

SYMPOSIUM RESUME

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1. *Cross boundaries contexts:* Many people live in border areas, so cross-border movements in Indonesia and Southeast Asia will be more crucial to study in the future. It should be a special study area, so to speak. Social tensions and sometimes conflicts arise in the border areas between the state and the borderland societies. These tensions generally reflect the unfolding process of nation-state building in the respective countries in this region. The problems of conflicting identities of the ethnic communities in the border areas are experienced as well as by the migrant groups in the destination countries. Tension and conflicts arises from disputes over territorial claims, especially where natural resources are found in this borderland.
2. *Approaches to Identity Formation.* Identity formation is shaped by many intersecting factors. It is necessary to consider multiple identities in studying cross-class subjectivity and to seek for alternative approaches to the relationships among technology, politics, local histories, and spatial interaction. It is necessary to focus not on the content (essence), but rather on the process of becoming. Global interconnectedness also counts as an important factor in the formation of identities.
3. *The Triangle of globalization, patriotism, and cosmopolitanism.* Textual and electronic media are important vehicles for the expression of and interaction among globalization, patriotism, and cosmopolitanism. The study of Indonesian cultural expression appears to undermine common assumptions about each of these three concepts. The media deserve the attention of anthropologists and can provide new ways for defining anthropology and its understanding of the world.
4. *The Study of Performance:* The issue of imaging partnership exists in different kinds of performance arts (theater, dance and film), literature and oral narratives. These contexts raise questions about local, national and global identities. Metaphor is necessary since people cannot directly express what they think.
5. *Representation.* The study of representation in different texts and contexts must addresses women's representation in local political regulations within the context of regional autonomy. There are questions of about the ethics of representation, and in addition, the ethics of scholarly representation itself (what languages are the researcher/scholar using? How doe these connect or not connect with the structures of reality?).
6. *Decentralization.* Studies of decentralization and how it is implemented in the context of democratization at the local level have brought up issues of different ways men and women give meaning to decentralization and the need to develop research methodologies which allow articulation of women's subjectivity and views from below. They show the increasing activism of women in organization, although their gendered agendas have not fully emerged.
7. *The decrease of social capital:* Pressures upon natural resources have created high competition at the local and regional level. The coming of immigrants has made this situation more complicated. Globalization has forced local people into facing limited choices, such as whether they are submerged into the market or able to maintain their adat. The increasing

flow of investor capital from outside has made local social capital decrease significantly. The economic triangle of Singapore, Johore and Riau, SIJORI, for instance, has not increased the welfare of the inhabitants of Riau.

8. Handicrafts as material objects travel across borders in many senses and become an interface between different cultural and social spaces. They portray globalizing trends and forces between local groupings of people in Indonesia, on the one hand, and international buyers on the other. However, locally produced handicrafts also cross divisions between social classes, rural-urban divisions, and operate between an imagined space of Indonesia as a nation and the site of local-regional identities. In regard to global context, cooperation and partnership, we need to consider all these divisions that must be crossed over. In the global trend of consumerism, commodities have their own agency or power to relate people in different social and cultural spaces in various ways. They may be the mediators of cooperation and partnership, but also of fetishization and exploitation.
9. After decentralization, it is true that the local elites are responding to political and economic influences so that the phenomenon of *Raja Kecil* is appearing. However, if local power holders want to keep or expand their local political power, they need to have a close network with the centre. As some presentations show, the populist approach can become the future trend of local governance. The introduction of PILKADA is one factor that may accelerate this trend.
10. Eastern Indonesia remains an area of great diversity. Local “traditions” are being invoked to support local autonomy in both a positive and a negative sense. Negatively, local autonomy is being used politically to enhance the position of “Raja-raja Kecil di Setiap Tempat”; positively, autonomy allows local villagers to pursue a wider framework of actions. However, many questions about the future of local autonomy remain to be answered in the future.
11. *The study of Religion and consuming passions encompasses:* The Sociological history of public sermons; the transmission of ideas through public sermons; the construction of social class and identity; how preachers establish and maintain their class-based identity in relation to followers; the impacts of university-based preachers economically and sociologically; links among consumption and religious practices; Islam as fetish and consumption of Islamic goods as re-identity formation. The use of public space and management of appearance are being encouraged by Moslem women – to open new spaces for entrepreneurship & politics.
12. *Gender and sexuality.* Gender and sexuality are intertwined with issues of politics and ethnicity. Indonesian society can no longer close its eyes to the existence of gays and lesbians, since they are part of national culture, but are still excluded from national culture because their sexual choices and ideas of love do not fit the ideal of the national personality. In addition, women represented in the media have become the subject of commoditization, using a Western standard as a model and subordinating other possibilities by constructing its feminine character as a natural personality in order to control women.
13. *New religious (Islamic) movement.* Islam in Indonesia is in a very creative period and is being enriched by its participation in the global flow of ideas. There are new developments within the *pesantren* and new directions in both Muhammadiyah and NU. Added to this are new Islamic movements and substantial rethinking in the political arena. Increasingly, Muslim researchers are using anthropological methods to understand and document the ‘many voices’ of Indonesian Islam.

14. *State policies and Gendered Contestations of Meanings.* Social tensions between groups are not only a result of the crossing of territorial boundaries, but also due to contestations in meanings in different arenas of life. The state as the main body defining particular truth-claims has standardized much of the symbolic, institutional and physical space available for men and women. In the history of the nation-state different state regimes have brought different sets of regulations and policies resulting in processes of exclusion and inclusion based on gender, ethnicity and religion. In this process definitions and redefinitions of gendered identities have been a strong component of public politics and social relations in general.
15. In the context of “cultural resources”, culture is taken as a set of symbolic resources that can be consciously reworked and manipulated for social, economic and political purposes under certain historical conditions. The panel in this way explored various aspects of the theme of innovation and manipulation of cultural resources in the age of globalization in Indonesia. Particularly, by combining the topic of transnational migration, it is evident how people make use of cultural and social resources on the move to create their own niche (cultural environment) to live in the migrant society. This may be an important contribution to the study of cultural dynamics in the contemporary today’s globalized world, a “world-in-motion”. One important question discussed in the panel is the issue of the “ownership” and “consumption” of a certain culture. This is related to the issue of distribution and sharing of cultural resources which sometimes may lead to serious cultural/ethnic conflicts.
16. National parks constitute both a field of study and a field for action by anthropologists. Some studies deal with how to manage parks, particularly how to deal with local people and their “adat” or culture. But there is also a need for further theorization and for further anthropological studies on how concepts of local culture, people and even the notions of the human.
17. The context of environmental resource management in Indonesia evidences another form of globalization: the penetration into the Indonesian national context of the concerns of transnational conservation organizations, which are increasingly the partners of government departments in managing national parks and other reserves. However, this setting of resource agendas on the global agenda is balanced by the increasing participation of local communities, acting often in association with local NGOs, in emergent collaborative management schemes, whose form is determined both by local concerns (e.g. with the revitalization of local adat in the form of community resource management systems) and by global examples. Although environmental laws, instructions and regulations issued and implemented at various levels by the State still set the parameters for these innovations, this sector exemplifies the proliferation of new forms of cooperation and partnership that are truly *global* in form and orientation.
18. Across Indonesian environments more generally, resources on land and in the seas continue to be threatened by various interests working in concert with government, including logging concession operators, oil palm plantations companies, and others, while organizations working for local communities’ interests often remain weak. Efforts to convert and limit open access regimens of resource use in fisheries contexts, whether through zonation schemes or community enforcement of exclusive rights to territorial waters, have so far NOT succeeded to a great extent in reversing practices contributing to diminishing stocks and to destruction of habitats (e.g. coral reefs). Various sorts of stakeholder schemes have been no more successful in these contexts than in terrestrial contexts. Degrees of success in

protecting national resources, as well as in avoiding local conflicts, have depended upon such variables as the degree of rapprochement negotiated between local custom (*adat*) and positive law (*hukum nasional*) implemented by the government and invoked by local agencies.

19. Predicting future trends in the politics of resource management is difficult. Regional autonomy has set the parameters for a period where institutional arrangements and mechanisms for governing resource access have been plural, uncertain and contested. Such a situation has a great potential for innovation, but also for violence. The regional autonomy experiment to date suggests that we are unlikely to see the emergence of a single symbolic and material order that provides for legitimate notions of resource control in Indonesia's contested and normatively plural environment. What is likely to characterize the short term, if not the long term as well, is the co-existence of parallel institutional orders sustained by their own symbolic/normative bases. This leaves significant problems to be addressed: How can such orders provide for a minimum level of justice, fairness and reciprocity both within themselves and in their relations with parallel orders? And how can ecological factors, especially externalities that run across borders of local systems, be addressed so as to avoid a larger system breakdown?