

<b>Eastern Indonesia under reform: New topics, new approaches</b>
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Panel convenors:

Birgit Bräuchler, University of Frankfurt, birgitbraeuchler[at]gmx.net

Maribeth Erb, National University of Singapore, socmerb[at]nus.edu.sg

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**Panel abstracts in alphabetical order (by author name)**

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**Bringing the state back in? Regulation and public space in post-conflict Ambon**

*Jeroen Adam, Ghent University*

Field research conducted in 2007 and 2008 for my Ph.D. on forced migration on the island of Ambon, revealed some of the spatial features of the conflict between Christians and Muslims which lasted from 1999 until 2002. Due to a strong decline of the formal economy, obtaining access to the informal economy became central for the livelihood survival of many people living in the city of Ambon. At the same time, access to the informal economy fundamentally changed due to insecurity and subsequent population movements. Although the high-intensity violence gradually subsumed in Ambon from 2002 onwards, access to the informal economy remains vital for many people until today due to the slow economic recovery of the region. This paper wants to go deeper into the systems of regulation which control the public spaces, in this case market places and taxi ranks, in which this informal economy is performed. Previous research already gave some indications that all sorts of new regulations outside the formal state came into being during the conflict which controlled the access to strategic public spaces. A new three year research project starting May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2010 aims to elaborate further on the question how public space is regulated in Ambon since the ending of the conflict. Did the state permanently retreat from this sphere or have there been attempts to bring the state back in? If not, who is in control of the access to these strategic public spaces which are vital for the livelihood survival of thousand of Ambonese?

**The Popularity of Soccer and Young People in Ternate town, Eastern Indonesia**

*Basri Amin, Leiden University*

Soccer culture has been enormously practiced among young people (male) in contemporary eastern Indonesia. However, the popularity of soccer and its connection to the cultural and identity formation among eastern Indonesian regions has not been systematically studied by social science scholars.

My paper is based on an ethnographic study in Ternate town in 2008. This paper tries to argue that youth participation in soccer field is one of the significant identity spheres as well as an ongoing element of a demand for recognition. A complexity of socio-spatial elements, urban *kampung* space, have been actively interrelated with organizational performance of local sporting activities practiced by kampung youths, the regional club (the *Persiter*), Ternatan soccer heroes, and local elites. In Ternate, both soccer players and fans, including that of local elites demonstrate Ternata's intense desire to be recognized by national audience since Ternate has successfully produced a number of national players who have been appointed in national clubs in Java, Sumatera and Sulawesi. Although the field data presented here pertains especially to the period of 2000s, this local atmosphere continued to be articulated until now. In general, Ternatan people tend to agree that Ternatan positive images can be achieved by their soccer performance. Finally, this paper will focus on examining soccer practices as a new challenging field for social studies in eastern Indonesia. Ternatan town represents a potential example of showing how sport becomes an active arena for eastern Indonesian people to negotiate new identity trajectory.

### **Interpreting New Forms of Citizenship: The Role of Education in Reconciliation in Post-Conflict Maluku, Indonesia**

*Alpha Amirrachman, University of Amsterdam*

The aim of this study is to examine how civic awareness is nurtured among students in post-conflict Maluku, Indonesia. This is against a backdrop of the introduction of the rights-oriented citizenship education during *reformasi* era in the country. The study was based on a one-year research fieldwork (January-December 2009) in the island of Ambon, Maluku where peace education initiative was also introduced in 2002 and 2006. Based on this aim, I have outlined six research questions: First, does the New Order's 'banking method' way of teaching continue to be practiced in Maluku to the present time? Second, what are the features of Maluku's peace education? Third, how is reconciliation portrayed between Ambonese Muslims and Ambonese Christians and between Ambonese themselves and the migrants? Fourth, how does the locally made peace education construct or reconstruct the nationally conceived rights-oriented citizenship education? Fifth, how are the new forms of citizenship transmitted to and perceived by students?

During almost three decades of authoritarian New Order regime (1966-1998), the interpretation of Pancasila citizenship as 'mono-loyalty' was systemically nurtured at school with the help of 'banking method' approach of teaching and 'strong framing' in the education system. 'Banking method' denotes a way of teaching where critical thinking is discouraged as teachers make a deposit in students' head to be withdrawn during the exam. 'Strong framing' means that there is a crystal-clear boundary between what may or may not be transferred by the teacher to the student. Now, the rights-oriented forms of citizenship education have been in place in order to help embrace the new democratic values in post-New Order Indonesia. Nevertheless, in post-conflict Maluku where people are still religiously and ethnically segregated, the political socialization of these new forms of citizenship through education might be problematic. This is by taking into account that the peace education program,

which heavily contains Maluku's local tradition, implies excluding those who don't come to term with the tradition while the rights-oriented citizenship education entails the notion of national belonging and respect for equality and plurality. It is important to note that unfavorable sentiment towards the migrants was evident during the initial stage of the 1999 conflict.

### **The face-veiled women of *Wahdah Islamiyah* and their *da'wa***

*Eva F. Amrullah, Australian National University*

*Wahdah Islamiyah*, one of Indonesia's largest Salafi groups, has its headquarters in Makassar, Sulawesi. While ultra-orthodox Muslim movements of this kind are typically regarded as 'unfriendly' to women, *Wahdah* contains a women's wing (*Lembaga Muslimah*). It also directs considerable effort towards retaining its female cadres and recruiting new women through a variety of programs. The group views this as an important aspect of its work of *da'wa* or religious proselytization, and the activities of female cadres in the group are similarly described as *da'wa*. The lively presence of women in the group might seem remarkable, as all female cadres don face-covering veils. But their active involvement movement underscores the important but often neglected part that women play in supporting ultra-orthodox groups.

Based on recent multi-sited fieldwork with Salafi groups in Indonesia, my paper examines the role of face-veiled women in this movement. Key issues I will discuss include: how do women contribute to the development of the movement? What factors bring women to *Wahdah Islamiyah* and explain their commitment to the group? And in what sense does the movement act to sustain aspects of the female cadre's lives? A core element of the presentation involves exploring individual responses to the claim that *Wahdah Islamiyah* represents the true path of Islam.

### **Kings on Stage: Local leadership in the post-Suharto Moluccas**

*Birgit Bräuchler, University of Frankfurt*

In 2006 village kings from all over the Moluccan province gathered in Ambon town and founded a pan-Moluccan raja forum. The association is meant to unite traditional leadership, to represent 'neutral' and unifying traditionality, and to build an effective interface to the regional and provincial government. The reasons are twofold: firstly, the inter-religious violence that had torn Moluccan society for the last several years required neutral means to (re)unify the Moluccan people, guarantee sustainable peace and prevent further conflict. Secondly, the decentralization laws passed in post-Suharto Indonesia were meant to re-empower the local level by legalizing the revival and reconstruction of local political structures and the comeback of traditional leaders. Taken all this together, the so-called raja (kings) in the Moluccas all of a sudden attracted tremendous attention and great hopes are placed in them both from the top as well as from the bottom. This is a drastic break with the past, where local leadership was determined by law No. 5 of the year 1979 that aimed to unify all government

structures throughout Indonesia down to the village level and as a result destroyed or severely weakened local political institutions – including the role of traditional leaders.

The newly established forum serves as a window to analyze dynamics of the post-conflict and post-Suharto era, and to provide historical analyses that allow for a more critical view on the comeback of the raja in the Moluccas and their role in the decentralization/democratization and the peace process. Among others, it deals with the historical changes the raja institution underwent during the colonial period and the various phases after independence; it picks up the *putra daerah* issue, that is how critics of current decentralization processes called the revival of feudalism in certain regions; and it discusses the challenges such a historically unprecedented large association of village leaders faces. The paper thus endeavors to throw more light on the implementation of decentralization on the local level and on the use of traditional justice mechanisms in post-conflict societies.

### **Anthropological Reflections on Corruption, Development and Changing Livelihoods in Eastern Indonesia in the Post Suharto Period**

*Maribeth Erb, National University of Singapore*

Some of the eastern parts of Indonesia, most notably NTT province, have been frequently referred to as one of the poorest provinces in Indonesia, and recently claims have been made that it has developed into one of the most corrupt provinces as well. The spread of corruption in the Post Suharto period with the introduction of regional autonomy and decentralization has often been commented on. What actually is corruption? How do people define it? What are peoples' ideas about the various kinds of corruptions that have proliferated with political changes (such as bribing the local parliaments, and the political parties, paying the parties to accept candidates, giving money to voters to choose a particular candidate, the allocation of construction contracts to political supporters and the like). With Post Suharto decentralization, not only corruption, but also various businesses and investors have spread into the "underdeveloped" parts of Indonesia, mostly seen as not worth investment in the past. Corruption has been said to turn away many investors, but various businesses, opening up new kinds of livelihoods, have spread nevertheless into eastern Indonesian provinces where they have not been so prevalent before, such as tourism and mining. How has the spread of these businesses been implicated in the use of money, and the definitions of what corruption entails? This paper will explore these interconnected issues, with a primary focus on NTT province, and specifically the Manggarai regencies of western Flores.

### **Re-Considering Eastern Indonesia**

*James J. Fox, Australian National University*

Eastern Indonesia has been a region of interest since its identification as a source of spices and rare woods. The diversity of its island environments, its importance in the

course of human migration, its linguistic and demographic diversity, its involvement in the organization of world trade and the historical development of its many diverse social traditions all pose a challenge to any general characterization of eastern Indonesia as a distinctive region.

Over the past fifty years, the region has been the subject of substantial and intensive study and can now be said to be far better understood than when it was declared a special 'field of ethnological study'. This paper traces the development of various ideas about the region since van Wouden's determined effort to distinguish it. Drawing on recent relevant research, it argues that while eastern Indonesia may continue to be a 'field of study', it can not be considered an exclusive field of study. Current developments in the region, as in the past, call for a wider context of understanding.

## **Public policy and local knowledge on food security development in Papua**

*Theofransus Litaay & Petrarca Karetji, Satya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga, Indonesia*

Agriculturally speaking, Papua is one of the biggest populations in the world. Local people continue to practice their complex traditional rituals that excel their traditional and efficient farming system, which is better ecological-friendly biosecurity control than the modern system. Their farming history started from the period when banana, sugar cane, and root crops plantation was not yet introduced in Java. (Muller, 2008, p. 7). Papua province is also the most eastern province of Indonesia, its uniqueness both ecologically and anthropologically made it place a special meaning for Indonesia. The region is dominated by tropical forest and inhabited by indigenous tribes that continue practicing their indigenous knowledge in farming and other aspects of life. After long period of political uncertainty, in 2001 a special autonomy status was granted for the province. Later on, the province was divided into two provinces, the Papua province, and the Papua Barat province. Both provinces of Papua are perceived as enjoy greater power in conducting policymaking, including in biosecurity-related areas. How does the engagement of policy and legal frameworks and between policy and local knowledge occur in practice?

Using food-security management in two provinces of greater Papua as a case study, this chapter answers the question, 'How can international, national, and local policy frameworks engage with local knowledge to create a new development paradigm?' The study has identified challenges and opportunities in developing food-security management policy at a regional level, influenced by international and national frameworks. This research was designed as qualitative research using ethnographic techniques. Data includes interviews, observations, and documents, analyzed through a variety of techniques such as thematic and text analysis (Peräkylä, p. 869). The findings are expected to indicate the need for improving local government capacity in dealing with international policy frameworks and empowering local community to participate in Papua development.

## **Testing the Limits of Pemekaran: Case studies from Southeast Sulawesi and West Papua.**

*Andrew McWilliam, The Australian National University*

One of the outcomes of the radical decentralisation policies that accompanied political reform and democratization in Indonesia was a sustained program of administrative division across the nation, known by the term *pemekaran*, or literally, a ‘blossoming’ of new administrative and budgetary units that extended to the farthest corners of the nation. The program provided a vibrant platform for the aspirational politics of grass root democracy and many of the new administrative divisions that emerged in the process reflected often intense concerns around identity politics and religious practice.

This paper explores aspects and impacts of the *pemekaran* process as it unfolds in two comparatively remote corners of Indonesia, namely the sub-district of Rounta in Konawe Regency of Southeast Sulawesi and the newly established district of Bintuni in swamp lands of Bintuni Gulf, West Papua. In both regions the political possibilities that accompany *pemekaran* have fostered a vibrant local politics based around appeals to older patterns of landed authority. But the logic of *pemekaran* as it proliferates across the administrative spectrum, can also lead to fragmentation and confusion over jurisdiction and political authority. In both case study areas, ramifying villages and sub-village units multiply in number with an ever decreasing membership to the point where the very viability of these micro-units is by no means assured. Critics argue that the process dilutes capacity and political authority. Supporters acknowledge the limits but applaud the extension of development funding into areas which otherwise would remain isolated and impoverished. The paper explores some of the dimensions of this debate and the role of *pemekaran* in shaping local experience on the margins of the state.

## **Social Impacts of Ethnic Refugee Flows: Butonese Fleeing the Ambon Conflict of 1999**

*Blair Palmer, Australian National University*

The spate of communal conflicts in eastern Indonesia following the fall of Suharto caused thousands of injuries and deaths, and led to large flows of people out of the conflict zones. These population movements had far-reaching social effects which have not been sufficiently understood. This paper examines social change in a particular village in Buton, to which over a thousand ethnic Butonese fled after the outbreak of the Ambon conflict in 1999. Although many Butonese who had been in Ambon for generations fled back to Buton at this time, most of the ‘refugees’ arriving at this particular village were returning home to their place of birth.

Their return caused profound impacts on social life in the village, in a number of ways. First, they outnumbered the locals, and their return led to disputes over their long-dormant land rights, as well as tensions about various urban practices they adopted in Ambon which were considered inappropriate in the home village. Second, in establishing new livelihoods, many ended up working on Japanese fishing boats overseas and earning large wages, leading to significant wealth inequalities and new residence patterns in the village. Third, the return of urbanized migrants from Ambon

intensified a struggle between modernist and traditionalist Muslims in the village, which centered on agricultural rituals which were deemed idolatrous by modernists.

### ***Darul Islam and the village imam: shaping Muslim practices in South Sulawesi***

***Kathryn Robinson, Australian National University***

In this paper I reflect on the impact of the *Darul Islam* rebellion on Muslim religious practices in South Sulawesi. R. Michael Feener has suggested that a Makassar expression of Islam may be pervasive in the eastern archipelago (as one of three major patterns of Islam in Indonesia). If so, how might this have been shaped by the historical legacy of *Darul Islam*? From 1950 into the 1960s large areas of southern Sulawesi were directly affected by *Darul Islam* militia led by Kahar Muzakkar. This was a period not only of prolonged civil unrest but of intense concern with questions of Islamic practice, Muslim social mores and their relation to existing local traditions and institutions.

My paper draws in part on interviews with a current village *imam* at Sorowako (Gulf of Bone) in order to clarify aspects of religious transformation among Muslims during this period. Having offered moral guidance to his community through the turbulent years of *Darul Islam*, this highly respected individual continues to play an important role in shaping the community's response to contemporary challenges, including the presence of Wahabist currents in the region. His role as an influential agent of Islam in Sorowako provides insights both into local forms of Muslim religiosity and Bugis cultural influence.

### **Tying Rope, Releasing Hope: Practices of Tomb Pilgrimage in South Sulawesi**

***Fariad F. Saenong, Australian National University***

Pilgrimage to holy sites forms a core part of Islamic practice, while visits to specific tombs are a longstanding tradition among Muslim societies worldwide. However, the form and content of the latter practice may vary from region to region. This paper examines the way in which South Sulawesi Muslims express religiosity through local traditions of pilgrimage to holy tombs.

In historically prominent Islamic regions such as Egypt and Iran, tomb-sites of this kind tend to be associated with Muslim saints or martyrs who are widely celebrated, and are therefore visited by Muslims from all over the world. Tomb sites in South Sulawesi are instead associated with locally respected figures or holy men, and are generally visited by local Muslims only. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in the region, this paper describes the activities surrounding pilgrimage to three different tomb sites in two locations in Southern Sulawesi: Gowa (a site linked to Sheikh Yûsuf al-Makassarî) and Bantaeng (the tombs of Sheikh Pakkalimbungang and Sultan Adam). I will suggest that the popular practice of *ziara* (tomb visits) by Muslims in South Sulawesi involve unique features, most notably the tying of ropes or straps linked to notions of *nazar* – hope for a favorable outcome or helpful intervention.

## **Translocal Dimensions and Contemporary Transformations. Exploring the Hadhrami Diaspora in North-Eastern Indonesia**

*Martin Slama, Austrian Academy of Sciences*

This paper attempts to contribute to the study of translocal, diasporic aspects of today's Eastern Indonesia. In contrast to a more classical anthropological approach, identifying ethnic groups with a certain territory, the paper explores the region by emphasizing its long history of translocal connections as well as the multiplicity and acceleration of contemporary flows. Eastern Indonesia represents a region that is crossed by (and provides a home for) various agents of migration and mobility, consisting of groups that are considered indigenous to Eastern Indonesia, such as Bugis or Butonese, but also of people that come from Western parts of the archipelago, e.g. Javanese transmigrants, or from outside Indonesia. This study concentrates on a diaspora that fits the latter type, i.e. Indonesians of Arab descent or Hadhramis, as they are called in the literature, since they originate from the Hadhramaut (located in today's Republic of Yemen). Their main flow of migration to Indonesia, including Eastern Indonesia, lasted from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Today, Hadhramis in Eastern Indonesia form distinct communities and maintain translocal networks. Especially in North-Eastern Indonesia, i.e. the provinces of Central Sulawesi, Gorontalo, North Sulawesi and the North Moluccas, Hadhramis managed to institutionalise their networks in a formal Islamic organisation called Al-Khairaat. Based on field research in this region conducted in 2007, 2008, and 2009, the paper examines how Hadhramis move through the expanding Al-Khairaat network. Furthermore, it focuses on the translocal aspects of kin networks and of mobilities fuelled by economic developments, and asks how all these dimensions – religious, kin, economic – intersect and inform the diaspora today. Reconsidering the changes and transformations of Post-Suharto times and their affects on Hadhrami men and women, the paper analyses the peculiarities of the communities in North-Eastern Indonesia, bringing to light their distinct (translocal) trajectories.

## **Modes of appropriation in Sumbanese society**

*Andreas Türk, University of Frankfurt*

In the classic ethnographic works about East Indonesia the issue of social change was widely neglected. Societies were described as self-sustaining entities which exist as an differentiated inside in opposition to an undifferentiated outside. Because of this perspective attention was paid mainly on the categories and principles which organize these societies internally. Even though external influences were never ignored entirely they could not easily be dealt with. In general they were seen as something additional what changes, modifies or distorts a pre-existent cultural order.

This point of view is more and more problematic because it does not help to analyse the tremendous change which affects East Indonesian societies today. It provides no

possibility to assess the impact of external influences in a methodical and systematic manner. An alternative is to consider the cultures of East Indonesia as “modes of appropriation”. These cultures do not only structure the society but are devices to deal with outside forces in a specific and constructive manner.

In this paper I will describe the appropriation of Christianity by Sumbanese people in this way. The introduction of the new religion was one of the great transformations the Sumbanese had to cope with throughout the last century. Although this caused a lot of discussion and change Sumbanese were able to control this process to a particular extent. They approached the new religion due to their cultural background highlighting what seemed most suitable but disregarding what seemed less relevant to them. Because Sumbanese were already predisposed to deal with influences from the outside they were able to integrate Christianity into their particular lifestyle. The paper will ask what the “Sumbanese mode of appropriation” might be and how it can be verified in the process of Christianisation.

### **Some efforts igniting dialogue between Jakarta and Papua**

*Muridan S. Widjojo, Indonesian Institute of Sciences*

Papua conflict has started since sixties and endured for more than 45 years. In 2008 Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) has formulated “Papua Road Map” and concluded the roots of Papua conflict which comprises: first, marginalization and discrimination towards the indigenous people; second, failure of development; third, state violence and human rights abuses; and fourth, the history and Papua political status. Actually all of the issues have been included in the Law No 21/2001 on Special Autonomy. But after 8 years of its enactment, the law has been undermined by both conflicting parties, the GoI and the pro-independence Papuans. Consequently it suffers from the absence of political legitimacy. Political relationship between Jakarta and Papua has been trapped in a dead alley. Given this state of affairs, since the end of 2008, some prominent groups in Jakarta and Papua have drummed up a great effort to initiate a peace talk between Jakarta dan Papua. The paper revolves around roots of Papua conflict and some efforts being done to settle the conflict through peace talks. It discusses how the special autonomy has been treated so far and various steps taken by civil societal and governmental groups in Jakarta and Papua to prepare the ground for dialogue, including the constraints and opportunities.

### **Raising the *alif* pole: mosque roof ornaments in Maluku.**

*Phillip Winn, Australian National University*

Several authors in recent years have urged greater attention to the diverse expressions of Muslim religiosity throughout the Indonesian archipelago in order to revisit and refine longstanding generalizations concerning Islamic practice. Certainly Muslim populations in the eastern regions rarely featured in depictions of ‘Indonesian Islam’; and with the (partial) exception of Sulawesi, accounts of religious practice and

understanding among Muslims in this region are few and far between. Yet eastern groups were among the earliest to encounter and embrace Islamic ideas.

In the spirit of addressing this discrepancy, my paper provides an account of an important event among Muslim communities in central Maluku – the ceremonial placing of the spire-like ornament that is found at the pinnacle of the central dome or elevated roof of many mosques. Widely known in the region as ‘raising the *alif* pole’, the event represents a key scenario in the religious lifeworld of the communities concerned.

The paper discusses the significance of this ceremony and the object itself as interpreted by a number of Muslim communities on the north coast of Ambon Island (the capital of Maluku province) as well as in the Banda Islands. This also allows for reflection on the role of the mosque in relation to everyday life. In theoretical terms, the event offers a lens through which the shortcomings of discussions of Muslim practice that rely on *a priori* distinctions between global religion and local tradition become apparent. ‘Raising the *alif* pole’ likely constitutes an important expression of Muslim religiosity throughout the Maluku provinces (Maluku and North Maluku), and is one of several elements that may support a regionally-based characterization of Muslim practice.

## **Eastern Indonesia under reform: New topics, new approaches**

### **Provisional session outline**

**[Date: 01 April 2010]**

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#### ***1. Session: Reconsidering / Restructuring Eastern Indonesia***

- Jim Fox
- Andreas Türk
- Martin Slama
- Basri Amin

#### ***2. Session: (Re-)Inventing Eastern Indonesia***

- Andrew McWilliams
- Birgit Bräuchler
- Alpha Amirrachman
- Jeroen Adam

#### ***3. Session: Dimensions of Islam in Eastern Indonesia***

- Kathryn Robinson
- Philip Winn
- Eva Amrullah
- Faried Saenong

#### ***4. Session: New identities and new livelihoods***

- Blair Palmer
- Theo Litaay & Petrarca Karetji
- Muridan Widjojo
- Maribeth Erb