41st Indonesia Postgraduate Network Symposium

29th-30th November 2022

Alan Gilbert G18

The University of Melbourne, Parkville Campus

Day 1

Date:	29 November 2022	**Time:**	12:00 – 5:00 pm AEST / 08.00 – 13.00 WIB
Venue:	Alan Gilbert G18		
Zoom link:	https://unimelb.zoom.us/j/84703926123?pwd=RjJNVEE3VC9XaHp4MW4zUVVBanlOQT09		

Time AEST / WIB	Description
12:00 PM / 08.00	**Registration & Lunch**
1:45 PM / 09.45	**Acknowledgment of country** Opening remarks - Indonesia Postgraduate Network
2:00 PM / 10.00	**Panel 1: Tech disruptor super-app Gojek effects on Digital Governance, Public Transportation and Smart City Design** Chair: Dr Ariane Utomo **Tane Andrea Hadiyantono** – Universitas Gadjah Mada Correlation of Indonesia's Digital Governance and Gojek's Growth **Muhamad Fathul Madani** – Universitas Gadjah Mada Indonesian Government's Public Transportation Strategies to Respond to Gojek Services in Digital Transformation **Izzatinnisa** – Universitas Gadjah Mada The Impact of Gojek on Smart City Development in Indonesia
3:15 PM / 11.15	**Break**
3:30 PM / 11.30	**Panel 2: Digital disruption in Indonesia I: Performance, Literacy, and Activism** Chair: Dr Annisa Beta **Ratna Erika Mawarrani Soewarno** – The University of Melbourne The Early Years of Indonesian YouTube Web Series: A case study **Michael Haryo Bagus Raditya** – The University of Melbourne Taking a Selfie, Therefore I Am: Rethinking intercorporeality through a new practice of sawer in dangdut performance after COVID-19 **Citra Indah Lestari** – The University of Melbourne Gendered Risk and Digital Divide: The problematic risk information seeking and processing during the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia **Prasakti Ramadhana Fahadi** – The University of Melbourne Progressive-religious Feminist Activism on Social Media: The case of mubadalah.id
4:45 PM / 12.45	**Break**
5:00 PM / 13.00	**Panel 3: Media, power, and political manipulation in Indonesia's reform era** Chair: Dr Inaya Rakhmani **Muhammad Beni Saputra** – The Australian National University Media Power Beyond Jakarta: Democratisation, Decentralisation, and Digitalisation **Anita Ashvini Wahid** – The Australian National University Disinformation as Weapon of Indonesian Presidential Election and Public Policy Making **Salvatore Simarmata** – The Australian National University Outsourced attacks: Negative campaigning in Indonesia's digital era elections

Day 2

Date:	30 November 2022	**Time:**	11:00 am – 5:30 pm AEST / 07.00 – 13.30 WIB
Venue:	Alan Gilbert G18		
Zoom link:	https://unimelb.zoom.us/j/81002080957?pwd=QUppcWFqSXhCTU81S2tpZTNTdmF2QT09		

Time AEST / WIB	Description
11:00 AM / 7.00	**Registration**
11:15 AM / 7.15	**Panel 4: AUKUS' Impacts on Southeast Asia: Regional Stability and Security Dilemma on Military, Economic, and Environment** Chair: Prof Andrew Rosser **Lilastika Cattri** – Universitas Gadjah Mada AUKUS and How It Affects The Regional Stability and Security Dilemma of ASEAN Countries **Intan Dekawati Puteri** – Universitas Gadjah Mada The Effects of the AUKUS Agreement on ASEAN's Regional Stability and Economic Security Dilemma **Sarah Nurhalizah** – Universitas Gadjah Mada The Effects of the AUKUS Agreement on ASEAN's Military-Security Dilemma and the Environment
12:30 PM / 8.30	**Lunch and networking with the Indonesia Postgraduate Network**
1:30 PM / 9.30	**Panel 5: Statues, Sites, and Silences: Constituting and Contesting Heroic Nationalism** Chair: Dr Ken Setiawan **Bronwyn Anne Beech Jones** – The University of Melbourne "This Hero of Women": Re-situating Heroism through Early-20th Century West Sumatran Women's Memory-Work **Jonathan Peter Tehusijarana** – The University of Melbourne "I Will Continue the Struggle to the End of Time": Monuments and the memorialisation of the Student Army of the Republic of Indonesia **Ravando Lie** – The University of Melbourne Giving voice to the voiceless: Sin Po and the Chinese massacres during the Indonesian Revolutionary Period (1945-1949) **Arthur Knight** – The University of Melbourne Art as a medium for memory and nostalgia: a Philippine/Indonesia comparative case study
2:45 PM / 10.45	**Break**
3:00 PM / 11.00	**Panel 6: Digital disruption in Indonesia II: State discourses, religion, and solidarity** Chair: Dr Monika Winarnita **Zulfatun Mahmudah** – Universitas Gadjah Mada Women and the Ideological State Apparatus: Rethinking women's representation in state-produced films **Anastasia Yuni Widyaningrum** – Universitas Indonesia Local solidarity as a Practice of Neoliberal Government: A digital ethnographic study of online communities during the COVID-19 pandemic **Kurnia Arofah** – Universitas Indonesia Mediatisation of Religion and the Transformation of the Islamic Preachers Market
4:15 PM / 12.15	**Break**
4:30 PM / 12.30	**"Publishing Your Research" Roundtable** - Dr Benjamin Hegarty, Dr Annisa Beta, Dr Ariane Utomo, Dr Tiara Marthias, and Dr Inaya Rakhmani
5:30 PM/ 13.30	**Closing remarks** – Prof Vedi Hadiz

Abstracts

Panel 1

Gojek's effects on Digital Governance, Public Transportation and Smart City Design

Panel abstract

The fast and prolific technology convergence of recent years has provided us with a paradox of development, regulation, and sociocultural impacts. In the case of Indonesia, the way in which the super-app *Gojek* has catered to the need for ride-hailing, 30-minute delivery shopping, telehealth, and so on has become a game changer in efficiency. However, it has also come with a set of challenges, as the public and government play catch up in understanding the disruptive tech, creating regulations and identifying the risk and opportunities which arise with in the process. Our panel attempts to identify the causal effects of the ride-hailing app *Gojek* on Indonesia's digital governance, social culture, and effects on smart city design. We use the Digital Readiness Assessment Methodology Approach framework developed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to identify how far the *Gojek* app has shaped and contributed to Indonesia's digital transformation progress, emphasising digital governance, transportation, and smart city topics.

Paper abstracts

Tane Andrea Hadiyantono (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

Correlation of Indonesia's Digital Governance and Gojek's Growth

As one of the top 10 countries with the most startups, Indonesia's digital economy is growing by leaps and bounds. This has been partly triggered by the ride-hailing super app *Gojek*, a one-stop platform with more than 20 services, connecting users with over 2 million registered driver-partners, and 500,000 food and beverages merchants. However, the lack of resources and slow pace in improving digital governance may cause a case of fast economic growth but with little to no cybersecurity protection. Recurring data breaches of private information and government data in Indonesia show a serious flaw in the country's digital foundation, a term coined in the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) Digital Readiness Assessment Methodology Approach that identifies data exchange, digital legal identity, and digital payments as the structural base upon which digital transformation stands. This paper attempts to identify how far Indonesia has developed its digital foundations, mirroring it with the progress and development of the country's ride-hailing super-app *Gojek* and emphasising how the app has affected current digital governance.

Muhammad Fathul Madani (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

Indonesian Government's Public Transportation Strategies to Respond to Gojek Services in Digital Transformation

Gojek is changing Indonesia's suburban social culture on two levels, that of citizens and the government. Jakarta residents as early consumers of *Gojek* faced mobilisation problems, traffic congestion and limited parking lots, caused by various factors. To respond to this issue, *Gojek* utilises the GPS feature in two-wheeled transport to choose a flexible path, making citizens prefer their services rather than fixed-route public transport. This technology disruption was responded to by the Indonesian government by creating ride-hailing tariff regulations and improving their public transportation facilities to improve their favourability to privately owned motorcycles and cars. In wider issues such as the health and security sector, *Gojek* service could be chosen to guard ambulances in emergency situations. This study discusses Indonesia's vision strategy in the digital readiness sector by identifying the efforts and state of the Indonesian government's digital transformation based on the UNDP's Digital Readiness Assessment Methodology Approach. As a democratic state, Indonesia should prioritise equal access to public transportation with massive business development due to its high number of citizens as consumers. With this consideration, the government should regulate the state's digital sector in public transportation.

Izzatinnisa (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

The Impact of Gojek on Smart City Development in Indonesia

Indonesia has seen a considerable impact from technological advancements, particularly from apps that are used by the community at large. However, instead of being driven by the government, these apps are mostly generated by the private sector. Among them is the ride-hailing app *Gojek* which has become deeply ingrained within daily life. As Indonesia's largest provider of transportation services with 167 cities, *Gojek* offers all the conveniences it can, from simple transportation to food delivery services and providing health-related services via *Gomed*. All these comforts have positive and negative influences on social life, inviting government regulation. The creation of smart cities in Indonesia is one of them. This study uses the UNDP's Digital Readiness Assessment Methodology Approach which includes a sectoral opportunity section which discusses smart cities, in particular to look at smart mobility. Therefore, this study aims to determine how *Gojek* affects the growth of smart cities in Indonesia and if its presence promotes or discourages growth.

Digital disruption in Indonesia I: Media, Performance, Literacy, and Activism

Panel abstract

Digital technologies have challenged as well as provided opportunities for society, both enabling innovation as well as disrupting traditional dynamics. However, the debate of digital disruption shall no longer only be about our compliance. We also need to critically discuss how these disruptions connect with the access to technology, the direction of advancement, and society's agency toward technology. This panel aims to explore the examples of digital disruption in Indonesia in new media, dangdut performance, as well as risk literacy, and discuss the strategies in encompassing politics of the digital technology.

Paper abstracts

Ratna Erika Mawarrani Suwarno (The University of Melbourne)

The Early Years of Indonesian YouTube Web Series: A case study

Indonesian YouTube web series have continued to thrive as a format and produced a great number of titles in the last decade. Gaining popularity in around 2012, on the one hand YouTube web series have since been associated as easy access entertainment for the viewers. On the other hand, they have also disrupted the traditional media dynamic by enabling independent distribution of small scale video productions. Concurrently with the growth of YouTube videos popularity and viewership throughout the decade, web series have also transformed into a more cosmopolitan format, employed by not only predominantly independent film team projects but also established Indonesian production houses. However, amateur and independent web series, especially those in the early years, have generally been of little interest. This paper takes instances of several web series titles published in the early 2010s and discusses their narrativity, production and distribution strategies. This discussion aims to examine and provide an overview of how YouTube web series in the beginning of the decade emerged as a newfound grassroot format, challenging the 'traditional' series format and creating new opportunities for Indonesian filmmakers. The findings and result of the discussion will further contribute to a larger critical reading of YouTube web series as a cultural phenomenon in the Indonesian film industry in the last decade.

Michael Haryo Bagus Raditya (The University of Melbourne)

Taking a Selfie, Therefore I Am: Rethinking intercorporeality through a new practice of sawer in dangdut performance after COVID-19

Sawer is a cultural practice in *dangdut* performance where the audience gives money or tips to the singer on the stage as compensation for their entertainment. In social construction, *sawer* is always defined as an agency of the audience to show masculinity, economy and social status. Instead, *sawer* is an interplay between the audience and the singer. It articulated the role of interactions in constructing the human body or intercorporeality. In 2020, the COVID-19 outbreak in Indonesia stimulated digital disruptions in the *dangdut* environment. Musicians and audiences had to use social media to share and perform. Despite many musicians ignoring this change, the use of social media changed the nature of performances. In this research, I aim to discuss the impact of digital disruptions after COVID-19 on *dangdut* performance. It stimulated me when I watched a new interaction with *sawer*; the audience took a selfie with the performer, sharing this on social media rather than simply saving it on their phones. I argued that it changed the nature of intercorporeality in *dangdut*. It creates a new relationship between humans and nonhuman bodies. Based on this phenomenon, I would like to articulate and reveal the intercorporeality present in *sawer*. I used Performance Studies as a perspective and performance approach centre as a method. My research results are: firstly, taking a selfie and sharing on social media extends temporal and physical space. Secondly, a new practice of *sawer* is a new way of showing their status as well as intercorporeality.

Citra Indah Lestari (The University of Melbourne)

Gendered Risk and Digital Divide: The problematic risk information seeking and processing during the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia

Women experienced multiple vulnerabilities during the COVID-19 pandemic. Women are likely to hold more domestic and care responsibilities and higher levels of stress. The economic effects of COVID-19 have impacted women disproportionately as women earn less, are more likely to hold informal jobs, or do not have power over family income. The gendered risk affects women's risk perception during the pandemic, while the uncertainty, unclear information, and overload of misinformation make the seeking and processing of risk information problematic. Consequently, women face severe pandemic impacts, often accused of being stubborn for not following the government's suggestions or spreading hoaxes. This presentation explores how the gendered risk and digital divide experienced by low-income urban women in Indonesia influence women's perceptions toward risks and their behaviour in accessing and processing risk information. It explores the gap in the existing model of Risk Information Seeking and Processing that has not yet taken into account the gendered risk and digital divide, which potentially alienates women who are subject to gendered risk, have limited access to information, and lack of digital literacy.

Prasakti Ramadhana Fahadi (The University of Melbourne)

Progressive-religious Feminist Activism on Social Media: The case of mubadalah.id

Religious conservatism has grown rapidly in Indonesian society since the rise of radical Islamist groups and political parties after the fall of the New Order regime in 1998. This has frequently resulted in religiously motivated violence and oppression of women and other minority groups. It includes patterns such as raping a spouse, child marriage, LGBTQ persecution, and polygamy. As the biggest Muslim-majority nation in the world, it is crucial to use the Islamic approach in the gender-based violence intervention in Indonesia. In response to this, progressive Islamic scholars and experts attempt to find reinterpreting methods for the verses in the Quran that are often made as a basis for patriarchal judgements. One of these reinterpreting methods is Mubadalah, also known as the theory of reciprocity. One of the ways the Mubadalah activists use in mainstreaming their ideas is through their Instagram account @mubadalah.id. The study argues that @mubadalah.id: (1) serves as an extension of its affiliated organization—KUPI (Congress of Indonesian Women Ulemas)—in realizing their feminist activism agenda; (2) is an effort to eliminate gender-based violence in Indonesia by utilising the affordances and algorithms provided by Instagram; and (3) establishes their image as part of Islamic feminist movement in Indonesia by negotiating their visions and positions between Islam and feminism.

Panel 3

Media, power, and political manipulation in Indonesia's reform era

Panel abstract

This panel examines how elites attempt to control and manipulate the public to maintain their power and interests in Indonesia's declining democracy. The early reform era saw a promising trajectory of Indonesian democracy with the implementation of decentralisation, freedom of the press, and direct election system, among others. However, recent development shows a declining trend because of the weak democratic institutionalisation which has caused shrinking civil liberty, deep-rooted corruption, and the expanding grip of oligarchy over the sources of economic and political powers including political parties, government institutions, the media, and so on. As a pillar of democracy Indonesian media has been changing in a significant way due to the digital disruption at national as well as local levels. Digital media was seen as a promising factor for pushing reform in Indonesia's democracy. But as the recent trend shows, the elite class take advantage of the new technology to control public opinion for their interests. This happens not only during elections, but also in times of policy deliberations and grassroots movements. To better understand the current state of Indonesia's democracy we need to examine how the elites use the media to manipulate information as a vital feature of democratic life. This panel will examine these pressing issues in three contexts. Firstly, Beni will analyse the impacts of technological development on local media, local politics, and local oligarchs, which at some points have been overlooked. Secondly, Anita will investigate the operationalization of disinformation as a political campaign and propaganda tool in the 2024 presidential election and public policy issues, and its implications for democracy. And thirdly, Salvatore will examine how digital media transforms negative campaigning in Indonesia's digital era elections which is driven by unofficial actors using computational techniques. His research will show how negative campaigning affects voters during the 2019 presidential election.

Paper abstracts

Muhammad Beni Saputra (The Australian National University)

Media Power Beyond Jakarta: Democratisation, Decentralisation, and Digitalisation

This thesis aims to explore the extent of, and the limits to, oligarchic power over Indonesia's patronage-driven local media landscape. Digitalization has proven beneficial for national media oligarchy, yet little is known as to the impacts the technological development brings about to local media, local politics, and local oligarchy. Three questions of which this thesis will seek to answer: How have democratisation, decentralisation, and digitalisation impacted the development of local media in Indonesia since the fall of Suharto? How much power does local media oligarchy have in shaping local media? Are there cases of local media sites which counter local oligarchy dominance? I suggest that democratisation, decentralisation, and digitalisation have affected local media's development significantly, with local oligarchy playing a key role in its survival and expansion. Local media oligarchy has enormous power, and media family members play key roles in shaping media discourse, especially during elections. Local media with the capability to fund operations from sources that are not connected to local oligarchs and local elites are able to withstand local oligarchic power, but they are exceptions.

Anita Ashvini Wahid (The Australian National University)

Disinformation as Weapon of Indonesian Presidential Election and Public Policy Making

Disinformation has been heavily used in the last three major elections in Indonesia: the 2014 presidential election, 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election, and 2019 presidential election, where the most used issues were identity-related: religion, ethnicity, and ideology. After the last election, disinformation remains a massive problem, and its use penetrates the discourse of public policy issues. Disinformation has effectively undermined the election as a democratic process, and it abuses digital technologies to confuse and mislead the public. To some extent, it is also being used to silence dissenting opinions and critiques. It is apparent that the abused digital technologies make democracies vulnerable to disinformation, manipulation, and hate speech, which can lead to polarisation and national disintegration. This research aims to explore the operationalisation of disinformation as a political campaign and propaganda tool in contemporary Indonesian politics, both in the upcoming 2024 Presidential Election and public policy issues, as well as the implications of its use for current and future democracy of Indonesia. Despite the devastating impact of disinformation in Indonesian politics, there are few studies on the role, capacity, and effects of disinformation use within electoral politics and public policy in Indonesia. This research will fill this gap and contribute to the study and understanding of the political implications of digital technology development, especially in the Indonesian context. The research will employ qualitative methodology with an inductive approach. However, the data collection process will be conducted using mixed methods, collecting both quantitative and qualitative data. Different strategies of data collection and analysis will be applied, including survey, case study, discourse analysis, and social network analysis.

Salvatore Simarmata (The Australian National University)

Negative campaigning in Indonesia's digital era elections

This paper examines how digital media transforms the mechanics of negative campaigning, the key narratives, and effects of negative campaigning in Indonesia's digital era elections. Using a mixed method approach to analyse the 2019 presidential

election, I found that the new digital technologies have modernised negative campaigning through automation, computational propaganda, and targeting mechanisms. These new mechanics of negative campaigning produce multimodal contents spread by human and bot agents to reach potential voters at an unprecedented pace making waging negative campaigning massive and faster. The mobilisation of social media creates collective engagement of actors in a coordinated way to directly attack opponent candidates. However, the key narratives of negative campaigning have dominated by religious disobedience, bad character, anti-communist narrative, and others. Using certain emotion evoking messages, negative campaigning can be an effective strategy to influence voters' perception of the candidates and electability of the target candidate during election campaigns.

Panel 4

AUKUS' Impacts on Southeast Asia: Regional Stability and Security Dilemma on Military, Economic, and Environment

Panel abstract

AUKUS is a trilateral agreement between Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. It aims to develop the three countries' technology, science, and supply chains and establish their diplomatic goals in managing their security and defence. The agreement caused different reactions and has raised various concerns about potential future impacts concerning regional stability in ASEAN countries in terms of geostrategic, social, economic, and political aspects. Several Southeast Asian countries are reported to see this case as a new challenge in the 21st century. However, Singapore, Vietnam, and Thailand, do not consider AUKUS a serious threat. Concern about the impact on regional stability presents various problems, including those related to security, as well as economic, military, and environmental stability. This panel aims to examine these different impacts, posit the different potential scenarios that may arise from these dilemmas, and in some cases provide recommendations and responses to these challenges.

Paper abstracts

Lilastika Cattri (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

AUKUS and How It Affects The Regional Stability and Security Dilemma of ASEAN Countries

AUKUS is a trilateral agreement between Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. It aims to develop the three countries' technology, science, and supply chains and establish their diplomatic goals in managing their security and defence. The agreement caused different reactions and has raised various concerns about potential future impacts concerning regional stability in ASEAN countries in terms of geostrategic, social, economic, and political aspects. Several Southeast Asian countries are reported to see this case as a new challenge in the 21st century. However, Singapore, Vietnam, and Thailand, do not consider AUKUS a serious threat. Concern about the impact on regional stability presents various problems, including those related to security, as well as economic, military, and environmental stability. Security issues can interfere with international cooperation and trade, while it is feared that economic stability will be disrupted if there are provocations against enemy countries. Militarily, AUKUS also poses a dilemma. ASEAN countries use the balance of power to ensure security, and more nuclear-powered submarines as expected with the implementation of AUKUS would upset the balance of power. ASEAN member countries can only rely on developing military capabilities independently. The AUKUS agreement also has an impact on the environment. Vegetation can be destroyed by a nuclear attack, which significantly reduces oxygen levels. Indonesia, an ASEAN country, is known as the "lungs of the world" and has the second largest forest. This panel aims to show the various ways in which AUKUS can jeopardise regional stability and pose a security dilemma within Southeast Asia.

Intan Dekawati Puteri (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

The Effects of the AUKUS Agreement on ASEAN's Regional Stability and Economic Security Dilemma

AUKUS sparked different reactions and raised various concerns about its potential impacts on regional stability in ASEAN countries in geostrategic, social, economic and political aspects. The impact on regional stability must be considered because it can disrupt the existing geopolitical balance in different areas, including security. Many variables can affect regional stability, so it is necessary to consider plans to deal with potential challenges. In addition, differences in reactions that arise need to be filtered because these can trigger an opinion that favours one party, potentially leading to a provocation. Economic security in particular is a key concern, as it can disrupt international cooperation and trade. If a provocation occurs, the destabilisation of economic security will be detrimental to various parties. The importance of economic security is such that any challenge to economic security will cause affected countries to take different decisions to strengthen their defences, potentially causing a provocation. Therefore, it is important to evaluate the potential flashpoints and responses to these challenges.

Sarah Nurhalizah (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

The Effects of the AUKUS Agreement on ASEAN's Military-Security Dilemma and the Environment

AUKUS created a security dilemma for ASEAN countries, especially in the military field. The provision of nuclear-powered submarines will lead to an arms race. Although ASEAN navies have conventional submarines, nuclear submarines have more advantages than traditional submarines, meaning that ASEAN member countries have to face neighbouring countries with greater military power. ASEAN members have always adopted a balance of power strategy to assure security. They do not rely on collective defence for mutual protection, but instead develop their military forces to ensure their own safety, achieving a balance of power. In addition, ASEAN member countries have signed the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone treaty, which stipulates that Southeast Asia is free from nuclear weapons and has bans the production, testing, and possession of nuclear weapons in Southeast Asia. However, the United States rejected the treaty because it did not meet its interests. The United States' refusal gave rise to the potential for a ceasefire in AUKUS. The resulting arms race can also impact the environment. Nuclear attacks can destroy vegetation, resulting in a drastic decrease in oxygen, so humans will find breathing difficult. One of the ASEAN members, Indonesia, has the second largest forest area in the world and is categorised as the "world's lungs." In addition, nuclear attacks produce particles that can contaminate natural resources,

one of which is water. The contamination can kill fish and other marine life used as a source of food. This paper will explain the security dilemma for ASEAN caused by the AUKUS treaty in the field of security and military, as well as describe the environmental impact if AUKUS conducts a nuclear truce, making recommendations on these issues.

Panel 5

Statues, Sites, and Silences: Constituting and Contesting Heroic Nationalism

Panel abstract

In Indonesia and many other parts of Southeast Asia, narratives of heroic nationalism remain dominant in nationalist, state-sanctioned historiographies. However, with the rise, and to an extent regression, of democracy throughout the region, increasingly this narrative is being challenged by acts of remembering, where different actors seek to provide an alternative lens for viewing history and remembering the past. While these efforts have worked to raise questions about dominant historical narratives, they often must still function within the structures and value sets that were facilitated and perpetuated by the nationalist histories they seek to challenge. This panel will discuss the different ways in which memory has challenged and interacted with nationalist histories in Indonesia and the Philippines. The papers examine definitions of heroism by West Sumatran women writers in the colonial era, the use of monuments and mass graves both to challenge and support nationalist narratives by student soldiers and Chinese Indonesian groups, as well as how art and artists engage with past experiences of violence and repression in Indonesia and the Philippines.

Paper abstracts

Bronwyn Anne Beech Jones (The University of Melbourne)

"This Hero of Women": Re-situating Heroism through Early-20th Century West Sumatran Women's Memory-Work

In 1925, a woman who signed herself as R.A. published an obituary for Amna Karim, a Bengkulu journalist and education activist who was murdered two years previously. Her obituary reveals how women writers sought to cultivate and sustain memories of advocates for girls' education. This presentation contends that by undertaking this memory-work, writers laid claim to and re-wrote reform agendas and collective gender-based identities and in so doing deploying multiple conceptions of exemplary womanhood and heroism. I first outline how this period of West Sumatran women's activism has typically been reduced to the actions of certain individuals in popular and scholarly accounts since independence. Drawing on the genealogical approach of Fogg (2019), I reflect on the contested gendered ideals and regional politics which undergirded a campaign to elevate journalist Rohana Kudus to the status of National Hero in 2018-19. Broadening, I ask how the leadership of certain prominent women, like Rohana, can be acknowledged while opening space to consider the colleagues and cohorts with whom they worked. Using newspapers and periodicals, I assess how women and girls wrote about less prominent Indonesian women's lives to convey continuities and changes in gender norms as well as the goals and strategies of activism. These accounts both replicate dominant narrative tropes of individual struggle and offer some alternative ways of remembering and understanding the networked nature of women's activism in the early-twentieth century.

Ravando Lie (The University of Melbourne)

Giving voice to the voiceless: Sin Po and the Chinese massacres during the Indonesian Revolutionary Period (1945-1949)

This paper aims to draw attention to the existence of Chinese mass graves and other records of the anti-Chinese atrocities which took place during the Indonesian War of Independence (1945-1950), which until now, have tended to be overlooked or forgotten in the histories of the Indonesian national revolution. In fact, we argue this episode of violence is a crucial missing link in our understanding of the roots of violence against ethnic Chinese, who frequently find themselves the targets of political crises particularly during the transition of power.

The paper primarily relies on a close reading of reporting in Chinese backed newspaper Sin Po and research into a number of scattered Chinese mass graves in Central and East Java to answer our questions. While the pro-Republican media at the time dominated narratives of these events, often framing them in terms of an emphasis on Chinese Indonesians as Dutch collaborators, Sin Po provided alternative accounts, particularly from the perspective of the victims. It utilises a reading of these accounts with eyewitness testimony gathered in FX Harsono's years-long investigation into Chinese mass graves as well as an analysis of The Memorandum Outlining Act of Violence and Humanity Perpetrated by Indonesia Band on Innocent Chinese Before and After the Dutch Police Action was Enforced on July 21, 1947, and a number of archives from the Algemeene Secretarie to offer a more comprehensive understanding of anti-Chinese violence during the independence war.

This paper is based on a chapter for an upcoming publication, co-authored with FX Harsono.

Arthur Knight (The University of Melbourne)

Art as a medium for memory and nostalgia: a Philippine/Indonesia comparative case study

In the last decade, the Philippines has seen the 2016 election of right-wing populist Rodrigo Duterte as president, who campaigned on the promise to execute 100,000 supposed criminals and – interestingly – to bury former dictator Ferdinand E. Marcos with military honours in the Cemetery of Heroes. His election followed years of concerted efforts by the Marcos family to contest the historical record of martial law, specifically its human rights abuses, by reiterating the regime's propaganda that the country faced genuine threats and therefore that martial law was justified. This re-writing of history has been massively successful for the Marcos family, who have this year with the landslide election of Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos Jr. returned to Malacañang Palace.

This context of persistent corruption and human rights violations in post-Marcos Philippines, the rehabilitation of Marcos, and criticism of EDSA as a failed revolution, indicates a much more complicated legacy of martial law, where even the basic

facts are widely contested and the spectre of Marcos and authoritarianism remains ever-present. Indonesia has a similar modern experience of autocratic return with the near rise of Prabowo Subianto (who is both connected by marriage to and was directly involved in the former Suharto regime), and continued failures in the country to meaningfully reconcile or address the events of 1965-66. This paper addresses how, in both countries, artists have represented these violently contested pasts in light of modern memory debates, and whether their work provides an alternative means of cultural engagement with these obstructed pasts.

Jonathan Peter Tehusijarana (The University of Melbourne)

"I Will Continue the Struggle to the End of Time": Monuments and the memorialisation of the Student Army of the Republic of Indonesia

The Student Army of the Republic of Indonesia (*Tentara Republik Indonesia Pelajar,* TRIP), formed in Surabaya and primarily operating in what is now the province of East Java, was one of several *tentara pelajar* (student army) formations that fought in the Indonesian war of independence (1945-1949). After the war, and in particular after the rise of Suharto and his New Order regime in 1967, student veterans of the TRIP became actively involved in shaping a set of values and reproducing the so-called "values of 1945." These values, while formulated by the armed forces, were useful for the TRIP inasmuch as that they could both justify the TRIP's wartime (and contemporary) actions and be used as model values to inculcate younger generations of Indonesians. While these efforts to reproduce and spread the values of 1945 resulted in the construction of sites of memory in various forms, such as memoirs and novels, physical monuments and memorials in particular grew in popularity throughout the 1980s and 90s. This paper will discuss the different patterns of remembrance present in monuments of the TRIP in various villages and towns in East Java. While they often point to the same set of values, the paper argues that the construction of each monument displayed varying levels of agency and intent on the part of student veterans, and that the continued relevance of some of these monuments today show the resilience and adaptability of these values in Indonesian society.

Panel 6

Digital disruption in Indonesia II: State discourses, religion, activism, and solidarity

Paper abstracts

Zulfatun Mahmudah (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

Women and the Ideological State Apparatus: Rethinking women's representation in state-produced films

State institutions in Indonesia often use films as a medium for information on government policies. In films financed by these government agencies, women are often shown as the main actors who become the messengers of the story's morals to the audience. Among these films, there are two that have recently gone viral, namely *Tinuk* and *Tilik*. *Tinuk* was produced with funding from the Corruption Eradication Commission and was named the best anti-corruption film of 2015. *Tilik* was produced with special funds from the Yogyakarta government for a campaign to preserve local culture. Though in these films women seem to be empowered, unfortunately, their representation is problematic. This research examines how women are represented in these two films, as well as to see how films and women become a medium for spreading the ideology of the state apparatus. This study uses a cultural studies approach and critical discourse analysis as the method. The study found the practice of symbolic destruction of women in the *Tinuk* film. Women (wives) are positioned as the cause of corruption committed by men (husbands). On the other hand, the man (husband) is described as a good person who is not influenced by his wife's evil impulses. Meanwhile, in the film *Tilik*, which carries the message of collective relations as a characteristic of Yogyakarta's culture, women are depicted as sexist and gossipy figures in every collaborative relationship that is built. This shows that there are still stereotypes of women as unproductive figures that seem to be closely related to women's daily lives. Through these two films, the state apparatus spreads its ideology by using women as messengers, trapped in a patriarchal culture.

Anastasia Yuni Widyaningrum (Universitas Indonesia)

Local solidarity as a Practice of Neoliberal Government: A digital ethnographic study of online communities during the COVID-19 pandemic

This research examines the use of digital media in building survival solidarity in the midst of a multidimensional crisis during the COVID-19 pandemic throughout 2020-2022. This research was driven by fragmented governance at the central and regional levels (Kurniawan, 2021; PSHK, 2020; Rahmansyah et al., 2020). Scholars have found that in general neoliberal society has low expectations from the role of government in the provision of health and social services. Instead, this society tends to use digital media to deal with this issue independently (Aziz et al., 2020; Rosmery, 2018; Sutopo, 2012). The neoliberalism perspective is useful to understand the motivation for individuals to perform well and drive wealth growth. However, not all individuals survive in the free market system. While some succeed to perform at their best, the rest struggle to live in this system. In this context, online solidarity in Indonesian society can be seen as a form of response by Indonesian people whose communal nature with mutual cooperation as the inherently embedded value (Nugroho, 2020) which is now transforming along with the increased use of digital media. This research focuses on online communities formed through participatory, consent-based practices to manage resilience autonomously. This study aims to understand the practice of using digital media as a disposition or tool for neoliberal government in Yogyakarta. Since June 2020, the SONJO community in Yogyakarta has demonstrated some efforts to empower the society in dealing with COVID-19. SONJO saw not only the issue of basic information regarding the handling of patients with suspected COVID-19 but also the wider impacts of the COVID pandemic such as the needs for food, education and financial security of the residents. The SONJO community uses websites and social media such as WhatsApp to share information with the aim to strengthen the resilience of citizens due to the impact of the pandemic. Using Michel Foucault's governmentality theory and Critical Grounded Theory, researchers will apply digital ethnographic strategies to achieve research objectives.

Kurnia Arofah (Universitas Indonesia)

Mediatisation of Religion and the Transformation of the Islamic Preachers Market

Social media development and adoption exponentially helps the expansion of mediatised religion. This research will study the use of social media by Islamic preachers in reaching Muslim audiences from Indonesia's post-1998 reformation to two decades after. This research will focus on the transforming of religious preachers' market that became segmented and fragmented in the mediatised environment. Scholars agree that mediatisation study tries to capture the interrelationships between media change on the one hand, and cultural change on the other (Couldry & Hepp, 2013; Hepp, 2020; Lundby, 2018a). In this work, the researcher assumes that social media is used as a means of production by religious preachers to create and target the segments in the religious market, while at the same time, preachers must also adjust their preaching according to the media logic. This assumption is based on the argument that the media has formatting power (Altheide, 2018; Altheide & Snow, 1979) and moulding capability in the communication process (Hepp, 2020) on the one hand. On the other hand, mediatisation is supported by the imagination and utopian vision of various social actors for a better future

when adopting media technology (Hepp, 2020). Social media also becomes a means of consumption for segmented congregations to seek authority and religious teachings that suit their needs. This research aims to explain how the mediatisation of religion through social media plays a role in the transformation of the Islamic preacher market in Indonesia. This research uses the materialist phenomenological approach proposed by Couldry & Hepp (2017) and Hepp (2020). This approach is applied through two strategies. The first strategy is to understand the media's processual character through the analysis of the materialisation and institutionalisation processes to understand the media logic and media's moulding capability (Couldry & Hepp, 2017; Hepp, 2020). The second strategy is to understand the changing constellation of the Islamic preachers' market through communicative figuration analysis (Hepp & Hassebrink, 2018)