In August of this year the Indonesian national police chief, General Sutanto, announced the launch of a month long campaign against preman, the ubiquitous street thugs and extortionists that control ever increasing amounts of public space in Indonesia's urban centres. The stated objective of the campaign was to 'eliminate preman' in order to 'restore a sense of safety and security so that people can go about their business without fear'. The initiative had widespread popular support. In the last few years, street crime, extortion and racketeering have become a major headache for ordinary Indonesians. Surveys have shown that fear of them far outweighs that posed by terrorism. In a sense, preman street crime has become the 'terrorism of everyday life'.

However from its outset the campaign was fraught with operational difficulties. Preman is a colloquial term, and being considered one is in itself not a criminal offence. For the purposes of the campaign the police defined preman as 'those who carry out criminal acts such as racketeering, violent robbery, hired killing and extortion'. In theory this would include a host of underworld as well as high-profile individuals and groups, but in practice those targeted were principally the ranks of the nation's unemployed young men, many of whom spend their days hanging around hubs of economic and social activity. Many of the thousands arrested throughout the month were not caught in the act of committing an offence nor was any evidence presented against them. It was enough for the police to consider someone 'preman like', or go by traditional symbolic markers of preman identification such as tattoos. The campaign effectively criminalised an ambiguous and fluid social category.

While the media reported a temporary easing of street crime during the campaign, public complaints of acts of extortion and other offences by the police themselves increased by 400%. The impression left was that one product of the anti-thug drive, either intentional or otherwise, was the elimination of some of the notoriously corrupt police forces competition.

The question that emerges is when exactly is someone a preman in the eyes of the authorities? Despite claiming that they would also target the numerous ethnic gangs and youth organisations that make their living primarily from racketeering and the use of coercion - such as the Betawi Brotherhood Forum (FBR), Pancasila Youth, the Betawi Youth Communication Forum (Forkabi) and Family of Tanah Abang Association (IKBT) - these groups were untouched by the campaign, and in some official quarters even praised as a solution to the preman problem. Their size, often numbering in the tens of thousands, extensive territorial networks and elite connections has meant that such groups are beyond the scope of police raids and arrests.

The underlying message to both the public and street criminals that emerged was clear: affiliation with a powerful preman gang, organisation or elite figure makes one no longer a 'preman' and hence, in effect, immune from police anti-crime operations. In the end the campaign acted as much as a recruiting drive for these groups as it was a deterrent to criminal behavior. Not surprisingly, in recent times enrolments have soared, with the FBR currently accepting 150-250 new members per week. However invulnerability from the law is not the only reason street criminals and the unemployed are flocking to join. The social services and tangible economic benefits such
groups provide is also a major draw card. The failure of the state to provide basic services such as health care and employment has allowed these groups to claim legitimacy as NGOs, providing a valuable social function by giving both ‘moral guidance’, rehabilitation and a regular income. Members receive ‘entrepreneurial skills’ and management training, which almost entirely focuses upon providing protection and security services.

Once used as regime henchmen, since the end of the New Order such groups have transformed into powerful social and political actors in their own right. In a society where trust is in short supply and law enforcement weak, groups selling the commodity of protection are in high demand. According to one Bekasi property developer, payments to racketeers and preman can reach up to 20% of total project costs. With no effective action taken to control racketeering, it is accepted as part of the costs of doing business. As a result businesses are more inclined to cooperate with larger, better organised groups and seek a 'mutually beneficial arrangement'. This is in a sense the lesser of two evils; negotiating with a large organisation with a formidable reputation can be a cost saver, as it guarantees protection from numerous less predictable 'small fry' operators, as well as the police and military.

This trend towards entrance via invitation rather than intimidation has prompted groups such as the FBR and IKBT to 'professionalise' their services, making a conscious transition towards regularised and 'reasonable' taxation, along with a more reliable and organised provision of protection. After an initial period of intensive conflict following the end of the New Order and the disruption of existing patronage networks, what is emerging now is the gradual establishment of relatively stable territorial monopolies by these larger, better organised preman based organisations, increasingly with the backing of both business and state authorities. The logic behind this trend is simple: sustained violence is simply unprofitable for all involved. Territorial clashes, when they do occur, simply serve as proof to their respective constituents the reality of the threat the groups claim to be protecting against.

At the conclusion of the anti-thug campaign the Jakarta administration announced the trial in Tanah Abang, Southeast Asia's largest textile market, of a new 'integrated security system' to be known as the Satgas Hulubalang. The security force, which will be the solely responsible and legitimate providers of protection for Tanah Abang will consist of 600 preman drawn from local groups as well as army and police personnel nearing retirement. They will receive training, uniforms and a regular income paid for by the Central Market Authority and eight of the larger businesses in Tanah Abang. The pilot project will be coordinated by the deputy mayor of central Jakarta, and if successful will be carried out in other areas of Jakarta creating a new amalgamation between racketeers, business and the state. Rather than eliminating racketeering, current anti-crime initiatives have served simply to legitimate and recentralise it, with preman now transformed into another amorphous category, somewhere between thug, state functionary and private contractor.

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**David Hill awarded Visiting Fellowship to ARI**

In February 2006 Centre Fellow Professor David T. Hill will take up a Visiting Senior Research Fellowship at the Asia Research Institute (ARI) at the National University of Singapore. The Asia Research Centre has a long record of scholarly exchange and collaboration with ARI. Professor Hill will be bringing together his academic interests in Indonesian media and life writing, by working on a biography of Indonesian author and journalist, Mochtar Lubis. Lubis, who died last year at the age of 82, was one of Indonesia’s most controversial journalists, as editor of the rambunctious daily, Indonesia Raya (1949-58; 1968-74). Notably, he was detained, without trial, for nine and a half months during the Sukarno presidency, and again for several months by President Suharto. In addition, Lubis published a long list of fiction, including half a dozen novels, and a string of reportage, lectures and commentaries. His Senja di Jakarta [Twilight in Jakarta] was the first Indonesian novel ever translated into English and his writings are available in at least 12 languages. Hill’s study of Lubis aims to shed light more broadly upon the development of a democratic, secular, modernising tradition within Indonesian media practice from 1945 to the present.

**Moving On**

Asia Research Centre Senior Research Fellow John McCarthy has had a long history with the Centre. He received his doctorate from Murdoch in 2001. He then took up a post-doctoral fellowship at Van Vollenhoven Institute (2001-3), Leiden University, where he helped implement a research program concerned with the effectiveness of environmental policy implementation, decentralization and the enforcement of environmental law at the provincial and regional level in Indonesia. He is co-editor of a forthcoming collective volume based on this work entitled Paper Tiger: Enforcement, Law and Environmental Disputes in Indonesia.

In 2003 John returned to the Centre as an Australian Research Council Postdoctoral Fellow on the project ‘Locating the Commonweal: Community, Environment and Local Governance Regimes in Reform Era Indonesia’ with Carol Warren and Greg Acciaioli. This project involves the production of a comparative analysis of the impact of emerging governance patterns on resource management based on locally grounded case studies spanning the Indonesian archipelago.

Recently, John spent 8 weeks with the World Bank in Jakarta as a Social Science Consultant for an activity entitled ‘Identifying and Supporting High Quality Qualitative Field Research in Indonesia’. He assisted the World Bank in developing a strategy for selected “partner” organizations to systematically improve social science research capabilities in Indonesia related to governance, policy, environmental and poverty issues. He also undertook a diagnostic of potential partner organizations and identified potential formal/non-formal capacity building resources for future support to these organizations.
Political regimes in East and Southeast Asia are facing a variety of pressures and emerging conflicts. Global economic and geopolitical dynamics combine with domestic transformations to pose new challenges for social and economic systems across the region. This seminar series examines the prospects and likely forms of political change in East and Southeast Asia in response to these pressures.
The Internet in Indonesia's New Democracy is a detailed study of legal, economic, political and cultural practices surrounding the provision and consumption of the Internet in Indonesia at the turn of the twenty-first century. Hill and Sen detail the emergence of the Internet into Indonesia in the mid-1990s, and cover its growth through the dramatic economic and political crises of 1997 and the subsequent transition to democracy.

Conceptually the Internet is seen as a global phenomenon, with global implications, however this book develops a way of thinking about the Internet within the limits of geopolitical categories of nations and provinces. The political turmoil in Indonesia provides a unique context in which to understand the specific local and national consequences of a global, universal technology.

The events of September 11 have been a significant watershed in the emerging global order. The nature and consequences of this changing global order, however, remain unclear.

This book argues that this emerging order is as much the result of issues relating to the evolving methods and forms of governance, as of the new role and position of the United States in the world system. Jayasuriya develops an innovative framework that extends the work of theorists such as Carl Schmitt, Franz Neumann and Herbert Marcuse to explore the reconstitution of the post-war global liberal order. He analyses the nexus between domestic political and constitutional structures and the global order, and examines how the post-war framework of international liberalism is crumbling under the economic and political pressures fermented in the post cold war period.

This is the first broad look at the associational activity that took place from 1819 to 1963 and how it influenced British public policy in Singapore. From the early days of the East India Company through to independence, residents were prepared to form associations to further their causes using political means. Dr Gillis traces the ebb and flow of civil society and argues with convincing evidence that it made an important contribution to the economic, political and social development of Singapore. This is a chronological study covering six periods in Singapore’s history from the establishment of Raffles’ trading factory in 1819 to the end of the British era in 1963.

Available in paperback from Select Books in Singapore www.selectbooks.com.sg

This book analyses the significance of international and domestic pressures for transparency reform on these two authoritarian regimes. It compares the respective capacities of these regimes to absorb and even harness some pressures for transparency reform, while attempting to deflect others.

'Rodan has written an enlightening, challenging and provocative book in which he questions the assertion that greater financial and economic transparency leads to a more open society. To do this, he draws on meticulous research, looking at political theory, academic literature, newspaper reports and research from international investment firms.' - Far Eastern Economic Review

Available in paperback from Select Books in Singapore www.selectbooks.com.sg

The book analyzes the various ways and reasons people in Okinawa have engaged in protest against the US military since World War II and the links between such phenomena and earlier traditions of protest which are popularly encapsulated in the idea of an ‘Okinawan struggle’. It closely examines different protest groups and organizations that contributed to three conspicuous ‘waves’ of mass protest in the 1950s, late 1960s, and mid-1990s. As in many other parts of the world, the centre of gravity in Okinawan radical political activism has shifted from the organized labour movement led by political parties and trade unions, to informally organized, smaller and more individual-based ‘new social movements’.

This book provides an overview of the way Japan’s aid to China has developed since 1979, explains the shifts that have taken place in Japan’s China policy in the 1990s against the background of international changes and domestic changes in both countries, and offers new insights into the way Japanese aid policy-making functions, thereby providing an alternative view of Japanese policy making that might be applied to other areas.
The war in Iraq has brought to world attention the existence and involvement of private companies in wars and post-war reconstruction efforts and heightened public awareness of the nature of work conducted by the private military industry. While the outsourcing of military services is hardly a new phenomenon, the latest kind of private actor, the Private Security Companies (PSCs), evolved only in the past fifteen years, with the number of PSCs and the variety of services they offer growing rapidly in the post-Cold War environment. Although the employment of PSCs has been controversial, they are today hired by various governments, the UN, humanitarian NGOs and multinational corporations, but have also been known to assist rebel groups and international criminal syndicates.

The demand for private military and security services in Asia came in part from the maritime sector and PSCs are today active players employed to secure commercial vessels, yachts, cruise ships, oil platforms, and ports. Most PSCs active in the maritime sector offer services designed to address the growing piracy problem in the Asian region. Since the early 1970s incidences of piracy and crime on the high seas have steadily increased in Southeast Asia, and the region has become in recent years one of the global hot spots of attacks on commercial vessels, barter traders and fishing boats. This article will provide a brief overview of anti-piracy services offered by PSCs and will then discuss some problems and controversies inherent in the private maritime security industry.

PSCs offer preventive as well as post-attack services, addressing all types of pirate incidents on commercial vessels and pleasure crafts. The services provided range from risk consulting services to training courses for seafarers and law enforcement personnel, and also include crisis response and vessel recovery assistance. Risk analysis may, for example, increase a client's awareness and understanding of piracy and allows him to better prepare and respond to these risks. Also, hit-and-run robberies, or even attacks by organised pirate gangs or syndicates, may be prevented through better training of local law enforcement personnel by PSCs. Similar training is also available for crew members of commercial vessels who learn how to prevent an attack and how to respond to pirates once they succeeded in boarding the vessel. Furthermore, the presence of armed or unarmed PSC-guards onboard a ship may deter pirates from attacking. Victims of hijackings can rely on crisis management assistance offered by PSCs during the event, or employ a company to relocate and/or recover the hijacked vessel or stolen cargo afterwards. Furthermore, PSCs offering Fisheries Protection Services may even help prevent attacks on fishermen, which are often very violent in nature.

While the anti-piracy services offered by PSCs certainly sound promising, the effectiveness of some of the services, such as the rather expensive option of employing armed guards on a vessel, are open to question. However, most of the more crucial problems and controversies surrounding PSCs’ anti-piracy services stem from the organisation and characteristics of the companies. The rising number of PSCs offering maritime related services can in part be attributed to the fact that it is comparatively simple and inexpensive to set up such an enterprise, as many PSCs only hire personnel and acquire necessary equipment once a contract with a client is signed. While this can be beneficial for the client as resources are bought and staff hired specifically for the client's needs, it also allows companies to rapidly dissolve and recreate themselves if need be. The majority of PSCs operating in the maritime sector seem to be founded by and to employ mostly ex-military or ex-law enforcement personnel, with the credentials and reputation of the company often linked closely to the past military experiences of its founding members and employees. Whether or not these experiences are in the maritime sector or related to the services and tasks offered by the PSC they now work for, including for example knowledge about the vulnerabilities of a ship, often remains unclear.

PSCs rely on an impressive presence on the internet to promote their services. Yet, the lack of information about companies’ track records and real experience in the services they advertise is a characteristic common to all PSCs operating in the maritime sector. All stress on their web pages that the services and operations they conduct for a client remain confidential. While this is understandable in some cases, it offers companies the easy option of claiming to have conducted a wide range of services, as no one is able to verify the information given. The lack of information about PSCs track records is also an indicator for another, more serious, problem: PSCs are only allowed to give information to authorities with their clients’ consent, as the companies are only bound to follow their clients’ interests.

All these factors can make it increasingly difficult for a potential customer to choose among companies. The difficulty of choice for a reliable company is crucial in regard to PSCs, as the consequences of hiring an unreliable company can be problematic – not only for the customer. A ship owner, for example, has to trust a company to choose the right kind of people to be employed as armed guards on one of his vessels in order to avoid accidents and excessive use of violence.

The question of reliability, however, does not only concern such obvious issues as weapons on board a vessel, but many other aspects of services provided by PSCs, including risk consulting. For example, by relying on political risk analysis reports from PSCs, one relies on information provided in many cases by the very companies that sell solutions to security threats. The secrecy surrounding the work of PSCs and the methods of research they employ make it difficult for outsiders to verify the information presented in PSC reports. The findings of PSC reports, however, are not always only accessible to PSC clients, but regularly find their way into the mainstream media. It is therefore important for the reader to keep in mind that PSCs are foremost commercial enterprises, aiming at maximising financial profit for the company and its shareholders.

In conclusion, given the increased security awareness in the maritime sector and the overall trend of outsourcing in the military and security field, the chances of PSCs continuing to grow and prosper in...
the maritime sector seem good. However, there is a number of problems and controversial issues that are inherent in the private maritime security industry, and if employment of PSCs in this sector is to increase, then improved regulation and oversight of these companies is needed. In regard to piracy, most important to keep in mind is that while PSCs can assist in preventing individual pirate attacks and help victims in dealing with the aftermath of an attack, they do not address the underlying root causes of modern day piracy itself.

**Statutory Bodies in Hong Kong and Singapore: Autonomy and Integration**

The Asia Research Centre has continued its sustained success over many years with two Centre Fellows awarded grants in the latest round of the Australian Research Council's Discovery grants scheme. David Hill will receive $75,000 over two years for his project 'Secular Modernisers in the Indonesian Media: A Biography of Mochtar Lubis (1922-2004) and James Warren $121,000 over three years for his project 'Captivity Remembered: Slavery, Islam and Identity Formation in the Sulu Zone, 1768-1898'.

Over the past two years, the Asia Research Centre, in collaboration with the Centre of Civil Society and Governance at the University of Hong Kong, has been involved in a research project focusing on statutory bodies in Hong Kong and Singapore. Statutory bodies have been criticised in both places for their failure to meet good governance norms of accountability, transparency and openness, and there have been concerns about potential corruption and inefficiencies. The project, which is now largely complete and which will be published as a symposium, seeks to increase understanding of how the statutory bodies actually work and their relationships with their respective governments and communities.

The research findings were presented at two workshops, the first at Murdoch University in December 2004, the second at the University of Hong Kong in September 2005. The papers delivered at these meetings covered the Hong Kong government's continuing review of statutory bodies, the legal position of statutory bodies, the use of performance indicators, and the new financial provisions recently introduced in Singapore. These broad-based papers were complemented by specific case studies which included the privatization of the Airport Authority, the changing organizational structure of the Hospital Authority, the proposed merger of the Mass Transit Railway and the Kowloon-Canton railway in Hong Kong and a study of statutory bodies in the environmental protection field in Singapore.

**Research Seminar Series**

The Asia Research Centre has organised a lively and well attended Research Seminar Series that runs alongside its well known and high profile Public Seminar Series. The Research Seminar Series is meant to provide a forum for Fellows and Visiting Fellows of the ARC to present work in progress seminars. In addition, it provides a collegial forum for those researching contemporary Asia across all universities in Western Australia. In 2005 we had 13 seminars.

The Research Seminar Series includes innovative research areas which also have a bearing on, and relevance to, key domains of public policy. For example, Dr Ian Wilson, in the first seminar of this series, explored the issue of privatisation of violence in Indonesia and its implications for governance and future of democracy in Indonesia. Prof John Edwards, Dean of Murdoch University's Veterinary School, in his seminar on recent animal and human disease events in Asia, examined the problems of risk assessment of animal diseases. This assessment has great relevance in the light of the recent policy response and debate over the bird flu. Prof Jim Warren's presentation on 'Typhoon: Climate, History and Society in the Philippines', highlighted the increasing incidence and impact of disasters on fundamental practices of governance and politics in East Asia. This provided a much needed historical and political perspective on natural disasters such as the 2004 tsunami.

The seminar series has also had the benefit of a number of colleagues from the University of Western Australia and Curtin University of Technology. Dr Jie Chen of UWA dealt with implications of civil society for democratization in China. Dr Gary Sigley of Curtin University discussed the political rationality of social market economy in China, and Prof Colin Brown, also from Curtin University, will in a forthcoming seminar speak on ethnicity and its intriguing relationship to sport in Indonesia.

Centre visitors Bernard Arps and Robin Gauld have also contributed, with respective presentations on 'Audio scandals and their actors: crimes, gaffes and sensations involving sound media in recent Indonesian history' and 'Advanced Asian health systems in comparison'.

**Australian Research Council Discovery Grants**

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'Legal' and 'illegal' in the Java Sea timber trade

Kurt Stenross

While most articles and studies on illegal logging in Kalimantan in recent years have focused on logging from protected areas such as Tanjung Puting National Park and the subsequent export of logs to foreign destinations, especially Malaysia and China, the large and important domestic trade from Kalimantan to Java has been all but ignored. Occasional reports on the arrest of local vessels involved in 'timber smuggling' to ports in Java fit in with broad estimates that more than half of the national logging cut is outside the officially sanctioned system. These reinforce a vague perception of extralegal involvement in the domestic trade, but they fail to explain what is meant by the terms 'illegal' and 'smuggling' in the context of this trade.

In theory, to qualify as 'legal', timber should be extracted from a forest concession area by the holder of that concession. But in practice, what matters is that a vessel arriving in Java with a cargo of timber from Kalimantan has a timber transport permit (formerly SAKO, Surat Angkatan Kali Baru, in Jakarta, compliance with the forestry authorities in the source area. A permit is valid only for a single area by the holder of that concession. But in practice, what matters is that a vessel arriving in Java with a cargo of timber from Kalimantan has a timber transport permit (formerly SAKO, Surat Angkatan Kali Baru, in Jakarta, compliance with the forestry authorities in the source area. A permit is valid only for a single

Keterangan Sahnya Hasil Hutan), obtained from the forestry authorities in the source area. A permit is valid only for a single cargo, and it specifies the number of pieces and sizes, as well as species, in that cargo. Most importantly, from the government's point of view, a permit is only issued after payment of forest royalties (PSDH, Provisi Sumber Daya Hutan) for the timber specified in the lot concerned. With the level of these royalties set at a minimum of Rp 70,000 per cubic metre in 2003 (for the cheapest species, mixed meranti), PSDH payments form a significant source of revenue for the state. At the same time, however, they are a considerable burden for the entrepreneurs involved in the movement of timber from Kalimantan to Java, and there is strong temptation to avoid paying the royalty. This would of course mean sailing without an SKSHH, which is a very risky undertaking and which could result in confiscation of the entire cargo on arrival in Java. Accordingly, many importers of timber to Java tend to minimize their outlay and increase their profits by understating, for official purposes, the actual amount carried.

From an outside perspective, the reluctance of these maritime entrepreneurs to obtain a transport permit for the full cargo may seem difficult to comprehend, since although this involves a considerable outlay, it is also a legitimate expense in the process of importing timber from Kalimantan to Java, and as such one which ought to be passed on directly to the consumers of the timber. Indeed, many importers would prefer such an 'all above board' system. There are however two obstacles to this ideal. The first is that there is always a few operators prepared to take bold risks in order to undercut the intensely competitive market and make a much higher profit than would otherwise be the case. The lack of solidarity and accord among the timber importers thus forces many 'potentially honest' traders to take the same risks as the flagrantly dishonest ones in order for their businesses to remain viable. The second problem for 'potentially honest' importers is police corruption, with substantial and unpredictable payments routinely being demanded, and paid, especially to AIRUD (sea and air) police patrols, in order for shipments to be allowed through. Not surprisingly, receipts are never given. A common justification for these extralegal charges is that the police (or the navy, who have also joined in this racket) are allowing a vessel to proceed even though it fails to comply with safety regulations (such as not having a radio, for example). However, almost all owners of medium-sized and smaller vessels (carrying 100 to 300 cubic metres of sawn timber) are of the view that this corruption is now endemic, to the extent that even in the unlikely event that a vessel were to comply fully with both the timber transport regulations and the fairly stringent safety regulations for Pelayaran Rakyat (People's Shipping, or perahu shipping) vessels, the police would still demand substantial payments. Accordingly, these importers argue that there is little point in full compliance, and that they have to have an extra profit margin, obtained through understatement of the cargo to reduce the PSDH fee, to protect themselves.

These two problems in the trade, the lack of solidarity among importers and official corruption, reinforce one another. But there is also a third factor complicating the whole issue of legality in the Java Sea timber trade, namely the differences in enforcement of the timber transport regulations across the three provinces of Java. In theory, of course, the law should be enforced consistently. But in practice significantly different standards apply. In the most important timber port, Kali Baru, in Jakarta, compliance with the regulations is said by importers to be 'arranged' at 80 percent. A revenue loss of only 20 percent may seem good by Indonesian standards, but the Kali Baru vessels are large, with typical cargoes of 600-800 cubic metres, and the 20 percent under-reportage is apparently sufficient to satisfy both the Kali Baru entrepreneurs and the local officials. Consequently, timber flow through this teeming port is smooth and brisk, and police raids a rarity.
In Central Java, 50 percent compliance with the law is routine for good quality timber, and zero compliance (fully illegal) is common for low quality timber for use in concrete formwork. Again, organized payoffs to officials ensure that police raids rarely occur. The lower level of royalty payments in Central Java means that timber landed in that province is inevitably significantly cheaper than in West Java, and as a result of this price difference not a little of the timber landed in the former province finds its way across the western border. In particular, Tegal, the westernmost port in Central Java, is an important conduit for timber to the Jakarta market.

The accommodation between importers and officials characteristic of Central Java is not apparent in East Java, however. For several years the timber transport regulations have been firmly enforced in Surabaya and Gresik, so that significant revenue evasion is not a problem in those two ports. On the other hand, low levels of compliance, typically 30 to 40 percent of actual cargoes, were until 2001 standard for Pasuruan and Sepulu (on Madura). Since then determined efforts have been made to stop this major revenue evasion at these two ports, but with partial success only. Several leading entrepreneurs and many smaller ones have suffered major setbacks after being caught with undocumented timber cargoes, but for the reasons outlined earlier, 'socialisation' of the regulations still appears far from achieved in Pasuruan and Sepulu.

But even if full compliance with the timber transport regulations is eventually achieved throughout Java, this would represent more of a fiscal and administrative victory, rather than a step forward in sound forest management. For, when asked to what extent timber cargoes originate from forest concessions (HPH), the opinion of informed dealers in the Java Sea timber trade is, "not even one percent". How true it is that nothing is ever really clear in Indonesia.

### Working Paper Series

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**New Postgrads**
The centre welcomes three new postgraduate students.

> David Flynn, working on 'US Militarism in Southeast Asia: Maritime Security and Anti-terror Initiatives in the Malacca and Singapore Straits', is supervised jointly by Jane Hutchison and Garry Rodan.

> Stuart Latter on 'Vicissitudes of US Democracy Promotion in post-Crisis Southeast Asia: Economic Constitutionalism and Neo-Liberal State Transformation', Toby Carroll writes:

In March and April this year I travelled to Bangkok, Manila and Jakarta to conduct fieldwork for several case studies within my thesis. As part of my research I met with people within development focussed NGOs, the World Bank and political parties. At a more 'grass roots' level, I was also able to meet with people living in several villages in East Java – an interesting and rewarding experience.

In each place I was specifically interested in certain World Bank projects, programmes and themes. However, during the trip I was also able to attend several rallies and protests organised by particular NGOs and get a good idea of the perceptions and concerns that such groups held about the World Bank and the nature of development generally.

The work was made stimulating by the people that I met while in the region. Notably, in the Philippines people were generous with both their time and opinions in a way that I hadn't anticipated. Coming two years into the thesis, the trip provided not only the ground work for case studies but a chance to get away from the computer and see what was happening 'on the ground'. The exercise was especially helpful in allowing me to move beyond 'the literature' and connect the thesis to reality in a way that simply hadn't been possible before.

It is my intention to follow-up the research with a second trip back to Jakarta and Manila later this year.

Carolin Liss was invited to present a paper, *Contemporary Maritime Piracy in the waters off Semporna, Sabah* at the International Institute of Asian Studies' (IIAS), the Netherlands, and Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Conference on 'Ports, Pirates and Hinterlands in East and Southeast Asia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives' in Shanghai.

She is also returning to Semporna to complete the fieldwork for her thesis 'Piracy - Crime on the High Seas in Southeast Asia'. Carolin's working paper, no. 120 in the Centre's series, has already generated a lot of interest, and she has a chapter appearing in the forthcoming book by ISEAS entitled *Piracy and the Threat of Maritime Terrorism in Southeast Asia: Status, Issues and New Developments* by Graham Gerard Ong (ed.)

**Fieldwork**

Toby Carroll writes:

In March and April this year I travelled to Bangkok, Manila and Jakarta to conduct fieldwork for several case studies within my thesis. As part of my research I met with people within development focussed NGOs, the World Bank and political parties. At a more 'grass roots' level, I was also able to meet with people living in several villages in East Java – an interesting and rewarding experience.

In each place I was specifically interested in certain World Bank projects, programmes and themes. However, during the trip I was also able to attend several rallies and protests organised by particular NGOs and get a good idea of the perceptions and concerns that such groups held about the World Bank and the nature of development generally.

The work was made stimulating by the people that I met while in the region. Notably, in the Philippines people were generous with both their time and opinions in a way that I hadn't anticipated. Coming two years into the thesis, the trip provided not only the ground work for case studies but a chance to get away from the computer and see what was happening 'on the ground'. The exercise was especially helpful in allowing me to move beyond 'the literature' and connect the thesis to reality in a way that simply hadn't been possible before.

It is my intention to follow-up the research with a second trip back to Jakarta and Manila later this year.

C**arin Liss was invited to present a paper, *Contemporary Maritime Piracy in the waters off Semporna, Sabah* at the International Institute of Asian Studies’ (IIAS), the Netherlands, and Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Conference on ‘Ports, Pirates and Hinterlands in East and Southeast Asia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives’ in Shanghai.

She is also returning to Semporna to complete the fieldwork for her thesis ‘Piracy - Crime on the High Seas in Southeast Asia’.

Carolin’s working paper, no. 120 in the Centre’s series, has already generated a lot of interest, and she has a chapter appearing in the forthcoming book by ISEAS entitled *Piracy and the Threat of Maritime Terrorism in Southeast Asia: Status, Issues and New Developments* by Graham Gerard Ong (ed.)

**Doctorate Awarded**

Centre member Lee Jae-hyon received his doctorate for his thesis titled ‘An Examination of Contemporary Malaysian Politics: A Study of UMNO’. Jae-hyon is now a Research Fellow at the Korean Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

**Future Directions for AusAID**

In late August, the ARC’s Vedi Hadiz, Jane Hutchison, Kanishka Jayasuriya and Toby Carroll were speakers and participants in a half-day workshop at Murdoch University on future directions for Australia’s aid policy and program. The workshop was one of a series Australia-wide on the theme of ‘Engaging Australians in Asia Pacific Development’ which were initiated by The Foundation for Development Cooperation (FDC) in Brisbane with funding from the Myer Foundation. The impetus for the workshops came from AusAID’s own processes leading up to the release of a White Paper on the future directions of the aid program in early 2006. However, none of the workshops were a part of AusAID’s separate consultations.

The Murdoch workshop commenced with a presentation by Dr Sue Boyd, the former...
Media Mobilised in Manado's Mayoral Poll

David T. Hill

Centre Fellow, Professor David Hill, was in Indonesia recently observing the role of the media in the mayoral elections in the town of Manado, north Sulawesi. The study is part of an Australian Research Council project studying Indonesian regional media after the fall of President Soeharto, conducted with Professor Krishna Sen of Curtin University.

Indonesia has undergone massive social and political change since the fall of President Soeharto in May 1998. Often ignored in that transformation is the influential role now being played by re-invigorated local media around the archipelago. Even more than the national media conglomerates, local media can engage the interest of their communities, particularly through coverage of local politics and elections.

Manado, the capital of the province of North Sulawesi, lies on the northern edge of the archipelago, bordering the Philippines. In common with most provincial capitals, Manado receives the major national newspapers, flown in daily from Java, and the large Java-based television networks which also transmit into the region. But despite a population of less than 400,000, Manado is also served locally by three daily newspapers, three television channels, and more than a dozen radio stations, providing extensive coverage of local politics.

Such local media is highly competitive and financially risky. Political connections count. Two of the newspapers are owned by, or have family connections with, local political figures. One of the TV stations is a local branch of the national TVRI network, which held the state monopoly from 1962 till 1988. Another, TV-M, is controlled by the son of the secretary of the provincial council, whose wife stood for Golkar in the 2004 regional assembly (DPR) elections. The third, Pacific TV, is owned by a local businessman.

The local news on all three channels provides the strongest enticement, drawing audiences away from the more polished national networks. Similarly, coverage of local events and faster availability on the streets ensure the Manado papers vastly out-sell their air-freighted competitors.

Mayoral elections

Manado's mayoral elections on 21 July 2005 provided a chance to explore the tangle of media and politics in the region with some surprising results.

In the 2004 national legislative (DPR) elections, the Golkar Party, still closely associated with the excesses of former president Soeharto, polled best with 21.5%, followed by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) headed by former president Megawati Sukarnoputri with 18.5%. Next was the Islamic National Awakening Party (PKB) with 10.5% and the Democrat Party of current president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono with 7.5%.

In that election, voters in the electoral district of Manado bucked the national (and the provincial) trend, however, with the Democrat Party polling strongest with 25%, ahead of Golkar on 20% and the PDIP well behind on 12%.

In the mayoral elections six pairs of candidates (for mayor and deputy) stood for the first direct election for these positions. It proved a major test for Golkar, which had fragmented badly over the previous year as aspirants vied for the party's valuable mayoral endorsement.

Golkar incumbent Wempie Frederik was outmanoeuvred for the party's imprimatur by the Chair of the Manado regional assembly (DPD) Jimmy Rimba Rogi. When jettisoned by Golkar, Frederik quickly shifted horses to head a PDIP ticket. Another mayoral aspirant in Golkar also bailed out, running as candidate for a minor party after failing to get the Golkar endorsement. Manado illustrates a broader practice in post-Soeharto Indonesia: political parties more often function as vehicles for personal enrichment than ideological platforms, with aspirants readily changing horses in mid-stream.

Despite the schism, Rimba Rogi won with 30%, snatching victory from Frederik on 27%.

An exit-poll undertaken jointly by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and a local non-government organisation, Publika, identified worrying residues of New Order politics (see www.jurdil.org/pilkada05/manadoi.htm). About 5% of those who voted for Rimba Rogi admitted it was because of 'money politics'.

Observers regarded this as an under-estimate of the effect of the wide-spread dispensing of money or other gifts immediately prior to polling day – a practice dubbed 'serangan fajar' (dawn attack) because it is timed to maximise the impact on election morning. Of all the respondents who freely admitted their vote was determined by 'money politics', the largest proportion (34%) voted for Rimba Rogi; only marginally less voted for Frederik (30%).

Other unsavoury habits continue. About 10% of the total sample of about 1500 respondents (from nearly 200,000 voters) claimed there had been intimidation near the polling booths, with about 6% complaining of violence. Rimba Rogi's black-shirted political toughs accompanied him on the campaign.

Suggesting a growing disillusionment with such anti-democratic practices, more than 31% of eligible voters chose not to participate (up 8% on the previous month's gubernatorial election). Optimists may draw some hope that the majority (60%) of respondents believed that the election result could enhance their 'quality of life'.

Media performance

Apart from being a test of the Golkar machine, the election was also a major trial
of the emerging local media's capacity to navigate the complex political and financial incentives offered to bias reporting. Manado insiders generally acknowledged that media coverage of a candidate was influenced by the amount of advertising or other funding provided to the media outlet. Advertising revenue and unacknowledged payments to the media made the election a big money-earner for a struggling local industry.

The largest circulation newspaper, Manado Post, is owned by the Surabaya-based Jawa Pos media network. The most polished and professional of the papers published in Manado, its news coverage was regarded by civil society commentators as reasonably balanced and fair. Nonetheless, such observers regarded the extent of coverage as strongly influenced by the advertising revenue paid by candidates.

The next largest paper is the tabloid Komentar, owned by J.J. Massie, who was elected to the national legislative assembly in the 2004 elections, heading the ticket for the Peace and Prosperity Party (PDS). The paper provides gratuitous coverage of Massie's political activities. However, with the PDS running a relatively weak candidate in a coalition with another minor party in the mayoral election (polling only 10%), Komentar did not risk alienating its readers with unsubtle bias for a team never likely to win. Local observers regarded it as providing relatively balanced, if rather superficial, coverage of platforms and candidates.

Equally politically aligned was the downtown daily, Global News, established in 2002 with the backing of Adrienne Frederik Nangoy, wife of incumbent mayor Wempie Frederik. Their son Iwan Frederik is the paper's Deputy General Manager. Mrs Frederik Nangoy was herself a Golkar powerbroker and member of the regional Assembly (DPRD), but was ousted as head of Golkar's Manado branch in January by Rimba Rogi.

Despite the political antagonism surrounding the Frederiks' clash with Rimba Rogi, journalists with Global News were regarded by local analysts as generally 'professional' rather than flagrantly partisan. There was undoubtedly intervention from the owners, but observers argued its primary benefit to Wempie Frederik's campaign was countering criticisms of him taken up by other media. It was defensive rather than pro-active.

Local TV most influential

Manado's commercial television stations – Pacific TV and TV-M – gave extensive coverage of the elections. They covered all candidates in news reports and provided the opportunity for all to appear on interactive talk shows which dominate programming because they are popular and cheap to produce.

In the assessment of at least one media specialist at the local Sam Ratulangi University, while not necessarily allocating equal time to all candidates, the stations covered policy platforms based on a reasonable professional judgement of newsworthiness and balance. Additional coverage was generated by candidates' willingness to 'sponsor' items broadcast or provide other financial incentives.

Newspapers have been produced in Manado for a century, but local TV is in its infancy. The most spectacular innovation, tried by TVRI in the June gubernatorial election and adopted by Pacific TV in the mayoral poll, was a marathon live public debate between the candidates. Pacific TV (together with two radio stations) was paid by the Local Electoral Commission (KPUD) to broadcast all six candidates presenting their policy platforms, answering questions from an expert panel, and, selectively, from the floor, over five hours.

With an invited audience of about 300, it was a sustained and unique opportunity to use television to replicate the 'town hall meetings' of the past, broadcasting into the surrounding community. The event was referred to popularly as a 'debate' although candidates did not directly debate or address each other, but were rather provided with opportunities to give speeches and answer questions through the moderator.

The NDI-Publika survey found nearly 30% of respondents indicated TV was the most significant communication medium influencing their voting. It had nearly twice the impact of the 'traditional' local determinant, 'communication with the candidates' electioneering team' (with only 17%).

TV's impact in influencing vote choice surpassed newspapers (12%), brochures, posters or banners (7%), and somewhat surprisingly was vastly greater than the much more ubiquitous radio (2%).

Of that 30% who felt TV influenced them most, 13.5% attributed this specifically to televised debates, nearly 11% to news coverage and about 5.5% to party advertising. Industry insiders acknowledged that, while all candidates funded television spots, Golkar had invested an unprecedented amount in TV ads promoting Rimba Rogi, who engaged an American-trained Jakarta political consultant to advise on strategy and image-making.

The Manado example suggests that local media will play an increasingly influential role in electoral outcomes at the grassroots throughout Indonesia. And potentially it may be to television rather than print media or radio that aspiring politicians direct their funds – in whatever form such payments might make it.

Future Directions for AusAID CONTINUED

Australian Ambassador/High Commissioner in Fiji, Vietnam and Bangladesh and current President of the Australian Institute of International Affairs (WA Branch). She spoke of the Australian government's current strategic priorities with regards to the aid program. In addition, she stressed the importance of research in ensuring effective outcomes from aid and in building a community of support within Australian for international development assistance.

Separate from the workshop, the Centre Director, Professor Garry Rodan, and Dr Jane Hutchison met with Ellen Shipley from AusAID – one of the two authors of the now released 'Engaging Australian Community' analytical report. They discussed options for linkages with the academic community around research and relations with Asia.
Dr. Kazuhiro Harada, a researcher with the Forest Conservation Project in the Institute for Global Environmental Strategies (IGES) in Kanagawa, Japan, joined the Asia Research Centre in July as a visiting fellow for the coming year. He will be conducting research about local participatory timber plantation programs and forest certification in Indonesia as well as forestry policy and practice in Australia. Dr. Harada completed his PhD from the Graduate School of Agricultural and Life Sciences at the University of Tokyo and worked for the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) while carrying out his doctoral research in the Gunung Halimun National Park, West Java, Indonesia. His field surveys investigated the local knowledge of forest resources and customary land tenure systems as well as the roles of non-government organisations in the national park. His work for JICA involved the planning of participatory forest management programs, the development and implementation of environmental education materials, and training of rangers and educators involved in the national park. Dr. Harada is the author of a number of articles and reports on forestry policy and the management of national parks in Indonesia, including a contribution to People and Forest Policy in Southeast Asia, the Russian Far East, and Japan, published by Kluwer.

During 2005 two international collaborators in the project Contestation or Regulation headed by Garry Rodan and Kanishka Jayasuriya have visited the Asia Research Centre. Professor Chua Beng Huat and Associate-Professor Vedi Hadiz, both from the Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore, have spent extended stays at the Centre as part of the initial process of developing the project's framework and planning its research agenda. In January 2005, the first of two workshops for the project will be hosted by the Asia Research Institute in Singapore, to be followed by a meeting at Murdoch University later the same year.

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Professor Chua and Associate-Professor Hadiz are both Research Associates of the Asia Research Centre who have played a significant role in various past collaborative projects. Professor Chua edited Consumption in Asia: Lifestyles and Identities (2000) in the Centre's flagship New Rich in Asia Series with Routledge and has contributed to numerous other edited books involving Centre researchers. Associate-Professor Hadiz, who wrote his PhD at the Centre and which was subsequently published as Workers and the State in New Order Indonesia (Routledge 1997), has also maintained strong links with the Centre. His forthcoming edited book Empire and Neoliberalism in Asia (Routledge) incorporates work by researchers from the Asia Research Centre. During his four-month stay at the Centre, Associate-Professor Hadiz has also been working on a new sole-authored book about the politics of decentralisation in Indonesia. Both Professor Chua and Associate-Professor Hadiz delivered presentations in the Centre's Public Seminar Series during the year.

The International Advisory Panel:

Professor Kevin Hewison
Director, Carolina Asia Centre, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Professor Richard Higgott
Director, Centre for the Study of Globalisation & Regionalisation, University of Warwick

Professor Jomo K.S
U.N. Assistant Secretary-General (Economic Development)

Professor Tessa Morris-Suzuki
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University

Professor Anthony Reid
Director, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, Los Angeles and Director, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore.

Professor Krishna Sen
Department of Media & Information, Curtin University of Technology.

Professor Lynn T. White
Director, Woodrow Wilson School of Public & International Affairs, Princeton University.

ASIAVIEW is the newsletter of the Asia Research Centre at Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia. The Centre examines social, political and economic change in contemporary East and Southeast Asia and the consequences those changes have on Australia’s relations with the region. ASIAVIEW provides information about the Centre’s activities and research. All articles are copyright and may not be reproduced in any form without permission.

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