Epistema Institute, Jakarta – a research institute on law, society and environment. Previously, Dr. Safitri was a program manager of a research program at the University of Indonesia namely Ecological Anthropology Research and Development Program (1993-2004). In the last three years, she has coordinated research projects of the Epistema Institute regarding to REDD+ and communities' rights funded by Rainforest Foundation, Norway, legal pluralism and conflict resolution funded by Forest Peoples Programme and community forestry and tenure justice funded by Van Vollenhoven Institute, Leiden University. Now, she is also chairing Indonesian Civil Society Coalition on Forest Tenure Reform, with specific task of leading negotiation with the Ministry of Forestry. Dr Safitri is a member of expert team of Indonesian Regional Council on the drafting of the Bill on Land Rights and Agrarian Conflict Settlement and actively involved in the team of President's 'Delivery Unit for Development Monitoring' to formulate policy recommendation for the President of Indonesia for land conflict resolution.

Duration and Planning

10. Time table of the project and Milestones

Sept 2012-may 2013 Selection and preparatory phase for Dikti scholarships
Jan 2013 Start of the Project



Jan 2013 – Nov 2013 Preparation
Dec 2013 – May 2015 Fieldwork in Indonesia, alternating between Lampung and South Sulawesi
June 2015 – Jan 2017 Writing of PhD thesis, writing of peer-reviewed academic article, contribution to edited volume.

11. Research location(s)

Lampung and South-Sulawesi

Part II:

JRP Sub-Projects

Project 5

1. Project title

Realizing Welfare Rights? The Collectivization of Social Security in Indonesia

2. Research Group

a. Project Leader in the Netherlands

Name / Title(s): Prof. Dr. Willem van Schendel
University/ Institute: University of Amsterdam

b. Project Leader in Indonesia

Name / Title(s): Dr. Nico Warouw
University/ Institute: Anthropology Department of Faculty of Cultural Science (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya) - Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM)

c. Proposed Researcher:

OSPIN PhD fellow
X DIKTI PhD fellow
OPhD (AIO position)
OPost doc
OSenior researcher (NB for this category SPIN will not provide funding for salary)

If known:

Name / Title(s):
University/ Institute:

Research Proposal

3. Summary of the Project Proposal (Max. 400 words)

Word count: 326

In November 2011 Indonesia's House of Representatives adopted a 'New Social Security Law' which aims to ensure universal health coverage as well as life-insurance and pensions. Scheduled to be enacted in January



2014, this bill represents a major step in collectivization of social security arrangements in Indonesia. While Indonesia's politics is regularly depicted as oligarchic and elite-dominated, the adoption of the new social security bill suggests that Indonesia's democratization process is generating possibilities for poorer sections of society to realize social rights.

This project studies the contemporary politics as well as the history of social security reform in Indonesia. The Indonesian state has played a relatively minor role in social security arrangements, as adversities – such as sickness or a disability to work – are commonly addressed through informal trust networks. But a gradual collectivisation of social security arrangements can be discerned. While early state provision of social welfare was more commonly presented as giving gifts to loyal clients, policy changes over the last 20 years have gradually institutionalized the role of the state in social security arrangements. This project studies this process of 'statification' by focussing on the politics, practices and discourse of social security reform: how can we explain the capacity of labour unions and their working class supporters to expand collective social security arrangements? To what extent does the evolving public debate on social security reflect changes interpretations of citizenship in Indonesia? And to what extent are common Indonesians actually turning away from informal trust networks towards the state to address adversities such as sickness, health and death?

To address these questions this project will combine ethnographic fieldwork with a study of policy making on social security reform over the last 20 years. By combining attention for the politics of policy making with comparative ethnographic fieldwork on the changed nature of social security arrangements in villages and cities, this projects aims to produce insights into one of the key processes affecting state-citizen interaction in Indonesia.

4. Detailed description of the Project (*Max. 2000 words*)

Word count: 1716

a. Scientific Background

In November 2011 Indonesia's House of Representatives adopted a 'New Social Security Law' which aims to ensure universal health coverage as well as work accident insurance and pensions. Scheduled to be enacted in January 2014 by a new social security organizing body BJPS, this bill represents a major step in the collectivization of social security arrangements in Indonesia. Furthermore, this bill also represents an important victory of Indonesia's labour movement in their drive to realize welfare rights. While Indonesia's politics is still regularly depicted as oligarchic and elite-dominated, the adoption of the new social security bill suggests that Indonesia's democratization process is generating possibilities for poorer sections of society to realize social rights.

This project studies the trend towards the collectivization of social security arrangements in Indonesia as it seeks to understand why and how welfare rights to are becoming institutionalized in Indonesia. Social security can be defined as "collective remedies against adversity and deficiency" (de Swaan 1988) which, until recently, were organised in Indonesia in a manner typical of agrarian societies: conservatively and familiaristic. Public expenditure on social security was not the result of democratic citizens' demands but was a "bonapartist" gift from the state intended to legitimate its power and maintain a minimum of social order. However, demographic, economic, and political change in recent years is driving demands for greater state commitment to social rights. Social security reform has moved close to the heart of citizen struggles in Indonesia since 1998 – a development that is all the more remarkable given the ongoing dismantling of the welfare states in the west. The collectivization of social security arrangements should be studied, not as a public administration issue as most of the expert literature does now, but as a problem in contentious politics. The various welfare regimes in western countries have been studied by Esping-Andersen (1990) as the outcome of postwar class coalition politics driven by dominant ideological motifs. The time has come to extend this analysis to Indonesia.

So far the Indonesian state still spends a very low proportion of its GDP on social security arrangements compared to other middle income countries (see UNDP Human Development Reports). Instead, risks are shared and benefits redistributed through an extensive trust networks (eg. family and/or ethnic groups), while market and community-based (NGO) mechanisms also play an increasing role (see Lont 2005). Such social security arrangements through informal trust networks is typical of agrarian societies, and it is widespread in East and Southeast Asia. Inasmuch as the state did provide social welfare in Indonesia, it was



not institutionalized and/or presented as a 'right' but rather "gift" to ensure political loyalty in times of upheaval (Ramesh and Asher 2000). Such "Bonapartist" welfare is provided only to elites and their loyal 'clients', to buy loyalty in times of regime crisis. As a result, healthcare and old age pensions have only been available to the middle classes in the formal sector through various semi-private schemes. The poor and those who work in the informal sector - over half the population - until recently mostly relied on their informal trust networks, as they were not (or precariously) covered by any structural social safety net such as health insurance or pension.

These practices seem to be changing: the recently adopted social security bill seems to fit in a longer term trend towards the 'statification' (see De Swaan 1988) of social security arrangements. The social security bill adopted in 1992 led to Indonesia's Jamsostek program, which offered insurance for healthcare, work-related accidents and death for those working for larger companies in the formal sector. The collectivization of social security arrangements have further accelerated since reformasi in 1998. Globalisation is introducing economic vulnerabilities that further limit the opportunities of enterprise-based corporatist control of labour markets (Croissant 2004, Walker and Wong 2004). Democratisation and economic growth have stimulated popular demand for structural safety nets (Goodman and Wong 1998, Gough 2002). The poor particularly in the informal sector who do not enjoy these benefits now have the vote. Extending social security to them is electorally popular, particularly at the local government level where many ad hoc schemes have been put into practice. Since the 1997 Asian economic several relief programs for the poor, such as Raskin (Rice for the Poor), *Bantuan Lansung Tunai* (BLT, Direct Cash Aid) have been adopted - even though the particularistic and clientelistic implementation of these schemes ensured that the recipients perceived these benefits as a gift rather than a right (Ibsen 2011). Furthermore, the 2002 constitutional amendment made health care a right while in 2004 a new law on the National Social Security System (Sistem Jaminan Sosial Nasional, SJSN) was passed which specified the basic framework for unifying the hitherto fragmented social security schemes for formal sector workers in the area of healthcare, workplace accidents, death, old-age risks and pensions. It extended these rights to the self-employed and the poor, both of whom work mainly in the informal sector. But as yet the benefits of these arrangements have been small and unattainable for many citizens as, for example, public hospitals still regularly refuse to serve patients carrying a card for the poor. The law passed in November 2011 aims to address these issues by broadening the scope for social security entitlements.

This trend towards the collectivisation of social security arrangements has so far been studied in a mostly technocratic manner, as these developments have hardly been studied in relation to (and/or as indicative of) changing forms of citizenship in Indonesia (but see Lont 2005). The struggle for social security reform has to be studied in relation to the transformation from client to citizen that is quietly taking place around Indonesia.

b. Specific Objective(s)

From that perspective, this project aims to study the ongoing collectivization of social security arrangements by focussing on three core issues:

- (a) The *politics of collectivising social security*: The discussed policy measures will cost the middle classes much higher taxes - something which is regularly emphasized in the more technocratic, foreign donor-driven literature produced by Indonesian specialists (Arifianto 2004; Sparrow, Suryahadi, and Widyanti 2010; Scheil-Adlung 2004; Angelini and Hirose 2004)). They argue that measures to guarantee universal healthcare and pensions would cripple the state's finances and require increased wages by up to twenty percent. Instead, they propose a state-supervised private insurance scheme - something which corresponds to the preferences of more privileged middle classes who are generally happy with the present market-oriented solutions. This project therefore proposes that the underlying divide in this struggle for social security reform is a class divide, corresponding with the formal and informal sectors of the economy. In this way the politics of social security reform relates to the underlying class dynamics of Indonesia's citizenship struggles, which might not be so different from the political economy of welfare reform in western Europe (Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999): *given the presumed elite-driven nature of much of Indonesian politics, how can we explain the capacity of labour unions and their working class supporters to expand collective social security arrangements? Are these developments indicative of emerging class coalitions and their increased access to Indonesia's public sphere? Or has the increased integration of Indonesia in the*



world economy stimulated Indonesia's economic elites to support these measures out of an interest in increasing the quality of the labour force (cf. De Swaan 1988)? Or should the support for social security reform of civil servants be interpreted in the light of the possibilities for rent-seeking behaviour associated with social welfare?

- (b) The changing **discourse** on social security. The discursive strategies that protagonists and antagonists of social security reform deploy, are indicative of the changing ideas on the responsibilities and rights shaping the relationship between citizens and the state: *how can we explain changes in the nature and content of public debate on social security? To what extent do these changes reflect changing citizenship norms?*
- (c) The changing **practice** of everyday social security arrangements. Indonesia has a long history of organising social security arrangements through informal trust networks. Taking a fifty-year perspective, this project will examine to what extent the discussed adoption of various policy measures, is indeed changing the way common Indonesians take recourse to their trust networks: *to what extent are common Indonesians turning away from informal trust networks towards the state to address adversities such as sickness, health and death? Is the impact of this collectivisation process on daily life different in rural areas compared to cities?*

c. Workplan

To address these three sub-themes, this project aims to combine ethnographic fieldwork with a study of policy debates. To address the *politics* of social security reform, this project will study the political machinations that led to the adoption of different waves of social security legislation by focussing on (motivations of) the different groups and actors involved in shaping the decision making process. The central aim here is to explain the differential capacities of involved actors to influence decision making. To address the changing *discourse*, this project will analyse public debate from the 1980's onwards, focussing on the norms and conceptualization of citizen rights articulated in public debates on the (lack of) need for social security reform. To address changing *practices*, this project will conduct ethnographic fieldwork in two of this project's main research areas – Jakarta and Lampung – to study how social security arrangements adopted by working class Indonesians have changed over the last fifty years. In particular this projects will use oral history interviews to ascertain to what extent a shift is observable from a reliance on personal trust networks to a reliance on the state. For comparative purposes fieldwork will be conducted in an urban *kampung* in Jakarta and a village in Lampung.

d. Scientific Relevance

Social security provides for the basic needs of those who are unable to provide for themselves. It includes healthcare and old age pensions, and is counted among the fundamental citizen rights in a modern democracy (Isin and Turner 2002: 15). Social rights are among the most fundamental rights because they commit the state to bend much greater resources to the citizens, and to do so more accountably, than political rights (Marshall 1950). It is therefore highly significant that Indonesia might be about to make the move from authoritarian development state (and Southeast Asia's postcolonial basket case in living memory) towards some kind of welfare state. The contrast with the erosion of welfare in the West highlights the confidence with which Asia's rising economies look to the future.

5. Participation in a graduate School ('onderzoeksschool'):

6. Scientific performance of members of the research group(s) (as defined under 2)

(a limit of 25 publications applies for each research group member referred to. Only list those publications most pertinent to this application.

- **International (refereed) journals**



(include journal impact factors. Mandatory if your proposal is entered in the themes: Infectious diseases and Health or Food, Non-Food and Water Research. Optional for Social and Economic Development

- Warouw, Nicolaas. 2006. 'Community-Based Agencies as the Entrepreneur's Instruments of Control in Post-Soeharto's Indonesia'. In *Asia Pacific Business Review* Vol.12(2), pp.193-207.
- Warouw, Nicolaas. 2003. 'Keeping Up Appearances: Manufacturing Workers in Tangerang Make A Special Effort to Look Good'. In *Inside Indonesia* 75 (July-September), pp.24.
- Warouw, Nicolaas. 2003. Book review of "Social Movements, Old and New: A Post-Modernist Critique" by Rajendra Singh. In *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* Vol.3(2), pp.127-128.
- Schendel, W. van. 'Stretching Labour Historiography: Pointers from South Asia,' *International Review of Social History*, 51 (2006), 229-261.
- Schendel, W. van. 'The Borderlands of Legality,' Guest Editor, Special Issue 'Underworlds and Borderlands,' *IAS Newsletter* (September 2006), 42.
- Schendel, W. van. 'Geographies of Knowing, Geographies of Ignorance: Jumping Scale in Southeast Asia,' *Development and Planning D: Society and Space*, 20 (2002), 647-668.

National (refereed) journals

Books or contributions to books

- Schendel, W. van. 'Introduction: The Making of Illicitness,' in: Willem van Schendel and Itty Abraham (eds.), *Illicit Flows and Criminal Things: States, Borders, and the Other Side of Globalization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 1-37 (with Itty Abraham).
- Samadhi, Willy P., and Nicolaas Warouw (eds). 2009. *Democracy Building on the Sand: Advances and Setbacks in Indonesia*. Yogyakarta (Indonesia): PCD Press.
- Warouw, Nicolaas. 2008. 'Industrial Workers in Transition; Women's Experiences of Factory Work in Tangerang'. In Michele Ford and Lyn Parker (eds.). *Women and Work in Indonesia*. London: Routledge, pp.104-119.

Other

7. Literature references (Max. 1 page)

Angelini, John, and Kenichi Hirose. 2004. Extension of social security coverage for the informal economy in Indonesia: surveys in the urban and rural informal economy. In Working Paper 11. Manila, Philippines: International Labour Organization, Subregional Office for South-East Asia and the Pacific.

Arifianto, Alex. 2004. Social Security Reform in Indonesia: An Analysis of the National Social Security Bill (RUU Jamsosnas). Bandung: SMERU.

Croissant, Aurel. 2004. Changing welfare regimes in East and Southeast Asia: crisis, change and challenge. *Social Policy and Administration* 38 (5):504-524.

Ellis, Andrew, and Etsi Yudhini. 2002. Indonesia's new state institutions: the constitution completed, now for the detail - the MPR annual session, November 2002, a commentary. Jakarta: NDI.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

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- Jessop, Bob. 2007. State power: a strategic relational approach. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Lont, H. (2005). *Juggling Money: Financial self-help organizations and social security in Yogyakarta*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Marshall, T. H. 1950. Citizenship and social class, and other essays. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ramesh, M., and Mukul G. Asher. 2000. Welfare capitalism in Southeast Asia : social security, health and education policies, International political economy series. Basingstoke [etc]: MacMillan Press.
- Scheil-Adlung, Xenia. 2004. Sharpening the Focus on the Poor: Policy Options for Advancing Social Health Protection in Indonesia. In ESS Paper no. 19. Geneva: ILO (Global Campaign on Social Security and Coverage for All).
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- Walker, Alan, and Chack-kie Wong, eds. 2005. East Asian welfare regimes in transition: from Confucianism to globalisation. Bristol: Policy.

Integration and Cooperation

8. Integration of research and scientific results in the JRP

(Max. 1000 words)

Word count:

With its focus on the debates, campaigns as well as the changing practices surrounding the collectivisation of social security, this research-project takes up the second sub-question of the research program. Social security is an important case study to understand the evolving capacity of Indonesia's citizens to realize their rights, as the trend towards the collectivisation of social security can have a profound impact on everyday state-citizen interaction as more citizens turn to the state. Furthermore, as social classes have different needs and interests in this field, the focus on social security also serves to understand to what extent Indonesia's democratization process is enabling weaker sections of society to realize their rights. Thirdly, the campaigns as well as the everyday contestations involved in gaining access to these welfare benefits can be used to study whether clientelistic practices are indeed giving way to more rights-based forms of claim-making vis-à-vis the state. Fourthly, by combining an urban area (Jakarta) and a rural area (Lampung), this project related to the concern of the research program for understanding the impact of economic conditions on emerging forms of citizenship.

Furthermore, this project is designed in such a way that it maximizes synergy with the research program's other projects. By conducting fieldwork on (changes in) social security arrangements in Jakarta and Lampung, this project can yield vital information for the other projects – for example this study will touch



upon the changing nature of village leadership in a manner relevant for project two, while this study will provide a concrete illustration of the ways in which underprivileged groups manage (or fail) to access the public sphere (as studied by project 6 and 7). As this project focuses on villages in Lampung, just as the study on land rights (4), there are particularly fruitful possibilities for exchange of information and insights with that subproject.

Management and Administration

9. Information on the managing capacities of the Project Leader(s)

(Max. 250 words)

Word count: 147

Prof van Schendel has extensive research experience in both South Asia and Southeast Asia. He was director of the research program *Illegal but Licit: Transnational Flows and Permissive Polities in Asia* and he is also director of the Research Cluster *Moving Matters* at the University of Amsterdam. He serves on various editorial boards and the author/editor of 12 books.

Nico Warouw is currently head of the anthropology department, Universitas Gadjah Mada. After obtaining his PhD at the Australian National University in 2004 (J.G Crawford Prize for Academic Excellence) on industrial workers, Nico Warouw has been a lecturer at UGM, as well as a post-doc researcher on various research-projects including *In Search of Middle Indonesia* (KITLV). He is Editor in Chief of the PCD journal of South and Southeast Asian Power, Conflict and Democracy Studies, and co-convener of the Master Programme in Human Rights and Democracy at UGM.

Duration and Planning

10. Time table of the project and Milestones

Sept 2012-may 2013 Selection and preparatory phase for Dikti scholarships

Jan 2013 Start of the Project

Jan 2013 – Nov 2013 Preparation

Dec 2013 – May 2015 Fieldwork in Indonesia, alternating between East Java and South Sulawesi

June 2015 – Jan 2017 Writing of PhD thesis, writing of peer-reviewed academic article, contribution to edited volume.

11. Research location(s)

Jakarta and Lampung



Part II:

JRP Sub-Projects

PROJECT 6

1. Project title

Digital Citizenship and Indonesia's anti-corruption campaign: New Forms of Public Action and Accountability?

2. Research Group

a. Project Leader in the Netherlands

Name / Title(s): Prof. Dr. Patricia Spyer
University/ Institute: Leiden University, Anthropology

b. Project Leader in Indonesia

Name / Title(s): Dr. J. Nicolaas Warouw
University/ Institute: Anthropology Department of Faculty of Cultural Science (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya) - Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM)

c. Proposed Researcher:

OSPIN PhD fellow
x DIKTI PhD fellow
OPhD (AIO position)
OPost doc
OSenior researcher (NB for this category SPIN will not provide funding for salary)

If known:

Name / Title(s):
University/ Institute:

Research Proposal

3. Summary of the Project Proposal (Max. 400 words)

Word count: 151

This project investigates the ways in which digital/social media are deployed in internet-based campaigns against corruption and judicial failure. Indonesia has been especially enthusiastic in its embrace of communication technologies, boasting today the second largest number of Facebook users in the world and notable as well for the rapid proliferation of smart phone use across social classes. This rapidly increasing use of social media is shaping the way the public sphere is evolving in post-Suharto Indonesia, and might be promoting forms of civic engagements that weaken the importance of primordial affiliations and clientelistic relations in Indonesia's politics. The overarching question of this project is how the avid and often creative use of digitalized media in anti-corruption campaigns contributes to the consolidation of a viable public sphere, the fostering and conceptualization of new forms of citizenship and collective action, and offers alternatives to and/or challenges the largely elite-driven politics of the country.

4. Detailed description of the Project (Max. 2000 words)

Word count: 1495



a. Scientific Background

The dynamic and pluralistic practices of digitalized media offer an especially productive terrain for the *practice* of new forms of citizenship and collective action. The internet has played an important role in democratization processes around the world (Ferdinand 2000), as it has in Indonesia (Sen and Hill 2005). During the student protests that led to the fall of Suharto in 1998 internet already played an important role in spreading alternative news and facilitating protests (Lim 2006, Sen and Hill 2000: 194-218), and likewise the internet was actively used to mobilize people for the Christian-Muslim violence that took place between 1998 and 2003 (Spyer 2002, Hill and Sen 2002, Bräuchler 2003, Sen and Hill 2005, Lim 2003). The rise of social media like twitter and particularly Facebook has taken the importance of internet for Indonesia's public sphere to a new level – a significant development that urgently demands academic attention.

Social media refers to different medium which Mayfield (2008) identifies as social networks (i.e. facebook), blogs, wiki (i.e. wikipedia), podcast (i.e. Apple itunes), forums, content communities (i.e. Youtube), and microblogging (i.e. plurk and twitter). Ranked as the world's second largest on facebook users (35,482,400) and fourth largest on twitter users (4,883,228), Indonesia is said to be "the next big thing in digital media" (Netzley 2011) and its population is tagged by an internet analyst (ComScore cited in Doherty 2010) as the most prolific users of Twitter on the planet. Given its capacity to facilitate participation, openness, conversation, and a sense of community, social media might have the potential to bridge differences inherent in a multicultural society and help imagining Indonesia's community (cf. Anderson 1983). Various campaigns organized during the past two years – such as the coins for Prita campaign, the anti-corruption mobilization, outrage over land conflicts in Mesuji, the protests against the police by collecting flip-flops – owe their success to the use of social media. For young Indonesians social media seems particularly effective to facilitate participation in the public sphere (Spyer and White 2012).

Social media in its different genres and modes of engagement offer users a variety of platforms where they learn genre-appropriate netiquette and participatory action, how to form discussion and civic action groups, how to build a case and rally support for a cause, what counts as evidence and how to demand accountability, and other varieties of articulating civic concern and mobilizing for a specific action (Ginsberg e.a. 2002, Miller 2011, Boellstorff 2010). It equally offers alternative public sphere to the nation just released from 32-years-long experience of being under an authoritarian rule described by some scholars (Aspinall 1995, Hadiz 1997, Heryanto 2006) as to where basic civil rights, including freedom of expression and media freedom, were comparatively absent. In other words, its capacity to "bypass state control and communicate in a secure environment" makes internet attractive to the social movement (Scott and Street 2001:46). Moreover, social media can help bringing individual social concerns to public attention, and in so doing strengthen the capacity of participants associate to advance common interests.

Furthermore, the rapidly increasing role of social media in Indonesia might – and this is one of the project's hypotheses – strengthen a sense of affiliation with the nation-state, and might even inculcate a sense of 'world citizenship'. The politics of Post-Suharto's Indonesia has been mired in "regionalism" (Erb and Sulistyanto 2009) and "patrimonial patterns" (Schulte-Nordholt 2005:47) as a strong sense of affiliation with local and regional identities is shaping political practices. Online political participation might be changing these affinities, as it facilitates forming wider social networks and a broader sense of interconnectedness (Putnam et.al 1994, also Bennett 2003, Dahlberg 2001, Dahlgren 2000). Cammaerts and Audenhove (2005) assert that internet promotes "new—less formalised—forms of civic engagement" which might curtail primordial affiliations and clientelistic relations. Not only national but also transnational activism might do so: an increased on-line interaction might increase the consciousness about shared concerns (such as human rights, ecological issues, and impacts of neoliberalism) beyond local and national identities (Appadurai 2002, Castells 1997, Merry 2006). In this sense increased interaction through social media might even foster forms of "world citizenship" (He 2004).

Taken together, all of these dynamic and pluralistic practices are the terrain where new conceptions and forms of citizenship are emerging and, by extension, a viable public sphere with the requisite self-awareness and historical agency is taking shape as online actors begin to "see themselves" in the collective forms, civic actions, and tangible results in curbing corruption and countering judicial failure that they help to bring about. It is in this developing public sphere that a new discourse and new forms of citizenship are taking shape.



The project aims to explore these larger theoretical considerations through an analysis of the actual effects of social/digital media activity vis-à-vis several specific cases of corruption and judicial failure. Special attention will be paid to how *in practice* attention and support is not only rallied and mobilized with respect to a number of different anti-corruption cases but how such achieve their goals through a variety of different means – from “people pressure” which relies on a combination of unabated publicity and large numbers to more playful online parody that mocks and thereby helps undermine political (and business) elite authority. To be successful, online advocacy and action must also be performatively networked in significant ways to the work and activities of offline networks and committed individuals, NGOs, public interest groups, and other associational forms as well as a range of sites and spaces where actions are staged and – ideally – amplified in relation to each other. Equally importantly, we are interested in examples of collective performatively-networked action aimed at corruption that, by contrast, peters out, disappearing from public view even when it appeared promising at the outset.

From the above follows the three inter-related dimensions of investigation of this project:

- 1) the relation between online and offline activity
- 2) the pedagogical aspects of digital citizenship and the evolving interpretations of (local, national, global) citizenship as it emerges in the discourse by participants of online public debates.
- 3) an analysis of the contribution of online activity for combatting corruption/judicial abuse.

b. Specific Objective(s)

The PhD project will focus in particular on the following four themes:

1. How are forms of collective political action enabled, extended, and amplified through the use of smart phones, Facebook, blogging, and the like? How is online activity performativity articulated with offline activity of different kinds? How do they complement each other and offer distinct forms of mobilization, when and how do they operate separately and when in tandem?
2. What do individuals and diverse online groups learn about citizenship and civic action through their online engagement? How are interpretations of citizenship being articulated in on-line contributions? What particular knowledge and skills—explicit and implicit—do they acquire and emulate? In what ways are such knowledge and skills related to the possibilities (and limitations) of specific social/digital media as these have been used and developed in Indonesia?
3. What kinds of issues—both of an ephemeral and an ongoing or recurrent nature—lead an active online life and how do such online activities facilitate or help to promote these issues? What kinds of issues have been most successful online in achieving the objective of combating specific instances of corruption and judicial abuse and why?
4. Has social media led to the curtailment of primordial affiliations and clientelistic relations, and, instead, increased a sense of affiliation to the nation state and inculcated a sense of shared political community? In what sense do cultural and local identities shape the participation in public debate through social media?

c. Workplan

To address these questions, this research project will combine online content analysis with an ethnographic off-line study of the activists networks driving the campaigns against corruption and judicial failure. For the online study, this project will (a) focus on the networked patterns of information diffusion (see Oh, Susarla and Tan 2008, Bulkley and Van Alstyne 2010), as well as (b) engage in a content analysis of how norms, identities and interpretations of citizenship are being articulated in on-line fora and social media (Krippendorff 2004, Pang and Lee 2008). For part (a) fieldwork will be conducted in Jakarta and possibly Makassar, through interviews with influential bloggers and key activists on their strategies, experiences and



motivation. For part (b) content from facebook, twitter and relevant blogs on (the mobilization-campaigns on) corruption and/or judicial failure will be mined and subjected to content analysis.

d. Scientific Relevance

While there have been various studies on the role of internet in Indonesia's public debate (see above), the possibly significant impact of social media has so far received scant attention. Furthermore, the success of various forms of collective action against corruption and judicial malpractices calls for attention to understand its impact on Indonesia's public sphere and state-citizen interaction. While current debate concerning citizenship has been situated mostly at a theoretical level of analysis, this proposed research seeks to substantiate the discussion by systematic empirical research.

5. Participation in a graduate School ('onderzoeksschool'):

Leiden University

6. Scientific performance of members of the research group(s) (as defined under 2)

- **International (refereed) journals**

- Warouw, Nicolaas. 2003. 'Keeping Up Appearances: Manufacturing Workers in Tangerang Make A Special Effort to Look Good'. In *Inside Indonesia* 75 (July-September), pp.24.
- Warouw, Nicolaas. 2003. Book review of "Social Movements, Old and New: A Post-Modernist Critique" by Rajendra Singh. In *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* Vol.3(2), pp.127-128.
- Warouw, Nicolaas. 2006. 'Community-Based Agencies as the Entrepreneur's Instruments of Control in Post-Soeharto's Indonesia'. In *Asia Pacific Business Review* Vol.12(2), pp.193-207.
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- Spyer, P., & White, B. (2012). Growing up in Indonesia: Experience and Diversity in Youth Transitions. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 13(1), 1-2.



Integration and Cooperation

8. Integration of research and scientific results in the JRP

(Max. 1000 words)

Word count: 185

This research-project revolves around two questions that are central to the joint research project. Firstly, in its focus on the role of social media in promoting collective action against corruption and/or judicial malpractices, this project provides a critical case study on the evolving nature of Indonesia's public sphere. The combined study of online debate and offline activism offers an opportunity to understand how the norms, discursive strategies and practices guiding this involvement, is changing. Furthermore, this project helps to understand to what extent Indonesia's public sphere is indeed becoming more accessible to middle as well as lower classes.

Secondly, this project ties into this programme's focus on studying the evolving importance of ethnic affiliations and clientelistic practices. Online debates offer a promising research location, as they serve to study how interpretations and notions of citizenship are being articulated. In so doing, this project can help understand to what extent ethnic, regional and national identities are shaping contemporary political practices, as it seeks to study to what extent political participation through social media is having an impact on a sense of affiliation with the nation state.

Management and Administration

9. Information on the managing capacities of the Project Leader(s)

(Max. 250 words)

Word count: 191

Educated in the Netherlands and the United States, Patricia Spyer obtained her Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. Dr. Spyer taught as a William Rainey Harper Fellow at the University of Chicago and was a founding member of the Research Centre Religion & Society at the University of Amsterdam. Since 2001, she has held the chair of the Cultural Anthropology of Contemporary Indonesia at Leiden University. She is a member of the international advisory board of New York University's public outreach and research program *Digital Religion: Knowledge, Politics and Practice in a Transforming International World* (September 2011-August 2013) funded by the Luce Foundation.

Nico Warouw is currently head of the anthropology department, Universitas Gadjah Mada. After obtaining his PhD at the Australian National University in 2004 (J.G Crawford Prize for Academic Excellence) on industrial workers, Nico Warouw has been a lecturer at UGM, as well as a post-doc researcher on various research-projects including *In Search of Middle Indonesia* (KITLV). He is Editor in Chief of the PCD journal of South and Southeast Asian Power, Conflict and Democracy Studies, and co-convener of the Master Programme in Human Rights and Democracy at UGM.



Duration and Planning

10. Time table of the project and Milestones

Sept 2012-may 2013 Selection and preparatory phase for Dikti scholarships

Jan 2013 Start of the Project

Jan 2013 – Nov 2013 Preparation

Dec 2013 – May 2015 Fieldwork in Indonesia

June 2015 – Jan 2017 Writing of PhD thesis, writing of peer-reviewed academic article, contribution to edited volume.

11. Research location(s)

Jakarta, internet



Part II:

JRP Sub-Projects

PROJECT 7

1. Project title

Pious Citizens: Islam in Indonesia's Public Sphere

2. Research Group

a. Project Leader in the Netherlands

Name / Title(s): Prof. dr. Willem van Schendel

University/ Institute: AISSR, University of Amsterdam

b. Project Leader in Indonesia

Name / Title(s): Dr. Muhammad Najib Azca

University/ Institute: Sociology Department of Social and Political Science (Fisipol) at Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM)

c. Proposed Researcher:

OSPIN PhD fellow

X DIKTI PhD fellow

O PhD (AIO position)

O Post doc

O Senior researcher (NB for this category SPIN will not provide funding for salary)

Research Proposal

3. Summary of the Project Proposal (Max. 400 words)

Word count: 167

Democratization in post-Suharto Indonesia has witnessed the simultaneous expansion of the public sphere and the emergence of political Islam. The growth of Islamic movements has led to fierce debates on the role of Islam in public life. These debates revolve around the nature and content of citizenship in Indonesia, as Islamic organizations engaged in campaigns to institutionalize the involvement of the state in enforcing Islamic morality. Focusing on three such campaigns – the campaign on the adoption of religious bylaws, on the anti-pornography law and the banning of a church – this project studies how the rise of political Islam is affecting the nature and conceptualization of citizenship in Indonesia. Through a study of the public debate on these three controversies, this project investigates how these debates are shaping the content and interpretation of citizenship. By studying the mobilizational strategies of proponents and opponents involved in these controversies, this project furthermore aims to understand the conditions enabling Islamic organizations to successfully access the public sphere and influence public debate.

4. Scientific Background and Objective(s) (Max. 2000 words)

Word count: 1478

a. Scientific background

The rise of Islamist movements in post-Suharto Indonesia has already been the subject of much research. Many observers have been surprised by the explosion of Islamist movements, especially radical and violent ones, in the biggest Muslim country of the world well-known for its moderation and tolerance. Bolstered by



increasing popularity, organizations like MUI, FPI, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia as well as the Tarbiyah movement and the associated political party PKS have embarked on active campaign to institutionalize Islamic morality. This campaign has led to the adoption of Shari'ah-related by-laws (*perda*) in several provinces, that – for example – restrict the movement of women after dark, ban the consumption of alcohol, proscribe the wearing of Islamic clothing and impose punishment for 'immoral behaviour' (See Bush 2008). The 'deviant' Islamic sect Ahmediyah has been targeted, churches have been prevented from being constructed while an anti-pornography law criminalizes indigenous cultural practices and significantly curtails personal freedoms. Throughout Indonesia organizations like *Front Pembela Islam* have earned a livelihood for their members by attacking places of public vice while claiming to be the enforcers of the *fatwa's* of MUI (Wilson 2008).

Most studies discuss this ongoing institutionalization of Islamic morality in relation to the growth of political Islam in Indonesia (Bruinessen 2008, 2009) and/or growing anxiety about religious identities (Sidel 2006). The public debate on the institutionalization of Islamic morality has, however, hardly been interpreted (or studied) as a debate on the content or nature of citizenship in Indonesia. That is surprising since the differences of opinion in this debate revolve around central aspects of citizenship, such as the limits of personal freedom, the role of the state in enforcing moral behavior, the primacy of state law vis-à-vis religious law and the rights of religious minorities. This project aims to study the campaigns and public debate on the institutionalization of Islamic morality: *how is the rise of political Islam affecting the nature and conceptualization of citizenship in Indonesia and how can we understand the rising prominence of Islam in Indonesia's public sphere?*

This project will study the role of Islam in Indonesia's public sphere in the following two ways:

a. This project will study the interpretations of citizenship that emerge in public debates on the institutionalization of Islam, asking what notions of duties and rights of citizens vis-à-vis the state are being articulated by both proponents and opponents, and to what extent these notions are changing due to the rise of political Islam. For this purpose this project will study the discourse on three issues in Indonesia that exemplify the prominence of Islam in public debate, namely the adoption of religious bylaws, the anti-pornography law and the building of churches (see below). By focusing on – for example – the discourse in these debates on the role of law, minority rights, individual vs community, and personal freedom vs. conceptions of the common good, the project aims to highlight the evolving interpretations of citizenship in Indonesia. Furthermore, the way in which these debates are being waged – how claims are made, how authority in these public debates is established - will be used as clues to understand evolving normative notions of what constitutes 'civic' participation in the public sphere. For this purpose this project will employ the concept of framing (Snow, Soule, and Kriesi 2004). Framing is an analytical technique within social movements theory, alongside resource mobilisation and opportunity structures. It focuses attention on the opinions of large numbers of people and how these may be mobilised by sometimes small organisations.

b. This project will furthermore focus on the capacity of Islamic organizations to influence public debate in Indonesia by studying comparatively the access of Islamic organizations to the public sphere. The objective is to explain why radical Islamist movements are shaping and even creating a new public sphere in some areas and time periods, whereas in others liberal Islamic movements continue to dominate the existing public sphere. For this purpose this project will study strategies of different participants in public debates on the institutionalization of Islamic morality, as well as their capacity to generate public support for their positions. Through a comparative analysis of the mobilizational strategies behind public debates in South Sulawesi and Jakarta (on religious by-laws) and Greater Jakarta (on banning church-building & the anti-pornography law), this project will explore the hypotheses that latent class divisions can help explain the mobilizational capacity of Islamic movements.

Class has been almost completely absent from academic discourse in Indonesia after 1965 (Hadiz and Dhakidae 2005). Gerry van Klinken (2011) argues that class is an important explanatory factor in the rise of radical Islamist movements in Indonesia and, arguably, elsewhere. Using data from the World Value Survey, he contends that Islamist movements are the political expression of lower and lower-middle class people, especially youth. Islamism is the idealism of youth and/or lower middle class people with minimal organizational power. Lower middle classes mainly in provincial towns have "become" a public for the movements that institutionalise local syariah laws and persecute religious minorities. Meanwhile the offices of upper middle class organisations promoting liberal notions of religion in metropolitan centres sit



alongside a range of such offices that have been shaping mainstream public opinion for decades. Villages, traditionally syncretistic but increasingly touched by orthodoxy, provide a constituency for both types of movements. The socialisation of Islamist norms, we hypothesize, is strongest among young men from lower middle class families, with high school rather than university education, from families who lack social influence beyond their immediate environs, from urban (particularly provincial urban) rather than rural origins, with limited career possibilities. These men tend to leave home early. By contrast, we hypothesize that the young people most committed to a “liberal” public sphere are typically: male or female who retain close links with their families, from middle to upper middle class families, tertiary educated, from relatively influential families, living in large cities, with good career possibilities. A life history approach (Azca 2011) would open analytical doors in this regard.

b. Specific Objective(s)

For both these sets of questions, this project will focus on the following three debates:

(1) the adoption of Shari’ah related *perda*’s in South Sulawesi. Since 2000 a local Islamic movement called KPPSI has been campaigning successfully for the adoption of Shari’ah related bylaws, demanding that the state take up responsibility in enforcing Islamic dress codes and restrictive movement for women. (Bush 2008, Mujiburrahman 2009).

(2) The adoption and implementation of the anti-pornography law that was adopted in 2008, despite objections that this bill would stifle artistic and religious freedom. The adoption of this bill was a major victory of Islamic movements and therefore deserves further study in the light of the questions above. The impact of the bill on the nature of citizenship in Indonesia was highlighted in 2011 when rockstar Nazril Ariel was sentenced under this bill for privately recording his sexual activities.

(3) The controversy surrounding the building of the Yasmin church in Bogor. Through extensive protests and political support Islamic organizations have succeeded in keeping the newly build Yasmin church in Bogor closed, despite the fact that the church and its organization Gereja Kristen Indonesia (GKI) have all the required permits. Recently president Yudhoyono refused to enforce a Supreme Court ruling that the church should be opened

c. Workplan

This project will study these three controversies by studying both the nature of the discourse of participants in the public debate, as well as the mobilizational capacity of involved groups and their capacity to access the public sphere and influence public debate. For this purpose this project will study comparatively the organizations involved in campaigns in South Sulawesi and Jakarta or Greater Jakarta. Ethnographic fieldwork in the two areas will examine how these organizations develop their support, the background and motivations of their supporters and (the reasons for) their mobilizational strategies. Research will take into account the different socio-historical context of the area, different kinds of Islamic groups shaping the public sphere, and how they link to mainstream Islamic groups in the area.

d. Scientific Relevance

There have been various studies on Islamic movements in Indonesia in the post-Soeharto period: first, those who focus on social-history of these organizations (Schwarz 2000, Hefner 2000, Friend 2003, Sidel 2006); second, those who focus on the dynamics of Islamist movements in the post New Order (Barton 2005, Hasan 2006, Jahroni 2008, Azca 2011); third, those who focus on social and political contestation in the post-Soeharto period (Abuza 2007, Bush 2008, Salim 2007, Noorhaidi 2009 & forthcoming). The proposed study is new in the sense that it aims to investigate the role and the dynamics of radical Islamist movements in shaping public sphere at local level in two areas with different social-history and how it reflects their particular notion of citizenship in the new democracy of Indonesia.

5. Literature references



5. Participation in a graduate School ('onderzoeksschool'):

ASSR, University of Amsterdam

6. Scientific performance of members of the research group(s) (as defined under 2)

(a limit of 25 publications applies for each research group member referred to. Only list those publications most pertinent to this application.

- **International (refereed) journals**
(include journal impact factors. Mandatory if your proposal is entered in the themes: Infectious diseases and Health or Food, Non-Food and Water Research. Optional for Social and Economic Development
- **National (refereed) journals**
- **Books or contributions to books**
- **Other**

7. Literature references (*Max. 1 page*)

Integration and Cooperation

8. Integration of research and scientific results in the JRP

(*Max. 1000 words*)

Word count:

By focussing on the on-going campaigns to institutionalize Islamic morality in Indonesia, this project addresses three core questions of the Joint Research Project. Firstly, the study of public debate and campaigning around three particular issues serves to study the access to Indonesia's public sphere, and how and why some groups succeed in mobilizing public opinion for a particular cause. By studying, furthermore, the strategies that different sides in these debates adopt to succeed, this project can help understand the nature of the public sphere and its impact on public policy making.

Secondly, the focus of this project on class will be relevant for all other projects, as this project focuses explicitly on how way class impacts the capacity of citizens to participate in the public sphere, and the manner in which they participate.

Thirdly, the study on the public debates surrounding the institutionalization of Islamic morality can serve to lay bare notions of citizenship that also inform other (policy) debates. This project focuses on debates that are central to citizenship, such as (limits of) personal freedom, the primacy of the law vs religious law, separation of private and public debates. By studying the way the norms and articulations underlying these issues, this project can also contribute to an understanding of public debates on, for example, social security (5), corruption (6), village leadership (2) or land rights (4). In this sense the conclusions of this project will inform those of the other projects.

Furthermore, by focussing on public debates taking place in two core project areas (Greater Jakarta and South Sulawesi), this project maximizes the opportunities for synergy. The material gathered by the other projects on (for example) local politics, campaigns for land rights or village politics, can yield useful insights and even contacts for this research project.



Management and Administration

9. Information on the managing capacities of the Project Leader(s)

(Max. 250 words)

Word count:

Prof van Schendel has extensive research experience in both South Asia and Southeast Asia. He was director of the research program *Illegal but Licit: Transnational Flows and Permissive Politics in Asia* and he is also director of the Research Cluster *Moving Matters* at the University of Amsterdam. He serves on various editorial boards and the author/editor of 12 books.

Duration and Planning

10. Time table of the project and Milestones

Sept 2012-may 2013 Selection and preparatory phase for Dikti scholarships

June 2013 Start of the Project

June 2013 – Feb 2014 Preparation

March 2014 – June 2015 Fieldwork in Indonesia, alternating between East Java and South Sulawesi

July 2015 – May 2017 Writing of PhD thesis, writing of peer-reviewed academic article, contribution to edited volume.

11. Research location(s)

Jakarta (Bogor), South Sulawesi