



How Jokowi changed Indonesia



Conference Program
13-14 September 2024

In person (Coombs
Lecture Theatre, ANU)
and livestreamed online

ANU Indonesia Project

The Australian National University acknowledges, celebrates and pays our respects to the Ngunnawal and Ngambri people of the Canberra region and to all First Nations Australians on whose traditional lands we meet and work, and whose cultures are among the oldest continuing cultures in human history.

Cover image

Artist: BPMI Setpres/Rusman

Title: President Jokowi affirms the government's commitment to the sustainability of IKN development

Media: Photograph

During a decade of governing Indonesia, President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) has emerged as one of the most popular, but also most polarising, political figures in the post-Reformasi period. Jokowi's supporters have lauded his remarkable evolution from an outsider with little clout among the country's political elite to a formidable powerbroker, pushing through hard-hitting and often controversial reforms. Jokowi's critics, on the other hand, have assailed his government's coercive approach to political opponents, and his pursuit of a grand economic vision at the cost of democratic freedoms and institutional integrity. Regardless of which side of the debate one is on, however, there is no denying Jokowi's enduring popularity with a public that sees their president as a hardworking man of the people.

The 2024 Indonesia Update Conference will take a broad view of Jokowi's legacy. To tell this story, we need to first recall the Indonesia that President Yudhoyono left behind: a stable democracy and economy, but one in which governance was characterised by policy inertia and stagnation. The Jokowi years, on the other hand, have been anything but stagnant. Instead, to hit policy targets across a range of sectors, the president and his team have pushed institutions to their limits, revealing both the weaknesses and strengths of Indonesia's democratic rules, regulations and norms. But how far has Jokowi truly transformed Indonesia? To answer this question, the Conference will bring together experts from Australia, Indonesia, and around the world. We will examine the mark that Jokowi has left on the country's economy, welfare, politics, security, environment, and international relations.

About the Indonesia Update

The Indonesia Update has been conducted annually since 1983. It is organised by The Australian National University (ANU) Indonesia Project, and receives support from **ANU's Department of Political and Social Change**, and the **Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade**.

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

About ANU Indonesia Project

Contributing to public policy reform in Indonesia since 1965 through leading research, capacity building and networking

The ANU Indonesia Project is a leading international centre of research and graduate training on the economy and society of Indonesia. Since its inception in 1965 by H.W. Arndt, the ANU Indonesia Project has been at the forefront of Indonesian studies in Australia and internationally. The ANU Indonesia Project is part of the Arndt-Corden Department of Economics, Crawford School of Public Policy at The Australian National University.

Through producing and disseminating high quality research, hosting public dialogues, institutional capacity building and institutional networking, the ANU Indonesia Project aims to build stronger, research based public policies in Indonesia, particularly in the areas of economic development, social development, regional development, gender, human capital, poverty, governance, and environment. Furthermore, our activities aim to ensure the next generation of Indonesian researchers are nurtured and fostered.

Day 1. Friday 13 September

Time (WIB)	Time (AEST)	
	8.30am	Registration (for in-person attendance)
6.00am	9.00am	OPENING ADDRESS Genevieve Bell Vice-Chancellor and President, The Australian National University with Helen Sullivan Dean, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University
6.10am	9.10am	POLITICAL UPDATE Chair: <i>Edward Aspinall (The Australian National University)</i> Sana Jaffrey The Australian National University Eve Warburton The Australian National University Discussant Inaya Rakhmani Universitas Indonesia Q&A
7.20am	10.20am	<i>Tea break</i>
7.40am	10.40am	ECONOMIC UPDATE Chair: <i>Paul Burke (The Australian National University)</i> Cosimo Thawley Australian Treasury Masyita Crystallin Systemiq Kiki Verico Universitas Indonesia (non-presenting author) Discussant Riandy Laksono The Australian National University Q&A
8.50am	11.50pm	<i>Lunch break</i>
9.50am	12.50pm	SESSION 1. KEYNOTE ADDRESS Chair: <i>Lauren Bain (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade)</i> Jokowi's world: power, democracy and international contestation in Indonesia Marcus Mietzner The Australian National University Q&A

Day 1. Friday 13 September (Continued)

Time (WIB)	Time (AEST)	
10.35am	1.35pm	SESSION 2. GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT <i>Chair: Janine O'Flynn (The Australian National University)</i> The political economy of development during the Jokowi era Arianto Patunru The Australian National University Faisal Basri Universitas Indonesia (non-presenting author) Land rights and agrarian reform during the Jokowi era Suraya Afiff Universitas Indonesia How Jokowi became the infrastructure president James Guild S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and Monash University, Indonesia Q&A
12.05pm	3.05pm	<i>Tea break</i>
12.25pm	3.25pm	SESSION 3. SECURITY <i>Chair: Björn Dressel (The Australian National University)</i> Politicization of security forces under Jokowi Sidney Jones Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) Islamism and state control in the Jokowi era Nava Nuraniyah The Australian National University Q&A
1.25pm	4.25pm	SESSION 4. THE STATE OF WELFARE <i>Chair: Firman Witoelar (The Australian National University)</i> Rebranding and expanding: social assistance during the Jokowi presidency Nurina Merdikawati The Australian National University Asep Suryahadi The SMERU Research Institute (non-presenting author) Ridho Al Izzati The SMERU Research Institute (non-presenting author) Transforming health under Jokowi: forced innovation and lessons for democratic health governance I Nyoman Sutarsa The Australian National University Q&A
2.25pm	5.25pm	END OF DAY 1

Day 2. Saturday 14 September

Time (WIB)	Time (AEST)	
	8:30am	Registration (for in-person attendance)
6.00am	9.00am	SESSION 5. LOCAL POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE <i>Chair: Eva Nisa (The Australian National University)</i> Jokowi and his dynasty: an organizational analysis of dynastic succession Yoes Kenawas Atma Jaya Catholic University Jakarta Jakarta and the rest: center-region relations under Jokowi Hana Satriyo The Asia Foundation Papua's conflict under Jokowi's administration: superficial development amidst increasing violent escalation Hipolitus Wangge Universiti Sains Malaysia Q&A
7.30am	10.30am	<i>Tea break</i>
7.50am	10.50am	SESSION 6. DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND INSTITUTIONS <i>Chair: Elly Kent (The Australian National University)</i> Jokowi and the dismantling of the constitutional court Simon Butt The University of Sydney Tim Lindsey The University of Melbourne A dark legacy: the Jokowi administration's record on corruption Laode M Syarif The Partnership for Governance Reform in Indonesia (KEMITRAAN) Civic space, political activism and protest under Jokowi Fauziah Mayangsari Independent researcher Edward Aspinall The Australian National University (non-presenting author) Q&A
9.20am	12.20pm	CLOSING ADDRESS <i>Chair: Julien Barbara (The Australian National University)</i> Indonesia's foreign policy under Jokowi (2014-2024): retreat, return, and the problem of reputational cost Rizal Sukma Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Indonesia
9.50am	12.50pm	FINAL REMARKS Sana Jaffrey The Australian National University Eve Warburton The Australian National University
10.00am	1.00pm	END OF CONFERENCE

Opening address



Genevieve Bell

Vice-Chancellor and President, The Australian National University

Genevieve Bell was appointed the 13th Vice-Chancellor of ANU in January 2024. Genevieve is the University's first female Vice-Chancellor. Genevieve holds a PhD in cultural anthropology from Stanford University and is a renowned anthropologist, technologist, and futurist, having spent more than two decades in Silicon Valley helping guide Intel's product development and social science and design research capabilities. She is best known for her work at the intersection of cultural practice and technology development and for being an important voice in the global debates around artificial intelligence and human society. In addition to her roles at the ANU and Intel, Genevieve was also a Non-Executive Director of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia Board (January 2019-October 2023) and is currently a Member of the Prime Minister's National Science and Technology Council, Fellow of the Australian Academy of Technology and Engineering (ATSE), Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities (AAH), Florence Violet McKenzie Chair, SRI International Engelbart Distinguished Fellow, member of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) AI Council and an Officer of the Order of Australia.



Helen Sullivan

Dean, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University

Helen Sullivan is a political sociologist and public policy scholar whose work explores state-society relationships, and their interactions with public policy systems. She is the author/editor of nine books, including *Collaboration and Public Policy: Agency in the Pursuit of Public Purpose* (2022) which was shortlisted for the WH Mackenzie Prize in 2024. Educated in the humanities and social sciences, Helen holds degrees in Modern History and Political Science (BA Comb. Hons), Women's Studies (MA) and Public Policy (PhD). She currently serves as Dean of the College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University.

Helen's research has received 'Best Paper/Publication' awards from global academic societies including the Public Management Research Association and the International Research Society for Public Management. In 2003 Helen was awarded a Fellowship of the (now) Higher Education Academy in recognition of her innovative and interactive teaching. In 2017 she was made a National Fellow of the Institute of Public Administration Australia in recognition of her significant contribution to public policy practice.

Political Update

2024 Political Update

Sana Jaffrey and Eve Warburton

Indonesian politics in 2024 was characterised by the interplay of twin forces: the ascent of president-elect Prabowo Subianto, who is determined to make his mark after a two-decade pursuit of the presidency; and the reluctant exit of president Joko Widodo, who is using his last months in office to cling to power beyond the constitutionally permitted two terms. Meanwhile, and in the shadow of these fierce powerplays, there is remarkable unity among political elites in parliament who are deliberating legislative revisions that would make the presidency more powerful and less accountable than it has been at any other time in the post-Suharto era. This paper reflects on how the political events of 2024, and the Jokowi presidency more broadly, have stretched Indonesia's democracy to its limits. We also ask what Jokowi's unyielding ambition means for Prabowo's presidency? Will Jokowi's latest manoeuvres finally prompt Indonesia's political elite to curb executive power through principled opposition in parliament; or will they continue to seek private advancement in a less accountable system? And while Jokowi leaves behind a template for dominating political opponents, can a polarising figure like Prabowo match Jokowi's popularity and get away with similar tactics, or will he face a less forgiving public and have less room to manoeuvre?



Sana Jaffrey

The Australian National University

Sana Jaffrey is a Research Fellow at the Australian National University's Department of Political and Social Change and a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. She is a scholar of political violence and state-building with over 15 years of research experience in Indonesia. During her appointment at the World Bank Indonesia (2008-2013), she led the implementation of the National Violence Monitoring System (NVMS) data project and later served as the director of Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) in Jakarta (2021-2022), where she led a team of researchers to publish reports on violent conflict and extremism in Southeast Asia. Jaffrey's research has been published in *Comparative Politics*, *Studies in Comparative International Development* and *Journal of East Asian Studies*. She has a PhD in political science from University of Chicago.



Eve Warburton

The Australian National University

Eve Warburton is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Political and Social Change in the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, and Director of ANU Indonesia Institute at the College of Asia and the Pacific. Her research is concerned broadly with problems of representation, governance, and business-state relations, in young and developing democracies, with a regional focus on Southeast Asia and Indonesia in particular. She has published in leading disciplinary and area studies journals on these topics, and her first book manuscript, *Resource Nationalism in Indonesia: Booms, Big Business and the State*, was published by Cornell University Press in late 2023.



Political Update Discussant

Inaya Rakhmani

Universitas Indonesia

Inaya Rakhmani is an Associate Professor in the Department of Communication at Universitas Indonesia and serves as the Inaugural Director of the Asia Research Centre. Inaya employs cultural political economy to examine media and communication, focusing on how they relate to broader capitalist transformations in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. Her work has been published at the *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, the *Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia (TRANS)* and she is also the author of *Mainstreaming Islam in Indonesia* published by Palgrave MacMillan, 2016.

Economic Update

2024 Economic Update

Cosimo Thawley, Masyita Crystallin and Kiki Verico

Indonesia in 2024 was characterised by political transition, occurring over an unusually long period of eight months between the election in February and inauguration in October. This afforded President-elect Prabowo Subianto and his team time to develop and refine his signature policy, now called the free ‘nutritious meals’ program. Public debate focussed on the government’s ability to fund this and other priorities within the legislated three per cent deficit threshold, and markets reacted adversely to speculation about increased debt levels, with the Rupiah weakening and bond yields rising. The incoming and outgoing administrations agreed on a 2025 budget and committed to fiscal prudence. Still, Prabowo believes Indonesia can adopt a ‘more daring’ approach to achieve his ambitious GDP growth target of eight per cent. He has identified some crucial factors such as the need for human capital development and a more robust tax-to-GDP ratio. But this target would require a significant uplift, as Indonesia’s trend growth has gradually moderated to five per cent over the past 20 years. Looking ahead over the next 20 years, this Survey outlines a pathway towards Indonesia’s 2045 vision of being a high-income economy, which would entail greater productivity, a more open investment.



Cosimo Thawley

(presenting author)

Australian Treasury

Cosimo Thawley is Minister-Counsellor and Senior Treasury Representative to Southeast Asia. He has held this position since October 2021. Previously he was Director, Foreign Investment, at the Australian Treasury; Senior Adviser to the Foreign Investment Review Board; and Senior Adviser to the Treasurer of Australia. Cosimo started his career as a diplomat at the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, where he had a previous posting as Third Secretary (Political) in Jakarta from 2013 to 2016. He has a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in Economics and History from Pomona College in Claremont, California.



Masyita Crystallin

(presenting author)

Systemiq

Masyita Crystallin is a Partner and Head of Sustainable Finance and Policy, Asia Pacific in Systemiq. With over a decade's experience spanning government, finance and industry, Masyita is poised to supercharge Systemiq's impact in the region, particularly to help mobilize capital for Indonesia's green growth agenda. Masyita brings a wealth of experience from the public and private sector, including serving as Senior Advisor to Indonesia's Minister of Finance and Coordinating Minister of Maritime and Investment Affairs. She has also held senior roles at prestigious institutions including the World Bank, the World Resources Institute, DBS Bank, and Indonesia's state-owned holding company for insurance, underwriting and capital markets (IFG). Masyita is currently the Deputy Co-chair of the Coalition of Finance Ministers for Climate Action, where she continues to play a pivotal role in reforming international and domestic.



Economic Update Discussant

Riandy Laksono

The Australian National University

Riandy Laksono is currently a PhD candidate at the Arndt-Corden Department of Economics, Crawford School of Public Policy, The Australian National University. His PhD dissertation project focuses on the intersection of international trade, business dynamism, and the labor market, with an emphasis on Indonesia. He is a recipient of the Australia Award Scholarship (AAS) and was the president of the Indonesian Student Association at the ANU in 2021-2022. He has more than 13 years of experience working on international trade and development issues in Indonesia, with a special focus on trade and investment policy reform, regional integration, regulatory gap analysis, as well as labor and industrial policy. Prior to pursuing his PhD degree, he worked as a trade and investment economist at Prospera. He completed his Master degree in economics at Universitas Indonesia and received his Bachelor degree in economics from Institut Pertanian Bogor.

Jokowi's world: power, democracy and international contestation in Indonesia

Session 1

Keynote address

Marcus Mietzner

Jokowi ruled Indonesia for a decade with high approval ratings and significant international acclaim. Yet he remained an enigma to many, including some of his closest confidants. How did Jokowi view the world in which he operated? What was, in his perception, his role and mission in Indonesia's notoriously complicated and patronage-soaked polity? What did democracy mean to him? What was his goal for Indonesia's political and economic development? How did he view the global environment and Indonesia's place in it? Based on interviews with Jokowi and many of his aides, this presentation analyses how the outgoing president perceived his own role in history, and contrasts this with the legacy he leaves behind. It will find that in many ways, Jokowi cemented the political structures that he had set out to challenge in 2014.



Marcus Mietzner

The Australian National University

Marcus Mietzner is Associate Professor at the Department of Political and Social Change, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs at the Australian National University in Canberra. He has published extensively on Indonesian politics, including in peer-reviewed international journals such as *Democratization*, *International Political Science Review*, *Governance*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Contemporary Politics*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Journal of Contemporary Asia* and *Critical Asian Studies*. His latest book is *The Coalitions Presidents Make: Presidential Power and its Limits in Democratic Indonesia* (Cornell University Press, 2023). He is currently writing a book on the Jokowi presidency, based on a series of interviews with the outgoing president and other key actors.

The political economy of development during the Jokowi era

Session 2

Arianto Patunru and Faisal Basri

Growth and development

We review the economic development approach of Joko Widodo in the two periods of his presidency in Indonesia (2014–2024). With economic growth, poverty rate, and inequality figures at the background, we contextualize the ‘Jokowinomics’ with a focus on four aspects: his developmental state approach, infrastructure programs, foreign investment policy, and *hilirisasi* (downstreaming industrial policy). Using the lenses of political economics and institutional economics, we examine the levels of inclusivity and extraction of Jokowi’s approach, as well as the complementarity and contradictions of powers between the state and the society during his tenure. In doing so we provide comparative perspective with his predecessors, President Yudhoyono and President Soeharto and a prognosis on what economic development might result if Jokowi’s style is carried over by his successor, President-elect Prabowo Subianto.



Arianto Patunru

(Presenting author)

The Australian National University

Arianto Patunru joined the Arndt-Corden Department of Economics at The Australian National University in October 2012. He is a member of the ANU Indonesia Project, coordinating policy engagement activities. He was previously the head of the Institute for Economic and Social Research (LPEM FEB UI) in Jakarta while teaching economics at the Department of Economics and Business, Universitas Indonesia. He holds a PhD from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Arianto conducts research on international trade, firm behaviour, and climate change with a focus on Indonesia. His publications include papers in *Journal of Development Studies*, *The World Economy*, *Resources Policy*, and *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, commentaries in *East Asia Forum*, *Kompas*, and *The Jakarta Post*, and three edited volumes on trade and globalization. He is co-editor of the *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*.

Land rights and agrarian reform during the Jokowi era

Session 2

Suraya Afiff

Growth and development

Securing land rights for rural poor and indigenous communities has long been a key demand of pro-democracy activists in the post-Soeharto era. President Jokowi's promise to implement agrarian reform in his first term brought hope that unlike his predecessors, the president would implement a progressive agenda. However, evictions have continued over the past decade and progress of state recognition of people's rights to land has been slow. This presentation argues that stalled reform was caused by a combination of factors. The first is President Jokowi's inclination towards pragmatic, simple solutions and disinterest in complex ideologies. Second, he became heavily influenced by his circle of pro-business political elites that promote a conservative economic agenda. President Jokowi showed little concern about contradictory policies, such as the National Strategic Project (*Proyek Strategis Nasional/PSN*) program, which emphasises infrastructure development and incorporates oligarchic business interests, thereby undermining the agrarian reform agenda. Instead of looking for lasting, structural solutions to complex land problems, Jokowi believed that eviction of poor and indigenous communities affected by strategic projects could be addressed through simplistic and ad hoc solutions.



Suraya Afiff

Universitas Indonesia

Suraya Afiff is an Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology, at Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia. Prior to her academic position, she had been involved in the Indonesia Forum for the Environment (WALHI), one of the major environmental groups in Indonesia. She continues her activism advocating environmental justice for the rural poor and vulnerable groups in Indonesia. Her research focuses on agrarian and environmental politics in the context of rural community access to, and control over land and forest.

How Jokowi became the infrastructure president

Session 2

James Guild

Growth and development

During his two terms in office, infrastructure development was arguably the defining feature of the Jokowi presidency. From 2014 to 2024, Indonesia saw scaled up investment in power plants, toll roads, dams, bridges, airports, seaports, rail and urban transit, as well as digital and telecom infrastructure. This was accomplished primarily by leveraging the power of the state to accelerate project development, circumvent legal and administrative bottlenecks and direct financial resources – both public and private – toward nationally strategic projects.

This presentation describes how state-owned enterprises (SOEs) leveraged their balance sheets to raise capital for infrastructure development, often by taking on debt. It will also look at some specific reforms, especially with regards to land acquisition, that sped this process up. Of particular interest is how the state has directly and indirectly sought to de-risk investment in major infrastructure projects, and the sustainability of such practices.

The presentation also delves into the trade-offs involved in state-led infrastructure investment, and whether and to what extent development during the Jokowi era has come at the expense of social and environmental rights. It concludes with a look back at how Jokowi's legacy on infrastructure can be viewed as an extension of efforts that began under his predecessor, SBY, and why these policies are likely to continue into the future.



James Guild

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and Monash University, Indonesia

James Guild is an Adjunct Assistant Professor at Monash University Indonesia, where he lectures in the Public Policy and Business Innovation programs. He received a PhD in International Political Economy from the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in 2020, where he completed a dissertation on infrastructure development during Jokowi's first term. His main research area is the political economy of Southeast Asia with a focus on Indonesia, and his work touches on a wide variety of topics including trade, finance, investment, technology and energy policy. Of particular interest is how mixed state capitalist economic systems have formed in Indonesia and other countries in the region and how this has impacted their economic development. His peer-reviewed articles have been published in the *Pacific Review*, *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies* and *Journal of Sustainable Finance and Investment*. He also writes a weekly column covering economic issues in the region for *The Diplomat*.

Politicization of security forces under Jokowi

Session 3 Security

Sidney Jones

The police and military both became increasingly politicised under the presidency of Joko Widodo, in a way that harkened back to Suharto-era power relationships. As the military moved more and more into non-military roles, some began speaking of a return to the 'dual function' of the New Order years when the military played both a political and security role. As evidence of police corruption deepened, so did indications that the dominant faction of the police was defined by personal loyalty to Jokowi. Seemingly limitless funds for anti-terrorism activities provided a financial cushion for the police, while increasing concern on the part of the US and Western countries about China helped bolster the military. This paper explores the impact of these trends on Indonesian democracy and how they may have helped pave the way for a more authoritarian administration to come.



Sidney Jones

Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC)

Sidney Jones is a Senior Adviser to the IPAC in Jakarta, a non-governmental research organization she founded in 2013. She served as director from 2013 to 2021, when she returned to New York. From 2002 to 2013, Jones worked with the International Crisis Group in Jakarta, first as Southeast Asia project director, then from 2007 as senior adviser to the Asia program. Before joining Crisis Group, she worked for the Ford Foundation in Jakarta and New York (1977-84); Amnesty International in London as the Indonesia-Philippines-Pacific researcher (1985-88); and Human Rights Watch in New York as the Asia director (1989-2002). She took a leave from the latter position in 2000 to serve as chief of the human rights office of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). Jones holds a B.A. and M.A. from the University of Pennsylvania. She has been a visiting fellow at The Australian National University (1995); Berkeley (2012) and Central European University (2017). Jones received an honorary doctorate in 2006 from the New School in New York. She currently is co-teaching a course at New York University with Margaret Scott on democratic decline in Southeast Asia and serves as a consultant to the UN Office of Counter-Terrorism.

Islamism and state control in the Jokowi era

Session 3 Security

Nava Nuraniyah

Jokowi has cemented a complex legacy when it comes to Islam and politics: his government has empowered pluralist groups and promoted Islamic moderation, while simultaneously enabling the illiberal suppression of Islamist organisations, potentially damaging civil liberties. This paper investigates the nature of state constraints on Islamist groups, which I term “negotiated repression”. This intelligence-based technique strategically combines coercion, inducement and negotiation in an incremental and tailored fashion. It defies existing categorisation in the literature, cutting across both hard and soft repression tools, as well as covert and overt means. I argue that while Islamist groups are exposed to a broadly similar mode of negotiated repression, they react differently based on their distinct characteristics, resources and practices. To illustrate the argument, I provide examples such as the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), The Brotherhood of 212 Alumni (PA 212), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and Wahdah Islamiyah. Islamists’ influence, which had been building up since the Yudhoyono era, reached its peak in Jokowi’s first term before hitting its lowest point due to repression. However, the negotiated nature of the repression means that Islamists still have space to grow under and above the radar.



Nava Nuraniyah

The Australian National University

Navhat (Nava) Nuraniyah is a PhD scholar at the Department of Political and Social Change, The Australian National University. Her doctoral research focuses on how Islamist groups in Indonesia respond to political repression and its broader implications for democracy. She was previously an analyst at the Jakarta-based Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), where she researched extensively on violent extremism, conflict and Islamist activism in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines. Prior to joining IPAC, she was a researcher at the Centre of Excellence for National Security, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Nava completed her undergraduate and Master degree at Muhammadiyah University Yogyakarta and ANU, respectively. She has been published in academic journals and media such as *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, *The New York Times*, and *Sydney Morning Herald*.

Rebranding and expanding: social assistance during the Jokowi presidency

Session 4 The state of welfare

Nurina Merdikawati, Asep Suryahadi and Ridho Al Izzati

This paper will cover the evolution of core social assistance programs and targeting mechanisms under President Jokowi's leadership. Jokowi mostly continued the core social assistance programs — PKH, BPNT, PIP, and PBI-JKN — inherited from his predecessor, President Yudhoyono, but tweaked and rebranded them by introducing various card-based identification features for their beneficiaries. With the core programs in place, the Jokowi government could channel additional assistance to millions of households during the COVID-19 pandemic. By 2023, the core programs had been massively expanded, with an allocated budget of IDR 130 trillion or 4.24% of the total government budget. Despite the expansion, poverty reduction targets specified in each five-year planning document were not achieved, including the latest target of zero extreme poverty by 2024. This underlines the challenges in poverty reduction when the poverty rate was no longer in double digits. This paper will further show that mistargeting was still widespread, indicating the need for bolder moves to improve the targeting mechanism. While both ad-hoc in-kind and direct cash assistance (BLT) closer to 2024 elections coincided with increasing food inflation, they drew criticism and were highly politicized as Jokowi's son was contesting as vice-presidential candidate. This ill-timed shift could potentially tarnish his legacy on the expansion of social assistance programs in Indonesia.



Nurina Merdikawati

(Presenting Author)

The Australian National University

Nurina Merdikawati is a Research Fellow, Investing in Women Research Coordinator, at the Global Institute for Women's Leadership at the Australian National University (ANU). In her role, she conducts and manages collaborative and interdisciplinary research on social norms and future demand of care in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Previously, she was a postdoctoral research fellow at J-PAL Southeast Asia where she piloted RCT projects on gender related topics, and delivering impact evaluation training.

She had prior working experiences as a consultant for ADB and JANCPEC, contributor to the Economist, Research Associate at National University of Singapore (NUS) and INSEAD, and teacher at Keming Primary School. Nurina received her PhD in Economics from the Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU. She earned Master in Public Policy from Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, NUS, and Bachelor of Arts (Hons) in Economics from Nanyang Technological University.

Transforming health under Jokowi: forced innovation and lessons for democratic health governance

Session 4 The state of welfare

I Nyoman Sutarsa

This presentation examines the health system transformations during Jokowi's decade in power. Jokowi's administration achieved notable improvements, including the expansion of universal health coverage, re-designing primary health care landscapes and services, improving maternal and child health status, advancements in digital health initiatives, and health infrastructure development. While these successes must be celebrated, they have also been subject to major criticism surrounding a 'democratic deficit' in health governance. Critics raise the ongoing tensions between centralised and decentralised governance, balancing equity and healthcare quality, the need for more public participation in health policy making, and ensuring downward accountability and transparency. The transformation of healthcare under Jokowi offers valuable lessons for how Indonesia can better strengthen democratic health governance, and anchor reform not only in evidence-based approaches, but also a commitment to transparency and meaningful public participation.



I Nyoman Sutarsa

The Australian National University

I Nyoman Sutarsa (MD., MPH., PhD., SFHEA) is a Senior Lecturer in Population Health, School of Medicine and Psychology, The Australian National University, and the Department of Public Health and Preventive Medicine, Universitas Udayana, Indonesia. He is a public health physician, with extensive work experiences across the academia, government and non-government institutions. He graduated as a medical doctor from Universitas Udayana, with a Master of Public Health from La Trobe University and a PhD from The Australian National University, and a Senior Fellowship of the Higher Education Academy (UK). His core expertise is public health and health systems, particularly the social and political dimensions of health system practices.

Jokowi and his dynasty: an organizational analysis of dynastic succession

Session 5

Yoes Kenawas

Local politics and governance

The electoral triumph of Prabowo Subianto and President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo’s eldest son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, was historic because it was the first time in Indonesia that a sitting president’s relative won the presidential election. In other words, this is Indonesia’s first instance of direct dynastic succession by an incumbent president. While the event itself has been widely discussed, the organisational aspects of Jokowi’s dynastic succession have received little scholarly attention. This paper aims to fill the gap by examining the mechanisms of Jokowi’s dynasty-making and comparing them to longstanding practices of Indonesia’s regional political dynasties. I argue that Jokowi’s manoeuvres to secure political power for his son largely follow dynasty-making mechanisms at the subnational level. The only major distinction between Jokowi and most other dynastic politicians is the control of political parties. This distinction will determine how long Jokowi’s dynastic aspirations can last.



Yoes Kenawas

Atma Jaya Catholic University Jakarta

Yoes Kenawas is a political scientist with 20 years of experience in democracy, political parties, subnational politics, and decentralization in Southeast Asia. He received his Ph.D. in political science from Northwestern University. His dissertation, *Dynasty Inc.: The emergence and endurance of political dynasties in Indonesia*, introduces a novel approach to explain the variation of the durability of political dynasties, using cases from the emergence of subnational political dynasties in Indonesia. His research on dynastic politics has been featured in national and international media, including *The Economist*, *Reuters*, *Al-Jazeera*, *South China Morning Post*, *Kompas*, and *Tempo*. He is currently working on building a database to track Indonesian political dynasties from 2009 to 2024. He is also interested in two other issues that seem worlds apart: the use of blockchain to improve the quality of democracy and how mystical beliefs influence politicians' behavior. He believes in the power of comedy in building a mature democracy.

Jakarta and the rest: center-region relations under Jokowi

Session 5

Hana Satriyo

Local politics and governance

President Joko Widodo is Indonesia's only political figure to have moved up the ladder from mayor, to governor, and to President. Initially, he embodied a new type of leader with almost no 'Jakarta-elite' background, and so he brought to the presidency an expectation that he would govern the country with a deep awareness of, and sensitivity to, regional needs and interests. In 2014, Jokowi introduced '*membangun Indonesia dari pinggiran*' or 'developing Indonesia from the margins' as an approach to regional development. The government made significant investments in regional infrastructure to develop connectivity and boost economic development. By the end of Jokowi presidency, however, his approach pivoted to recentralisation and the reassertion of central control. This presentation discusses how centre-region dynamics evolved during the Jokowi presidency. The paper looks at three key issues: First, shifts in decentralisation policies and institutional arrangements; second, contestation between central government development priorities and local government interests; and, finally, a reflection on how Jokowi's approach to local politics has impacted the quality of Indonesia's democracy.



Hana Satriyo

The Asia Foundation

Hana A. Satriyo is a senior development professional with over twenty-four years of experience developing and managing programs in Indonesia. Her areas of expertise include environmental and local governance, decentralization, gender equality, democracy, human rights, civil society empowerment and legislative development. Hana works closely with civil society networks, government ministries and local governments across Indonesia. Hana joined The Asia Foundation in 1998 and was promoted to lead the Foundation's gender and women's participation program. She played a leading role in developing gender-responsive budget programs. She later managed the environmental governance program. Between 2016-2019 Hana resided in the UK and worked as an independent consultant. She returned to Indonesia in January 2020 as the Deputy Country Representative of the Asia Foundation in Indonesia. In January 2023 she assumed the position as the Foundation's Country Representative.

Papua's conflict under Jokowi's administration: superficial development amidst increasing violent escalation

Session 5

Hipolitus Wangge

Local politics and governance

In the past decade of Jokowi's administration, the conflict in Papua has intensified with no clear resolution in sight. Political dialogue has stalled, no meaningful measures have been taken to address the escalating deadly violence between the Indonesian military and the West Papuan Liberation Army (TPNPB), an armed wing of the Free Papua Movement (OPM), and thousands of indigenous Papuans have been displaced. Additionally, an ongoing one-and-a-half-year hostage crisis in the Central Highlands of Papua has yet to be resolved. This paper attributes the failure to contain one of the long-running conflicts in Southeast Asia to, first, Jokowi's aversion to addressing political grievances in the region and, second, the embedded constraints of nationalist elites in the government, parliament and military who still control the handling of political contention in Papua. Jokowi's development projects, extension of special autonomy (Otsus), creation of new provinces, and regular visits to Papua have had little impact on the conflict. Despite serving as president for two terms, Jokowi's approach to handling the conflict remains under the control of the security forces, supported by nationalist groups. Meanwhile, there has been a steady increase in welfare policies benefiting non-Papuans, leading to their dominance in the political and economic spheres. The President-elect, Prabowo Subianto, a former special forces commander with extensive experience in dealing with separatist conflicts, is likely to bolster a security-focused approach in Papua. His perspective appears to be influenced by the emphasis on national integrity that characterized the New Order period. As a result, there are a few prospects for a peaceful conflict resolution, and we should anticipate increased tension and more bloodshed in the next five years.



Hipolitus Wangge

Universiti Sains Malaysia

Hipolitus Wangge, PhD, is an incoming lecturer at Universiti Sains Malaysia in Penang, Malaysia. He is also the 2024 Southeast Asia Research Group Summer Fellow at the City University of Hong Kong. He earned his PhD from the School of Culture, History, and Language, the Australian National University. His research primarily focuses on civil society and conflict, civil-military relations in Southeast Asia, and Indonesia's foreign policy. In 2019, he volunteered to assist the Nduga displaced people in the central highlands of Papua, who were affected by an armed conflict, collaborating closely with a local humanitarian group in Wamena, Jayawijaya Regency. He has professional experience in conflict and foreign policy, having provided consultancy services for the Ford Foundation Indonesia and civil society networks in Indonesia. His work has been published in the *Pacific Review*, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, *Asian Security*, *Al Jazeera*, and *Radio New Zealand*, among others.

Jokowi and the dismantling of the constitutional court

Session 6

Democratic rights and institutions

Simon Butt and Tim Lindsey

The Constitutional Court was created in 2003 as a central component of the constitutional democracy established after the fall of Suharto. The court was intended to be an important check on government power because one of its main functions is knocking out national statutes that violate the Constitution. To perform this function, the court has had to be able to operate without fear of government reprisal. Before Jokowi's presidency, the Court seemed to have enough independence to fulfil its mandate effectively most of the time. However, under Jokowi's presidency, the government and legislature, frustrated by many of the court's decisions, have conducted a long, incremental but determined campaign to undermine its capacity to act as a check on their power. The campaign has involved a series of intimidatory interventions and the gradual legislative erosion of the Court's power and independence. In this presentation, we examine key components of this campaign, including a new bill that would facilitate the removal of independent-minded judges. We argue that Jokowi's decade in power has left the court a weakened and submissive institution, and proposed constitutional amendments might disband the Court entirely.



Simon Butt

The University of Sydney

Simon Butt is Professor of Indonesian Law and Director (Indonesia) of the Centre for Asian and Pacific Law, The University of Sydney, where he teaches and researches Indonesian law. He has previously held an Australian Research Council Australian Postdoctoral Research Fellowship and an Australian Research Council Future Fellowship. He has written widely on aspects of Indonesian law, including *Indonesian Law* (Oxford University Press, 2018, co-authored with Tim Lindsey), *The Constitutional Court and Democracy* (Brill, 2015), *Corruption and Law in Indonesia* (Routledge, 2012), and *The Constitution of Indonesia: a Contextual Analysis* (Hart, 2012, co-authored with Tim Lindsey). His book, *Judicial Dysfunction in Indonesia*, was published by Melbourne University Press in December 2023.



Tim Lindsey

The University of Melbourne

Tim Lindsey AO FAHA FAIIA is one of Australia's leading experts on Indonesian law. He is a Malcolm Smith Professor of Asian Law, Redmond Barry Distinguished Professor and Director of the Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society at The University of Melbourne. He has won national and university teaching awards and was an ARC Federation Fellow. Tim has advised governments, business, international organisations, courts and legal practitioners in Indonesia, Australia and elsewhere. His more than 100 publications include *Indonesia: Law and Society*; *Islam, Law and the State in Southeast Asia* (three volumes); *The Indonesian Constitution*; *Drugs Law and Practice in Southeast Asia*; *Religion, Law and Intolerance in Indonesia*; *Strangers Next Door: Indonesia and Australia in the Asian Century*; *Indonesian Law*; and *Islam, Education and Radicalism in Indonesia: Instructing Piety*. Tim is a founder and editor of *The Australian Journal of Asian Law* and the *Indonesia at Melbourne* blog.

A dark legacy: the Jokowi administration's record on corruption

Session 6

Laode M Syarif

Democratic rights and institutions

This paper examines the regression of Indonesia's anti-corruption efforts under the Jokowi administration. President Jokowi rose to power with strong public support, particularly from ordinary Indonesians and civil society organizations (CSOs). He was seen as a fresh face in Indonesian politics, untainted by the corruption, collusion, and nepotism (KKN) that plagued many of his contemporaries. His campaign promise of bringing about a revolusi mental (mental revolution) to cleanse the Indonesian bureaucracy was met with widespread optimism, and his commitment to bolstering the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) with 1,000 new investigators signalled a strong anti-corruption stance.

In his first term, Jokowi undertook several technical initiatives aimed at reducing corruption. These included the creation of the Online Single Submission (OSS) system and the implementation of e-planning and e-budgeting systems for provincial and district governments, and issued Presidential Regulation on Beneficial Ownership Registration. However, his commitment to anti-corruption waned dramatically during his second term, and he appeared to view the KPK as a hindrance to his development agenda. This shift became evident through a series of controversial actions that undermined anti-corruption efforts. One of the most significant moves was the rushed revision of the KPK law, which faced widespread opposition and resulted in student protests and casualties, altered the KPK's status from an independent agency to a body under the executive branch. Jokowi also turned a blind eye to corruption within the police and military, which he allegedly used to suppress dissents before and during the 2024 election and these institutions even became instrumental in the distribution of massive social aid to influence the outcome of the presidential race. Moreover, Jokowi appointed individuals with questionable backgrounds to lead the KPK, some of whom were later forced to resign due to ethical violations and involvement in corruption. His administration was also responsible in the change of Government Regulation that allow corruption convicts to enjoy jail time remission.



Laode M Syarif

The Partnership for Governance Reform in Indonesia (KEMITRAAN)

Laode M Syarif is the Executive Director of KEMITRAAN (www.kemitraan.or.id) and a senior lecturer at Universitas Hasanuddin, Law School. He has been working on the issue of environmental protection, rule of law, anti-corruption, good governance, human rights, and judicial reform since 1998. He teaches International Environmental Law and Anti-Corruption at Universitas Hasanuddin, and collaborates with several law schools such as The University of Sydney, National University of Singapore, the IUCN Academy of Environmental Law, and many more. Laode M Syarif was a commissioner of Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) from 2015 to 2019. During his term, he focused his work to prevent and to eradicate political corruption, natural resources corruption, and started the prosecution of corporation through criminal corporate liability and strengthened the role of KPK Anti-Corruption Learning Centre (ACLC) in anti-corruption education. He obtained his PhD in International Environmental Law from The University of Sydney. He published in the issue of *Indonesian Environmental Law, Transboundary Pollution in ASEAN, Anti-Corruption, Sustainable Fisheries, and Justice Reform and Human Rights*.

Civic space, political activism and protest under Jokowi

Session 6

Edward Aspinall and Fauziah Mayangsari

Democratic rights and institutions

The Jokowi presidency witnessed a return of anti-government protest on a scale, and with an intensity, not experienced in Indonesia since the years of the democratic transition. Many of these protests were directed at policies in areas such as corruption eradication, environmental protection and labour rights, which critics viewed as unwinding some of the most important democratic reforms of the Reformasi years. Yet these protests generally failed to wring significant concessions out of the government and, instead, prompted much more coercive state responses than had hitherto been the post-Suharto norm. Partly as a result, civic space generally became much more restricted throughout the Jokowi presidency, bringing to an end the long period of de facto partnership between government and pro-democracy civil society actors that had characterised the Reformasi period. Repressive action against protestors became much more commonplace, as did online and offline monitoring, subtle intimidation, and prosecution of civil society actors, contributing significantly to the Jokowi-era democratic regression. This presentation examines these trends by analysing, first, the major protest waves of the Jokowi presidency, second, the repressive responses they prompted, and, third, the trends within government that contributed to this much more hostile attitude to criticism and critics.



Fauziah Mayangsari

(presenting author)

Independent researcher

Fauziah Mayangsari is a researcher whose interests include protest movements, social movements and human rights in Indonesia. She holds a Master of Asian and Pacific Studies from the Australian National University, where she researched the return of student movement in Indonesia in the post-Suharto era. She works as a researcher at Amnesty International Indonesia and previously served as a research officer at the Australian Consulate-General in Surabaya.

Indonesia's foreign policy under Jokowi (2014-2024): retreat, return, and the problem of reputational cost

Closing address

Rizal Sukma

When President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) assumed office in October 2014, he succeeded President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) who was intent on raising Indonesia's global profile. Indonesia's new government under President Jokowi was expected to do the same. However, it became clear that President Jokowi preferred to conduct a foreign policy that primarily reflected his focus on domestic priorities. During Jokowi's first term in office (2014-2019), Indonesia's foreign policy was depicted as inward-looking, transactional, and driven by economic agendas. However, during his second term (2019-2024), President Jokowi appeared to show greater personal interest and involvement in foreign policy, and Indonesia's appetite for regional and international activism seemed to return. As Jokowi leaves office, Indonesia is once again seeking to raise its international profile in a way that is not dissimilar to the foreign policy approach of President SBY ten years ago — except in two key areas. Firstly, unlike under President Yudhoyono, the problem of democratic decline during President Jokowi's rule presented Indonesia with more difficult challenges in preserving its reputation as the third largest democracy in the world. Secondly, due to Indonesia's growing ties with China, Jokowi was accused of moving Indonesia closer to Beijing, thus compromising Indonesia's non-aligned standing. Indonesia under Prabowo presidency would face these two challenges in Indonesia's global standing.



Rizal Sukma

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Indonesia

Rizal Sukma is a Senior Fellow at the CSIS Jakarta. Previously, he was Indonesia's Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Ireland and the International Maritime Organization (IMO), London, from 2016 to 2020. He joined CSIS in 1990 as a researcher and assumed the role of Executive Director in 2009 until 2015. Dr Sukma also served as Chairman of International Relations, Muhammadiyah Central Executive Board (2005-2015). Since receiving a PhD in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in 1997, he has worked extensively on such issues as Southeast Asian security, ASEAN, Indonesia's defense and foreign policy, military reform, Islam and politics, and domestic political changes in Indonesia. Dr Sukma has served as a member of the National Committee on Strategic Defence Review at the Ministry of Defence, and as a member of the National Drafting Committee for the National Defence Bill (2000–2002) and the Armed Forces Bill (2002–2003). He was the first Indonesian to receive the Nakasone Award in July 2005, and named one of the 100 Global Thinkers in 2009 by *Foreign Policy* magazine. He has published three books: *Security Operations in Aceh: Goals, Consequences, and Lessons* (Washington, DC: East-West Centre, 2004); *Islam in Indonesia's Foreign Policy* (London: Routledge, 2003), and *Indonesia and China: The Politics of A Troubled Relationship* (London: Routledge, 1999).

Convenors



Sana Jaffrey

The Australian National University

Sana Jaffrey is a Research Fellow at the Australian National University's Department of Political and Social Change and a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. She is a scholar of political violence and state-building with over 15 years of research experience in Indonesia. During her appointment at the World Bank Indonesia (2008-2013), she led the implementation of the National Violence Monitoring System (NVMS) data project and later served as the director of Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) in Jakarta (2021-2022), where she led a team of researchers to publish reports on violent conflict and extremism in Southeast Asia. Jaffrey's research has been published in *Comparative Politics*, *Studies in Comparative International Development* and *Journal of East Asian Studies*. She has a PhD in political science from University of Chicago.

Convenors



Eve Warburton

The Australian National University

Eve Warburton is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Political and Social Change in the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, and Director of ANU Indonesia Institute at the College of Asia and the Pacific. Her research is concerned broadly with problems of representation, governance, and business-state relations, in young and developing democracies, with a regional focus on Southeast Asia and Indonesia in particular. She has published in leading disciplinary and area studies journals on these topics, and her first book manuscript, *Resource Nationalism in Indonesia: Booms, Big Business and the State*, was published by Cornell University Press in late 2023.

Chairs



Edward Aspinall

The Australian National University

Edward Aspinall is a Professor in the Department of Political and Social Change, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, ANU. He researches politics in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia, with interests in democratisation, ethnicity, and clientelism, among other topics.



Paul Burke

The Australian National University

Paul Burke is a Professor and Head of the Arndt-Corden Department of Economics in the Crawford School of Public Policy. Paul's research focuses on energy, the environment, transport, and the economies of the Asia-Pacific. He is currently carrying out research on approaches to transition to zero-carbon energy in the Asia-Pacific and other topics.



Lauren Bain

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

Lauren Bain was appointed to the role of First Assistant Secretary, Southeast Asia Maritime Division, in March 2023. Before that, she was Assistant Secretary, AUKUS International Engagement Branch, focusing on diplomatic engagement to support the trilateral AUKUS defence capability partnership between Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States.



Janine O'Flynn

The Australian National University

Janine O'Flynn is a Professor and Director, Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University. Janine's research focuses on public management and, in particular, reform and relationships. This covers topics as diverse as the creation and evolution of public service markets, collaboration and joined-up government, to designing effective performance management systems.



Julien Barbara

The Australian National University

Julien Barbara is a political economist specialising in politics, democracy and governance in the Pacific. He has conducted research on political and social change across the Pacific region including in the areas of elections, political participation, political attitudes, climate, public policy, governance and institutional reform, leadership, gender and urbanisation.

Chairs



Björn Dressel

The Australian National University

Bjoern Dressel is an Associate Professor at the Crawford School of Public Policy and inaugural Director of the ANU Philippines Institute. His research is concerned with issues of comparative constitutionalism, judicial politics and governance and public sector reform in Asia.



Firman Witoelar

The Australian National University

Firman Witoelar is Lead Editor of the *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies (BIES)*. Firman's research interest is in the broad area of development microeconomics, in particular health behavior and outcomes, economics of aging, education and labor market outcomes, intersection of poverty and gender, survey design and methodology, and impact evaluation.



Eva Nisa

The Australian National University

Eva Nisa is a cultural anthropologist and expert in Islamic studies. She currently holds an Australian Research Council (ARC) DECRA (Discovery Early Career Researcher Award). Her research and publications focus on the intersections between religious, cultural, political, economic, legal, social, and philosophical aspects of peoples' lives.



Elly Kent

The Australian National University

Elly Kent is a lecturer, researcher, writer, translator, artist and intercultural professional with 20 years of experience working in academia and the arts in Indonesia and Australia. Her professional roles have included higher education teaching, curatorial and collection research, education and public programs in the museum and gallery sector and project management.

Conference information

General

Conference website

<https://indonesia.crawford.anu.edu.au/programs/indonesia-update/how-jokowi-changed-indonesia>.



Recordings and presentation materials

All sessions are recorded and will be made available on the ANU Indonesia Project YouTube Channel.

Conference proceedings

A book based from this conference will be published next year. Announcement about this will be made through the ANU Indonesia Project's websites, mailing list and social media.

Certificate of Attendance

Certificate of Attendance for this conference is available upon request post-conference. Please email us at indonesia.project@anu.edu.au with your registration name and affiliation.

Enquiries

Please direct all enquiries to indonesia.project@anu.edu.au.

Conference information

In-Person

All sessions

Breaks and latecomers

Sessions will run on time, please return to the theatre when requested or when you hear the gong. If you wish to come in late, please use the rear entrance.

Location

Coombs Lecture Theatre
Fellows Rd, Acton ACT 2601

Registrations

Pre-registration is required:
bit.ly/IndonesiaUpdate2024

We might be able to accommodate a limited number of walk-ins on the day. Please see the enquiries desk.

Guest WiFi

Username: indonesiaupdate
Password: indonesiaupdate2024

Day 1, Friday 13 September

Friday social dinner

Pre-ordered halal food set-menu will be provided from 6.00pm in Madam Lu restaurant

Direction: <https://bit.ly/SCUmaps>

Day 2, Saturday 14 September

Saturday lunch

Pre-ordered Korean-style lunch box will be provided from 1pm in the Coombs Tea Room.

Online

Important links

Zoom

Stream through Zoom:
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Interpretation

Indonesian sign language and Indonesian translation is available during the conference (livestream feed only).

Publications and publishers

Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies

The *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* (*BIES*) is the leading journal on Indonesia's economy and society. It aims to address not only economic analysis and policy but also the intersection between economics, development and area studies. In doing so, it plays an important role in helping the world to better understand Indonesia.

BIES is published in print by the Taylor & Francis Group, under its Routledge imprint, and also at Taylor & Francis Online. The Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta publishes *BIES* for distribution in Indonesia.

ISEAS Publishing

ISEAS Publishing is the largest publisher of academic books that focuses on Southeast Asian politics, economics and social issues. They also co-publishes with academic and trade publishers in Asia, Europe, America and Australia to disseminate important research and analyses, including the **ANU Indonesia Update book series**.

<https://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>

ANU Press

ANU Press is Australia's first open-access university press. Our authors publish peer-reviewed research on a broad range of topics including Asia and Pacific studies, Australian politics, humanities, arts, Indigenous studies and science. Launched in 2004, ANU Press prides itself on its innovation in the area of open-access scholarship.

<https://press.anu.edu.au>

About the Indonesia Update Conference and book series

The Indonesia Update has been conducted annually since 1983. It is organised by the **ANU Indonesia Project**, in the Crawford School of Public Policy. It receives support from ANU's Department of Political and Social Change, the ANU Indonesia Institute and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

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

The Update proceedings appear in the Indonesia Update series. Since 1994, the ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, in Singapore, has published the proceedings in collaboration with The Australian National University.

A full list of the Indonesia Updates is available on our blog, www.indonesiaproject.net.

Indonesia Update 2023. **Governing urban Indonesia**

Convenors: Edward Aspinall, The Australian National University; Amalinda Savirani, Universitas Gadjah Mada

Indonesia Update 2022. **Gender equality and diversity in Indonesia: identifying progress and challenges**

Convenors: Angie Bexley, The Australian National University; Sarah Dong, The Australian National University; and Diahhadi Setyonaluri, Universitas Indonesia

Economic dimensions of COVID-19 in Indonesia: responding to the crisis

Convenors: Blane Lewis, The Australian National University; Firman Witoelar, The Australian National University

Indonesia Update 2019. **From stagnation to regression? Indonesian democracy after twenty years**

Convenors: Thomas Power, The Australian National University; Eve Warburton The Australian National University

Indonesia Update 2018. **Contentious belonging: the place of minorities in Indonesia**

Convenors: Greg Fealy, The Australian National University; Ronit Ricci, The Australian National University and Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Indonesia Update 2017. **Indonesia in the new world: globalisation, nationalism and sovereignty**

Convenors: M Chatib Basri, Universitas Indonesia; Mari Pangestu, Universitas Indonesia; Arianto Patunru, The Australian National University

Indonesia Update 2016. **Digital Indonesia: challenges and opportunities of the digital revolution**

Convenors: Ross Tapsell, The Australian National University; Edwin Jurriens, The University of Melbourne

Indonesia Update 2015. **Land and development in Indonesia: searching for the people's sovereignty**

Convenors: Kathryn Robinson, The Australian National University; John McCarthy, The Australian National University

Indonesia Update 2014. **The Yudhoyono years: an assessment**

Convenors: Edward Aspinall, The Australian National University; Marcus Mietzner, The Australian National University; Dirk Tomsa, La Trobe University

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

Convenor: Hal Hill, The Australian National University

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

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

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

Convenor: Anthony Reid, The Australian National University

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

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

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

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

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

Convenor: Robert Cribb, The Australian National University



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