

UGM Yogyakarta,  
6–7 July 2022



UNIVERSITAS  
GADJAH MADA



VRJIE  
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The Netherlands Organization for  
Scientific Research (NWO)



CONFERENCE

## CORRUPTION AND NORM- SETTING IN LATE-COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL INDONESIA

Debating First Findings From  
a Dutch-Indonesian Project

Conference

**Corruption and Norm-  
Setting in Late-Colonial and  
Postcolonial Indonesia:  
Debating First Findings From  
a Dutch-Indonesian Project**

Yogyakarta,  
Wednesday–Thursday,  
6–7 July 2022

Conference

Corruption and Norm-Setting in Late-Colonial and  
Postcolonial Indonesia: Debating First Findings From a  
Dutch-Indonesian Project

Yogyakarta, 6–7 July 2022

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This conference is part of the NWO-funded research  
programme ‘Colonial Normativity – Corruption and  
difference in colonial and postcolonial histories of empire  
and nations: an entangled history of the Netherlands and  
Indonesia 1870s-2010s’.

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Organizer Host:



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**Cover Photo:**  
An illustration about  
corruption in Java  
*Bode*, 10 February  
1951.

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## Introduction

Experts in the history of colonial empires and decolonization have claimed that corruption of power and money has been the main story of empire; that abuses of power and resources in the colonial period were not mere incidents; that contemporary corruption problems in ex-colonies are partly rooted in colonialism, and that current corruption rankings perpetuate colonial power dynamics. But these claims have never been researched systematically. And this is exactly what the researchers do who collaborate in the NWO-funded programme ‘Colonial Normativity – Corruption and difference in colonial and postcolonial histories of empire and nations: an entangled history of the Netherlands and Indonesia 1870s-2010s’.

This programme compares the role of corruption in Dutch and Indonesian histories of state-formation and economic development. Colonial Normativity investigates the contexts of corruption as a normative framework to create, maintain and challenge exclusive power structures in colonial and post independent processes of state formation. It does so at intersecting moments of entanglement: around 1900 (late colonial state and norm-setting debates among the colonizers); around 1945 (independence and debates on good governance of the anti-colonial nationalists against colonialism); around 1970 (New Order authoritarian state and the conditional norms of development aid); around 1990 (era of global anticorruption and good governance norms).

For more information on the research programme Colonial Normativity see also: <https://colonial-normativity.com/>

## Aim

The aim of this conference is to discuss preliminary findings with external experts, especially from Indonesia – now previous meetings in the Netherlands have taken place already – with the overall aim to strengthen the entangled perspective.

Ideas and discourses on corruption is part of the norm-setting to determine behaviors of the bureaucracy and civil society in relation to the state and its apparatus. Empire or colonialism have an effect on historical norm-setting in the present day. Colonial asymmetric relationship between the colony and its cosmopolitan center also influence the use and effectiveness of anti-corruption as discourse and institution.

It is important and interesting to analyze the way in which Indonesian anti-corruption discourse is historically determined as a result of the particularity of the Dutch empire and its incarnation in the post-independent Republic of Indonesia.

The conference intends to explore the historical way in which corruption and anti-corruption discourses as well as the institutional framework within the context of Dutch, Indonesian and international norm-setting empire. We look into both the colonial period in which corruption and its discourse were intertwined with colonial state formation and the emergence of Dutch colonial capitalism. We also look into how relations between the Netherlands (and the wider Western/capitalist world) through diplomacy, aid and Indonesian engagement with global capitalism, informed the particular ways and discourse of corruption and anti-corruption during Sukarno's Guided Democracy and Suharto's New Order up to the present period.

Besides members from the Colonial-Normativity team, experts are invited to this two-day conference to enlarge our knowledge. There is also room for the audience to ask questions and we welcome listeners – including students – to join our conversation.

# Conference Information

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## ***Date***

Wednesday—Thursday,  
6–7 July 2022

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## ***Venue***

Multimedia Room  
2nd Floor Margono Building  
Faculty of Cultural Sciences  
Universitas Gadjah Mada  
Jln. Sosiohumaniora, Bulaksumur

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## ***Presentations***

20-30 minutes for presentation  
20 minutes for discussant  
Followed by QnA

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## ***Hotel***

University Club (UC) Hotel – Universitas Gadjah Mada  
Jln. Pancasila, Bulaksumur, no. 2  
<http://www.ugmclub.com/>

The hotel is opposite to the Faculty of Cultural Science (FIB) UGM campus and is a short walk away. See a map in [page 32](#).

## Programme Details

### Day 0 | Tuesday, 5 July 2022

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18:30—21:00 **Welcome Dinner** – [Bumbu Desa Restaurant Sagan\\*](#)

### Day 1 | Wednesday, 6 July 2022

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09:00—09:10 **Welcome and Opening** of Conference by Organizers  
– Farabi Fakhri & Ronald Kroeze

09:10—09:15 **Opening** by the Dean of Faculty of Cultural Sciences UGM

09:15—09:45 **Introduction of the Project**  
*Colonial Normativity: Corruption and Difference in the Colonial and Postcolonial Histories of Empire and Nations; An Entangled History of the Netherlands-Indonesian Relationship 1870s-2010s*  
– Ronald Kroeze (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

09:45—10:30 **Keynote 1**  
*Corruption, Good Governance, and Civil Society*  
– Azyumardi Azra (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah)

10:30—10:45 Questions & Answers

10:45—11:00 Coffee Break

11:00—12:30 **Session 1 | Capitalism and Corruption**  
*Islands of Horrors, Islands of Intrigue: Debating Abuse of Power and Official Responsibility in the Dutch Empire in the Decades Around 1900*  
– Otto Linde (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)  
*A Witch Cauldron Called Plantation*  
– Pujo Semedi – Universitas Gadjah Mada



*The Representation of Corruption in Multatuli's Max Havelaar*

- Jacqueline Bel (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

**Discussant:**

- Sri Margana (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

13:00—14:00 Lunch Break

14:00—15:30 **Session 2 | Governance and Corruption in the Late Colonial Period and Afterwards**

*Peripheral Officialdom and Personal Rulership: How Corruption Engineered Colonial State Formation, the 1920s-1930s*

- Uji Nugroho Winardi (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam/ Universitas Gadjah Mada)

*Culture, Changing Governance and Evolving Patterns of Corruption and Corruption Control Initiatives in Late-Colonial and Postcolonial Indonesia*

- Ahmad Khoirul Umam (Universitas Paramadina)

**Discussant:**

- Abdul Wahid (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

15:30—15:40 Coffee Break

15:40—17:10 **Session 3 | National and International Actors**

*Norm-Setting Amongst Indonesian Women Activists*

- Widya Fitria Ningsih (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

*The Indonesian Anti-corruption Initiative Since the Reform Era? The UPS and Downs of Anti-corruption Initiatives From Independence to the Jokowi Era*

- Vishnu Juwono (Universitas Indonesia)

**Discussant:**

- Farabi Fakhri (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

17:10—17:30 **Concluding Remarks Day 1**

- Susan Legêne (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)
- 17:30—19:00 Free Time
- 19:00 Dinner at [Sasanti Restaurant Palagan\\*](#)

## Day 2 | Thursday, 7 July 2022

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- 10:00—10:15 Opening of Day 2 Conference by Organizers
- 10:15—11:00 **Keynote 2**  
*Building Countervailing Power Against Corruption: The Sum is Much Greater than the Small and Fragmented Parts*  
– Ismid Hadad (LP3ES)
- 11:00—11:15 Questions & Answers
- 11:15—11:30 Coffee Break
- 11:30—13:00 **Session 4 | International Relations and Anti-Corruption**  
*IGGI and Suharto – Dutch-Indonesian Post-colonial Relations*  
– Farabi Fakh (Universitas Gadjah Mada/Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)  
*Transparency International: Its Role in Indonesian Fight Against Corruption*  
– Natalia Soebagio (Transparency International)  
**Discussant:**  
– Herlambang Perdana Wiratraman (Universitas Gadjah Mada)
- 13:00—14:30 Lunch Break – UGM UC Restaurant
- 14:30—16:00 **Session 5 | Measuring and Studying Corruption**  
*Is Ignorance Bliss? An Experimental Approach to Estimate the Impact of Unregulated Corruption*  
– Rimawan Pradipto (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

*Development of the Corruption Archives at the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI) for Anti-Corruption Measures: An Introduction of the Archives Study Center for Eradication Corruption (PSAPK/Pusat Studi Arsip Pemberantasan Korupsi)*

– Dharwis Widya Utama Yacob (ANRI)

**Discussant:**

– Susan Legêne (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

16:00—16:15 Coffee Break

16:15—16:45 **Concluding Remarks and Closing**

– Bambang Purwanto (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

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**Note:**

\* The committee will provide transportation to the dinner venues which will depart from the UC hotel lobby at 18:15 WIB.

## Abstracts

### Introduction of the Project

Ronald Kroeze

***Colonial Normativity — Corruption and Difference in the Colonial and Postcolonial Histories of Empire and Nations: An Entangled History of the Netherlands-Indonesian Relationship 1870s-2010s***

Scandals, exploitation and abuse of power have attracted scholarly attention but for long, the history of corruption was not systematically analyzed. Some two decades ago, in the field of political and European history, a new series of research projects was launched in different countries that recently was recognized as the beginning of a New Historiography of Corruption. A colonial and global history dimension was, however, still missing whereas debates about ‘the corrupt colony’ were quite omnipresent in political discourses of the 19th and 20th centuries. Moreover, after decolonization, in many countries and in circles of international policy-makers, the historical and colonial legacy were linked to current problems of corruption. This talk will delve deeper into these trends. It will serve as a broader introduction to the NWO-funded research project: Colonial Normativity: Corruption and difference in the colonial and postcolonial histories of empire and nations: and entangled history of the Netherlands-Indonesian relationship 1870s-2010s’. Recent historiographical trends in the fields of the history of corruption, Europe and (post)colonialism will be discussed as well as the projects approach and the different subprojects (briefly).

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## Keynote Speakers

Azyumardi Azra, CBE

### ***Corruption, Good Governance, And Civil Society: Perspective of Religion and Ethics\****

Corruption, no doubt, is still one of the most serious and acute problems Indonesia faces today and, of course, one of the biggest constraints in the efforts to create good governance. Despite that the efforts to combat corruption has gained momentum in the early years of 'Era Reformasi', there is not much convincing evidence that this rampant and acute problem could be soon solved. Despite accelerated efforts to bring corruptors to justice, Indonesia remains at the lowest ladder among the most corrupt nations in the world.

The combat against so rampant corruption is clearly not easy. The difficulties is even becoming complicated, for corruption seems to have become a 'culture' at every level of Indonesian society, having even stronger roots in public and societal lives. Serious and concerted efforts must be conducted, however, so that corruption can be reduced if not eliminated all together. Therefore, this paper will also try to suggest a number of steps that can be taken in combating corruption that is so instrumental in the creation of good governance. The article will also discuss the role of civil society and religion, i.e. Islam, in combating corruption and the creation of good governance at the same time.

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Ismid Hadad

### ***Building Countervailing Power Against Corruption: The Sum is Much Greater than the Small and Fragmented Parts***

Abuses of power and state resources have been the main popular story in the New Order military regime of Suharto in Indonesia. It was not just an incidental story. Corruption and bribery have been perceived as a common phenomena and an accepted public reality. Corruption became major socio-economic and political threats to the country and the people due to its scale, speed and complexity of its dimensions:

massive, overwhelming, systemic and widely spread out all over the country, affecting all sectors of socio-economic development.

The fastly increasing power of the state, dominant role of the government with its large bureaucracy and strong police & military apparatus, have created a socio-political structure of democracy without system of check and balances. The great power of the state combined with the cooptation of political parties and majority of its parliament members, coupled by the regime's financial & economic network of alliances with the local corporations, foreign capital, military and family businesses, mark the rise of a powerful 'politico-bureaucratic-business oligarchy' in Indonesia. On the otherhand, Suharto's New Order has effectively implement its depolitisation and demobilisation policy for the diverse civil society, through repression, divide et impera, censorship and strict limitations on the political parties, mass-based organisations, university students, the press & mass-media, religious institutions, labor unions, etc. As a result, the civil society became increasingly polarised, fragmented, very weak and ineffective in their political actions facing the powerful authoritarian regime.

Indonesia's struggle to curb the ever growing corruption always tend to fail mostly due to this asymmetric relationship between the strong state vs weak civil society. In the absence of effective countervailing power, the authoritarian supremacy and repressive nature of the Suharto military regime have a deep and widely spread effect to the society not only in the form of public perception on good or bad governance, but also in the norm-setting pattern and standard policy on corruption in the bureaucracy and governance system in the past and present day Indonesia.

This paper presents an insight stories by an ex-student and NGO activist from the 1966 generation of the New Order, who describes two types of approaches on how to confront the government with strong anti-corruption campaigns, and a more modest long-term approach by working with local communities at the grass-root level and critical education and policy advocacy to the upper middle-class intellectuals at the metropolitan centers.

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Session 1  
Capitalism and Corruption

Otto Linde

***Islands of Horrors, Islands of Intrigue: Debating Abuse of Power and Official Responsibility in the Dutch Empire in the Decades Around 1900***

In this paper, I focus on a series of scandals (the “Bacan scandals”, c. 1892-1903) related to themes such as corporate violence, abuse of power and official responsibility. The scandals originated in a distant and relatively isolated part of the broader Dutch empire (the sultanate of Bacan), but quickly became a topic of debate in more central hubs of the Dutch empire (the major cities of Java) and eventually also in the metropole itself, underscoring intra-imperial connections. Inspired by J. Saha’s (2013) performative approach to the colonial state and official abuse in colonial Burma, I argue that the performative approach utilized by Saha can also be extended to non-state actors in more peripheral areas of colonial empires, such as Bacan. The “Bacan scandals” demonstrate how a planter (plantation manager), in an area where control by the “state” was almost non-existent, could impose his own authority over his laborers by means of his own, which included a large degree of violence. The planter in question created a sphere of “private sovereignty” (Barker, 2016) in which he tried to exert his “sovereignty” over his laborers by means of theatrical violent spectacle and a privately financed police force. For a “modernizing” and expanding Dutch colonial state the existence of such “private sovereignties” became ever more unacceptable. Thus, the violent labor regime of Bacan was exposed, and this led to a court case. Different groups held vastly differing views on the case. A planter wrote an opinion piece to a newspaper wherein he asked why planters were punished for violent actions similar to those of the officials. Was it because the officials were committing violence in the name of the state, while planters were acting as individuals? Important Java-based journalists became embroiled in the case as well. Bartelds and Brooshooff discussed the question

of official responsibility: how could a case such as this occur? Was it due to neglect by the local junior official (who was tinged by an air of corruption), or rather due to neglect on the side of his superior? The resulting scandal became a point of debate in the Dutch lower house ("Tweede Kamer"). In these debates, we hear two kinds of arguments. Both the Liberal Minister of Colonies and his Anti-Revolutionary successor envisioned the case of Bacan as an incident, whereas the socialist opposition saw the case as the tip of a proverbial iceberg. Proposed solutions diverged accordingly. The prominent socialist H. van Kol hoped to see a total overhaul of justice and policing in the colony. The Ministers of Colonies saw more in the implementation of external controls (more checks from superior officials on their subordinates, as well as stricter documentation) which could be accomplished by an expansion of state authority and by improving the infrastructure of the colony. This study suggests that debates concerning "abuses" perpetrated by both state actors and non-state actors played a role in emerging moralistic discourses relating to "modernization" and colonial state expansion (both horizontally and vertically).

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Pujo Semedi

### ***A Witch Cauldron Called Plantation***

The presentation discusses the political-economy and political-technology origin of internal theft in Indonesian plantations. Based on long-term ethnographic and archival research (1800s - 2000s), it examines the conditions under which a private property regime leads to resource degradation, rather than providing a solution to the "tragedy of the commons". Indonesian plantations are operated as primer of the pumps from which the energy to turn the global market relations alive originated, whose products kept capital and commodities circulating. Just imagine global capitalism relation as a yoyo, and we will find plantations were positioned at the lowest end of the curve. Along the line, be it down or up, there were many hands--banks, machinery agents, insurances, transportations, trading houses, retailers--claiming their share of the wealth that was created in the plantations. Plantations could be privately owned, but the wealth it produced is a



common pool for the exclusive use and maximum gain of those who can claim a position along the line that connects plantations with the global market. Together they collaborate to keep plantation production activities rolling by sharing a flimsy logic of not killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

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Jacqueline Bel

### ***The Representation of Corruption in Multatuli's Max Havelaar***

In 1860 the novel *Max Havelaar* was published in the Netherlands by the Dutch author Multatuli, an autobiographical novel about a colonial civil servant in Indonesia (then: Dutch East-Indies) with a very critical message: The Javanese people were being abused, mistreated and exploited by the Dutch government. The novel caused a stir in the Netherlands and - according to some historians it also played a role in the emancipation of the colony. The famous Indonesian writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer for instance called Max Havelaar 'the book that killed colonialism' (1999). In his article *Colonial normativity?* (2021) Ronald Kroeze wrote: 'Max Havelaar can be considered as a book mainly about corruption'. In my paper I will analyze in what way corruption is represented in this novel.

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## Session 2 Governance and Corruption in the Late Colonial Period and Afterwards

Uji Nugroho Winardi

### ***Peripher Officialdom and Personal Rulership: How corruption engineered colonial state formation, the 1920s-1930s***

Corruptions, in one way or another, served as a pretext for the introduction of the modern bureaucracy to the (former) colonial *lastposten* which occurred along with the early twentieth-century state formation. Working with a premise that corruption could be

dismantled with professionalized bureaucracy, the inauguration of colonial administration in outer provinces hallmarked the emergence of a new norm-setting in ruling the colony that promoted a stricter separation of the public office and private hold, a notion that had been experimented for decades in the Netherlands. The traditional rulers' habitual practices of the patrimonial relationship fall under the term of arbitrariness and misuse of power, thus corruption. Furthermore, the public-private divide also provided a solid base for an explicit-legally-sanctioned definition of corruption such as *verduistering* (embezzlement) and extortion (*afpresing*) effectuating, most likely, for the colonial officials. However, at once, this sort of modern arrangement facilitated misconducts—that centered on personal rulership and based on web reciprocity—to resurfaced through the professional assignment. Exorbitant privileges, and haphazard separation of public office and private interest, were surreptitiously reinstated and even often deemed as accepted day-to-day practices of the colonial officialdom. Here, some subordinate colonial officials cunningly utilized their legal authority to perpetrate illegal acts or misconducts that reflect how corruption was inextricably chained to the formalized, officially sanctioned rules. Then, why did the modern bureaucracy, a passion-free, and rational machinery, that emphasized idealized virtues in professional and impersonal relationships, also have the opposite effects? An investigation examining the practice of colonial authority in the periphery, where the subordinate officials performed the state, might shed light upon this problem, and at once, provide us insights to reflect on how corruption has engineered the colonial state formation.

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Ahmad Khoirul Umam

***Culture, Changing Governance and Evolving Patterns of Corruption and Corruption Control Initiatives in Late-Colonial and Postcolonial Indonesia***

This paper will examine corruption and anti-corruption initiatives in the late colonial and postcolonial Indonesia. First of all, attention is going to be focused on the role of culture in shaping governance both in the monarchy and post-monarchy eras, including in the Javanesebased

Islamic communities, to highlight the relationship between the political characteristics and the prevalent corruption in the circle of power and social culture. The explanation will be subsequently followed by the broader elaboration of the diagnosis of causes and consequences of corruption in every regime era after the independence of the state in 1945 until recently. Furthermore, the diagnosis resulting in the various efforts and strategies for combatting corruption will be examined to answer why this extra-ordinary crime remains rampant, persistent, and even more intensify when the country has adopted the neo-liberal prescriptions by implementing democratization, market liberalization and institutional reforms since 1998. Despite many achievements had been reached, the nature of democracy and liberal market does exhibit both optimism and pessimism, particularly when they facilitate the rise of predatory interest groups posing serious threats to the reform movement. The predatory political-economic interests that deeply embedded within political parties, executive body, bureaucracy law enforcement institutions, and also among societies will always try to maintain the state's weaknesses and deficiencies to keep their privileges to extract rents and to block every progressive plan of reform agendas, including to force the anti-corruption actors surrender and powerless in the contemporary Indonesia.

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### Session 3 National and International Actors

Widya Fitria Ningsih

#### ***Norm-Setting Amongst Indonesian Women Activists***

In 1949, Indonesian women activists protested the behaviors of Indonesian (male) representatives at the Round Table Conference, who were reported to “have lost control, excessively enjoyed holding hands and being close to Dutch women, forgetting their wives, children, and responsibilities as the people’s leaders” (Wanita No. 6, October 31, 1949: 50). The women warned them to remain faithful to their spouses and the nation. Shortly after the hubbub, the women raised such moralistic

discourse further and urged greater participation in practical politics, including in Indonesia's high-profile transnational political interactions, which led to a substantial change in (gender) norm-setting. By focusing on the transnational interactions of Indonesian women in the early independence period, this paper examines how these interactions influence how women view norm-setting, specifically on how Indonesian women as citizens should behave to make democracy (good governance) work? It will also examine the dynamics of adaption, rejection, and contestation of the norm? In this case, I believe that the norm-setting is not merely a product of a constant process of cross-cultural dialogue that resonates in collective interpretation and practices but also the women's advocacy.

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Vishnu Juwono

***What is the faith of Anti-Corruption in Indonesia? Ups and Down Anti-Corruption movement from Independence until President Jokowi Era***

Ever since Indonesia gained its independence in 1945, Anti-corruption somewhat have been one of the main development agenda from every government. Although the infamous New Order regime known for its systematic corruption issues had fall in 1998, but the problems remains the same during its predecessor even until President Jokowi presidency. The existence of Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) that initially reduced the sense of impunity among Indonesia's political elites, but in the end not was not able to reduce corruption significantly at the expense, especially of the Indonesia's poor society. In so not encouraging development, although there are Indonesia elite politics being detained KPK, but somehow it has not created significant deterrent effect. In fact, the elite politics finding a way to eventually weakened the KPK. This presentation trying to outline and identify as well as analyzing the cause and effect on why the Anti-Corruption movement in Indonesia from the independence era until President Jokowi era have not been able to reach its noble goal at least to neutralize systematic corruption in Indonesia.

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## Session 4 International Relations and Anti-Corruption

Farabi Fakhri

### ***IGGI and Suharto – Dutch-Indonesian Post-colonial Relations***

Postcolonial Dutch-Indonesian relations has been fraught with difficulties, but since the inception of the New Order (1966-1998), the Dutch played an outsized role in coordinating development aid for the country through their position as chairman of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI). The Dutch role as coordinator placed the Minister for Development Cooperation of the Netherlands in a strategic position in determining the norm-setting and agenda of the IGGI. This was particularly apparent under Minister Jan Pronk from 1973-1977 and 1989-1998. Part of the Dutch New-Left, his involvement in IGGI provided a space for Indonesian civil society to negotiate with the government. With the shift in international aid toward concerns of human rights and good governance since the 1980s, Pronk's second appointment allowed him to set the discussion on the issues of human rights violations within the New Order government, until 1992, when Suharto ordered the abrogation of the IGGI and the isolation of the Netherlands within the context of Indonesian aid. The article looks at how competing norm-setting agendas pursued between metropolitan and receiver country create the environment for conflict. In this case, it resulted in the Suharto government's 'shock and awe' campaign to 'punish' Jan Pronk and the Netherlands and gain control of international aid norm-setting. The article looks into how aid diplomacy becomes an arena of contentions for differing norm-settings and how colonial/imperial memories and legacies are used by receiver nations in order to claim moral legitimacy. The postcolonial norm-setting remains as complex as the earlier colonial/imperial periods, through which both centers and peripheries contribute and clash on their particular models.

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Natalia Soebagjo

***Transparency International: Its Role in Indonesia's Fight against Corruption***

The 1997/98 Asian Financial Crisis which ultimately led to the downfall of President Soeharto, blatantly exposed the weaknesses in Indonesia's political system and its economic development approach. Even though authoritarian rule provided the political stability to support growth, it also enabled corrupt practices to thrive, depriving the Indonesian people of quality public services, justice and equality. As a result, the Indonesian people's demand for reform in the early post-Soeharto years focussed on eradicating corruption and on democratization.

Transparency International, established in 1993 in Berlin, was by then known as the leading transnational NGO committed to fighting corruption. In 2000, concerned citizens established a chapter of Transparency International in Indonesia in the hope of gaining access to TI's research and resources to support the reform agenda.

This brief paper will look at how Transparency International has provided the knowledge and the tools needed to drive the anti-corruption movement in Indonesia and whether it will continue to remain relevant.

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Session 5  
Measuring and Studying Corruption

Rimawan Pradiptyo & Putu Sanjiwacika Wibisana

***Is Ignorance Bliss? An Experimental Approach to Estimate the Impact of Unregulated Corruption***

We conducted an experiment of finitely repeated public-goods embezzlement (PGE) and public-goods bribery (PGB) games with randomly matched players. The experiment involved two treatment

groups (i.e., T1 and T2) and a control group (C). In all groups, participants have a chance to commit corruption and if caught participants will be sentenced with fixed and mediocre fines for T1, and a variable and harsher intensity of fines for T2. We found that the public-goods contribution, the incidence and the intensity of embezzlement and bribery are the highest in C than those in the T1 and the T2. In contrast to Gneezy and Rustichini (2004) findings, evidence of the deterrence effect was found in both groups T1 and T2, in comparison to those in C.

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Dharwis Widya Utama Yacob

***Development of the Corruption Archives at the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI) for Anti-corruption Measures: An Introduction of the Archives Study Center for Eradication Corruption (PSAPK/Pusat Studi Arsip Pemberantasan Korupsi)***

Corruption is a problem in every nation. Corruption has an impact on destroying the journey of the nation. Certainly, archives and historical nations are an inseparable part of a nation. The archives are a silent witness, inseparable, reliable, and eternal, which proves a success, failure, growth, and glory. The archive of eradication corruption is a record of factual information that can be used as a reference and academic interest in research and development of corruption law enforcement in Indonesia and internationally. As a collective source of knowledge, archives related to corruption eradication in the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI) must be managed properly, so that they can be accessed and utilized by the public with a high level of accessibility by the provisions of laws and regulations and archival rules. This paper attempts to provide an overview of the development of the ANRI especially for the Archives Eradication Study Center for Eradication Corruption (PSAPK) by utilizing a building grant from the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) to ANRI. This is important considering the tendency of government policies to encourage government institutions in public services to have excellence

in certain fields which are icons of the institutions concerned. The results of this presentation seek to show the development of the PSAPK and to introduce the archives of corruption eradication that are used by the public both in Indonesia and internationally.



## Short Biography

**Abdul Wahid** is teaching staff and head of the Department of History, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. He earned his Bachelor and Master degree from the same university in 2000 and 2006 respectively. He obtained his M.Phil. from Leiden University in 2009, and his PhD from Utrecht University in 2013. His book on the political-economic of colonial taxation was published in 2020. From 2017 until 2021 he was a research fellow at the KITLV Leiden to conduct research about *Indonesia in transition: A History from Revolution to Nation Building, 1943-1958*. In 2018, he was coordinating the research collaboration between UGM and KITLV on *The Regional Studies*, a sub research project of *Independence, Decolonization, Violence, and War in Indonesia, 1945-1950* under the auspices of the Dutch's research institute of NIOD-KITLV-NIMH.

**Ahmad Khoirul Umam** is Managing Director of Paramadina Public Policy Institute (PPPI) and a Senior Lecturer at Paramadina Graduate School of Diplomacy, Paramadina University, Jakarta. He teaches courses on Governance and Anti-Corruption Studies, Islam in International Politics, Democratization in Southeast Asia, and also Australia and Pacific Studies. He holds a PhD degree in Political Science from The University of Queensland, Australia; while his bachelor's degree in Islamic Law and Politics is from the State Islamic University Walisongo (2005) and a Master degree in Asian Governance from Flinders University, Australia. Umam is also an Editor of Journal of Integrity published by Indonesia's Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). From 2018 to 2022, he conducted major research projects supported by USAID, CIPE, Geneva Network (Washington DC-based offices), ITRI (Taiwan), Ford Foundation, KPK, PPATK and others. Umam can be reached via [ahmad.khoirul@paramadina.ac.id](mailto:ahmad.khoirul@paramadina.ac.id)

**Azyumardi Azra** is a professor of history at the Faculty of Adab and Humanities, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah. Azyumardi Azra completed his

bachelor's degree at the Faculty of Tarbiyah, IAIN Jakarta. He obtained his Master of Arts (MA) degree in Middle-Eastern studies, Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) and Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) in history from Columbia University, New York. From 2015 to 2019 Azyumardi Azra served as Special Staff of the Vice President of Indonesia for Bureaucratic Reforms; 2007-2009 as Deputy of People's Welfare for the Vice President of Indonesia Secretariat; and 2002-2006 as rector of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah. Azyumardi Azra has also served as an honorary professor at University of Melbourne as well as advisor and visiting professor at several universities, research institutions, and international democracy advocacy organizations.

**Bambang Purwanto** is Professor of History in History Department, Universitas Gadjah Mada and Extraordinary Professor Leiden University, Chair in the History of Indonesian-Dutch Relations since 2008. He received his PhD from SOAS, University of London, in 1992. Over more than twenty years, he has contributed to develop research on Indonesian and Southeast Asian history. Some of his publications are *Gagalnya Historiografi Indonesiasentris?! (2006)*, *Perspektif Baru dalam Penulisan Sejarah Indonesia (2008, 2nd edition 2013)* edited with Henk Schulte Nordholt and Ratna Saptari. One of his recent publications is *Sites, Bodies, and Stories: Imagining Indonesian History (2015)* edited together with Susan Legêne and Henk Schulte Nordholt.

**Dharwis Widya Utama Yacob** is an archivist and sub-coordinator of the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia Center for Anti-Corruption Archive Studies. He obtained his bachelor's degree in history from Universitas Gadjah Mada in 2005. He also studied archival science at the Universiteit Leiden in 2009 and obtained his master's degree in political science from Universitas Nasional in 2015. Dharwis Yacob has received several awards, some of which include the fastest graduating student at Universitas Gadjah Mada in 2005; Encompass Scholarships awardee at Universiteit Leiden in 2008; Best Cultural Activist in History from the Ministry of Education and Culture in 2016; Best Archivist at the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia in 2018; Indonesian delegate for the SARBICA Conference in Putrajaya,

Malaysia in 2018; Indonesian delegate for the Coding Davinci in Munich, Germany in 2019; and Speaker for the 23rd SEAPAVAA Conference in Noumea, New Caledonia in 2019.

**Farabi Fakh** is a lecturer, researcher and head of the Master Program at the Department of History, Universitas Gadjah Mada. His research focuses on Indonesian state decolonization, urban history and the history of knowledge. He has recently published a book titled *Authoritarian Modernization in Indonesia's Early Independence Period* with Brill. He has also published an article titled 'Colonial Domesticity and the Modern City: Bandung in the Early Twentieth-Century Netherlands Indies' at the *Journal of Urban History* and will publish an article titled "Settler Cities in the Netherlands Indies? Race, class and the failure of settler identity" at the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* looking at urban land commodification. He is currently working within a research group based at the *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam* looking at the long-term development of corruption as a form of normative discourse and its associated power relations within the Indonesian-Dutch relations since the late 19th century. He looks here at the aid and diplomatic relations of Dutch-Indonesia during the Suharto period and how it shapes normativities as a result.

**Herlambang Perdana Wiratraman** is a lecturer at the Department of Constitutional Law, Faculty of Law, Universitas Gadjah Mada. His special interests include constitutional law, human rights, freedom of expression, and interdisciplinary studies of law and society. He obtained his bachelor's degree in law from the Faculty of Law, Universitas Airlangga Surabaya in 1998. He then obtained his Master of Arts (MA) degree in human rights and social development from the Faculty of Graduate Studies, Mahidol University, Thailand in 2006. He obtained his doctorate degree from *Faculteit Rechtsgeleerdheid, Universiteit Leiden*, the Netherlands in 2014.

**Ismid Hadad** is the founder of LP3ES and an Indonesian environmentalist, senior journalist and activist. He is currently

serving as the Senior Financial Climate Advisor at the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia for Climate Change Finance and Multilateral Policy and the Chairman of the Board of the KEHATI Foundation (Yayasan Keanekaragaman Hayati). He started his academic background at the Faculty of Economics, Universitas Kristen Indonesia in 1966. He then continued his education with the Parvin Fellowship at Princeton University in 1980. He obtained his Master of Public Administration (MPA) degree from Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University in 1982. In 2019, Ismid Hadad was honored with an award from the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission in the Lifetime Service category.

**Jacqueline Bel** is a professor of modern Dutch literature at VU University (Multatuli chair), Amsterdam. She published widely on (post)colonial literature and on Dutch literature from 1890 until today. Books: *Nederlandse literatuur in het Fin de siècle* (1993); *Bloed en rozen. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1900-1945*. (2015); With Thomas Vaessens: *Women's writing from the low countries 1880-2010* (2010); with Rick Honings: *Multatuli nu*. (2019) With Rick Honings and Coen van 't Veer: *De postkoloniale spiegel* (2021).

**Natalia Soebagjo** is the Chairman of the Executive Board of the BHACA Association for the period 2005-2018 and is an expert in governance and bureaucratic reforms. Her formal education is from Universitas Indonesia in Chinese literature (1981) and Master of Arts from University of California Berkeley (1985). She established the Center for Governance Studies at Universitas Indonesia (2010-2015). She was then appointed as a member of the Independent Team for National Bureaucratic Reform in 2011. In 2015, she was a member of the Selection Committee for the Secretariat of the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission as well as a member of the Selection Committee for the Chairman Candidate of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). She is also a Board Member of Transparency International in Berlin, Germany since 2013 and has served as the Chairman of the Executive Board of Transparency International Indonesia.

**Otto Linde** [educated at Leiden University] is a historian with a special interest in the history of colonial Indonesia. At the moment, Linde is doing research within the context of the broader research project “Colonial Normativity”. Linde focuses on corruption in colonial Indonesia during the period 1860-1929. Specific research interests include corruption, media scandals, informal/private sovereignty, and the cultural history of norms.

**Pujo Semedi** is a professor of anthropology at Universitas Gadjah Mada. He obtained his bachelor's degree from Universitas Gadjah Mada in 1989, his master's degree (MA) from The Ateneo de Manila University, the Philippines in 1991, and his Ph.D. from Universiteit van Amsterdam, the Netherlands in 2001. In 2012 to 2017 he served as the Dean of the Faculty of Cultural Sciences UGM. On several occasions, he was invited to become a visiting professor at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto (2010-2012) and the Institute for Ethnology at the University of Heidelberg (2014). The focus of his research is related to the themes of environment, agriculture, and plantation communities.

**Rimawan Pradiptyo** is a lecturer in the Faculty of Economics and Business Universitas Gadjah Mada and an economist who works on corruption issues. Rimawan's research interests include: crime economics, game theory, experimental economics, economic evaluation, and industrial economics. He obtained his bachelor's degree from the Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitas Gadjah Mada. Whereas, his master's degree and PhD were conferred by the University of York-United Kingdom.

**Ronald Kroeze's** main position is director of the Centre for Parliamentary History (CPG) at the Faculty of Arts, Nijmegen University, see [website CPG](#). He is also affiliated to Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (parttime), in his role of coordinator of the NWO-funded project ‘Colonial Normativity: corruption and difference in the Netherlands-Indonesian relationship 1870s-2010s’, see <https://colonial-normativity.com/>. Currently, his research and teaching focus

on: the history of modern politics and democracy, and parliamentary history; the history of corruption and anticorruption, including the impact of colonialism and decolonisation on good governance and global norm-setting; business-politics relations and the impact of (new public) management and neoliberalism on Dutch and European politics. His previous projects also concerned: business history and financial history/ heritage; “uses of the past” and applied history (including the learning history method); oral history. In his role as director of the Centre for Parliamentary History (CPG) he acts as coordinator and initiator of projects on political and parliamentary history of the Netherlands in European and international perspective, with a focus on the period after 1945. For more information, see website CPG. Kroeze is also initiator and coordinator of the research project ‘Colonial Normativity. Corruption and difference in colonial and postcolonial histories of empire and nations’ that started in 2019 and is funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). This international project compares the role of corruption in Dutch and Indonesian histories of state-formation, and its impact on good governance and global norm-setting. Furthermore, he is a co-founder of the international network ‘Politics and Corruption’, funded by the French CNRS. He was a visiting scholar at the University of Oxford (Corpus Christi College), University of Warwick, University of Avignon and Humboldt University of Berlin. A Key publication is Ronald Kroeze, Guy Geltner and André Vitoria (eds), *A History of Anticorruption. From Antiquity until the Modern Era*. Oxford University Press, 2018.

**Sri Margana** is a lecturer at the Department of History UGM. He obtained a Bachelor and Master's degree from the History Department, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, in 1995 and 2001. Since 1998 he has worked as a lecturer in the History Department, at the same university. In 2001 he joined the Advanced Masters program from CNWS, University of Leiden, Netherlands, in the framework of TANAP (Towards a New Age from the Partnership) project. In 2002 he continued his doctoral program at the same university in the same framework and successfully graduated in 2007.

His special research interest is socio-political history of Java in the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

**Susan Legêne** is a political historian focusing on culture and power in the context of the history of colonialism and decolonisation. She has been Project Leader of the UGM/VU collaborative project Sites Bodes and Stories The dynamics of heritage formation in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia and the Netherlands (SBS, 2008-2013, NOW funded) and these days co-manages the UGM/VU collaborative project Colonial Normativity - Corruption and difference in colonial and postcolonial histories of empire and nations (NOW-funded, 2020-2025) as well as Pressing Matter - Ownership, Value and the Question of Colonial Heritage in Museums (Nationale Wetenschapsagenda NWA/NWO 2021 - 2025). She is currently Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam.

**Uji Nugroho Winardi** is a Ph.D. candidate at the Vrije University Amsterdam under an umbrella project titled “Colonial Normativity - Corruption and difference in colonial and postcolonial histories of empire and nations”. His research on “fighting corrupt colonialism (1920s-1950s)” attempts to understand the historically changed concept of corruption to reflect on a political system, the interaction between norms setting, its continuing development, and its roles in the political formations. Currently, he is writing the first chapter by observing mundane colonial bureaucracy and subordinate colonial officials in the periphery. Uji is also a member of the History department FIB UGM.

**Vishnu Juwono** is a lecturer of Public Administration at the Faculty of Administrative Science, Universitas Indonesia. He is also a researcher of two faculty research clusters, namely Collaborative Governance and Dynamic Public Services (CG-DPS) and Politics of Taxation, Welfare, and National Resilience (PolTax). At the Faculty of Administrative Science, Vishnu Juwono is currently serving as the Head of Transformation, Risk Management and Evaluation Monitoring Bureau at the Administration Center, UI. He obtained his bachelor's degree in

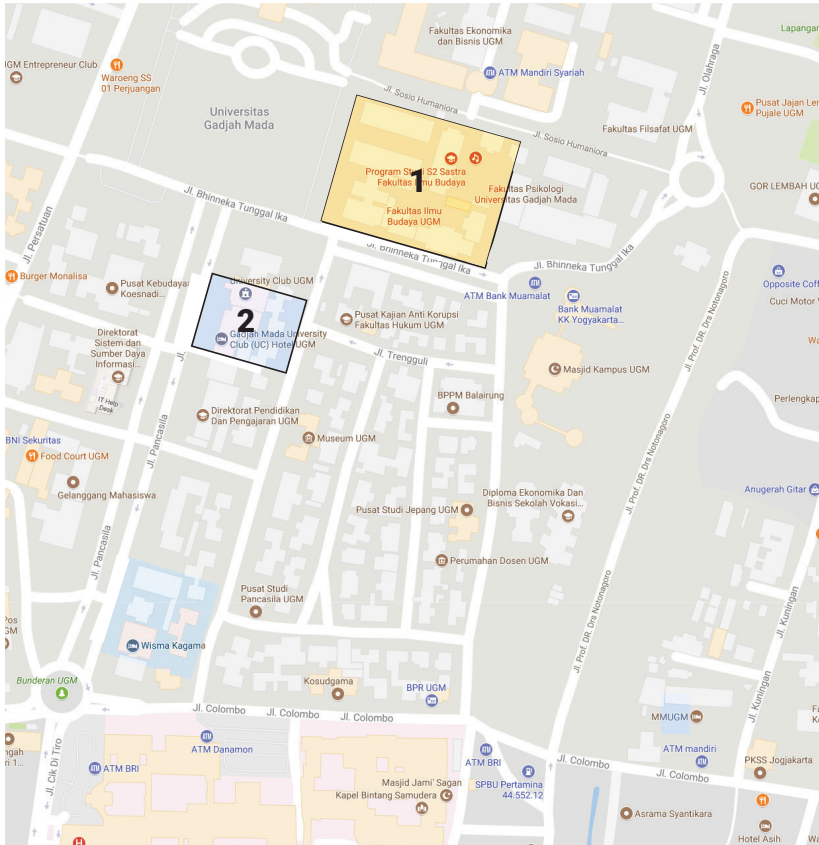
management from the Faculty of Economics, Universitas Indonesia; Master of International Affairs (MIA) from the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA), Columbia University; and graduate program in Diplomatic Studies at the Trinity College and Queen Elizabeth House (QEH) University of Oxford, United Kingdom.

**Widya Fitria Ningsih** is a PhD candidate at the Department of Art & Culture, History, and Antiquity, Vrije Universiteit (VU) Amsterdam, and a lecturer at the Department of History, Universitas Gajah Mada (UGM). Her research focuses on the “Engaged Women of the Indonesian Nation-State Formation”.



# Map

## Faculty of Cultural Sciences UGM & UC UGM Hotel



**Note:**  
1 | Faculty of Cultural Sciences UGM  
2 | University Club (UC) UGM Hotel



## Practical Information

### *Transport From Airport to the City*

The [Yogyakarta International Airport \(YIA\)](#) is located some 40 kilometers away from the city. It will take around 1.5 to 2 hours depending on traffic to reach UGM.

There is a train service connecting the airport with the Tugu Station in the center of the city. There are 10 train trips daily as follows:

Departure from YIA to Tugu Station:

06.11 WIB	11.57 WIB
08.07 WIB	14.00 WIB
09.25 WIB	15.10 WIB
11.10 WIB	17.50 WIB
11.10 WIB	19.15 WIB

The fare is Rp. 20.000 (1,5 Euro)

From Tugu station, you can take a taxi to the UC Hotel.

Alternatively, you can take the taxi from the airport which will cost around Rp. 300.000 (19 Euro). Or take a grab or gojek (go-ride) which will cost around the same. We recommend you take the taxi as it would be the most convenient form of transportation to the hotel.

# Notes























