

2017 한국동남아학회 연례학술대회


동남아시아의 종교와 정치

Religion and Politics in Southeast Asia

2017년 8월 25일 ~ 26일

서울대학교 아시아연구소

Putut Widjauanto



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DAY 1 | 2017년 8월 25일

| 등록 및 개회식 |

09:00-09:30 등록

개회식

09:30-10:00

개회사: 신원환(한국동남아학회장)

환영사: 강명구(서울대 아시아연구소장)

210호 | 영원홀

사회: 여운경(서울대)

| 제1부 전체회의 | 동남아시아의 종교, 정치, 일상

210호 | 영원홀

사회: 신원환(서강대)

10:00-12:00

□ 말레이시아의 할랄인증제와 이슬람정치

- 발표: 오명석(서울대) 토론: 여운경(서울대)

□ 인도네시아의 이슬람 정당과 이슬람식 정치: 시론적 접근

- 발표: 김형준(강원대) 토론: 최경희(서울대)

□ 자비로운 말이 되는 길: 전환기 미얀마 이주청소년 노동자의 리미널리티와 덕의 실천

- 발표: 홍문숙(서울대) 토론: 박장식(부산외대)

| 오찬 | 12:00-13:30

1층 감골식당

| 제2부 | 13:30 - 15:30

분과회의 1: Religious Tradition and Political Conflicts in Southeast Asia

303호

□ Degrees of 'historical Nusantara' in contemporary Islamic Politics: Islam in Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei as 'Malays'

- Frank Dhont (University of Brunei Darussalam)

□ Creative Approaches in Peace Building Initiatives in Indonesia

- Putut Widjanarko (Paramadina University)

□ Communicating Religious Values for Political gains in Indonesia: Banners in 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election

- Rudi Sukandar (London School of Public Relations-Jakarta)

- Erda Handayani (London School of Public Relations-Jakarta)

□ Islam and the Dynamic of Local Politics in Indonesia: The Fate of Pro-Shari'a Movement in Contemporary South Sulawesi

- Wahyuddin Halim (Alauddin State Islamic University of Makassar)

사회: 송승원(한국외대)

토론: 여운경(서울대)

분과회의 2 | 동남아시아의 종교미술과 정치

230호

□ 탈식민주의시대 동남아의 문화재 반환 문제: 종교에서 정치로 - 강희정(서강대)

□ 자야바르만 7세의 불교미술에 보이는 정치적 성격 - 노남희(서울대)

□ 쿠베라상을 통해 본 8-10세기 마타람 왕조의 정치와 종교 - 김미소(서강대)

□ 대남국(大南國) 효릉(孝陵)의 조성과 의의 - 김지혜(서강대)

사회: 강희정(서강대)

토론: 하정민(서울대)

분과회의 3 | 동남아시아 정치경제의 대내외적 변화**240호**

- 트럼프 시대 불확실성의 증대와 동남아시아 국가의 대응전략: 남중국해 문제를 중심으로
 - 이진원(국립외교원)
- 중국의 대동남아 내륙개도국(CLMV) 경제외교정책: 해외직접투자(OFDI) 전략을 중심으로
 - 정혜영(건국대)
- 정치체제의 전환과 정치변동의 사이에서: 미얀마의 결손민주주의
 - 장준영(한국외대)

사회: 박사명
(한국동남아연구소)
토론: 배기현(서강대)

| 브레이크타임 | 15:30 - 15:40

| 제3부 | 15:40 - 17:40

분과회의 4 | (개별발표) 동남아시아 사회의 이동성과 다양성**303호**

- 베트남 생명보험 시장의 발달: 문화적 배태성(embeddedness)을 중심으로
 - 발표: 백용훈(서강대) | 토론: 이한우(서강대)
- '중심부'와 '주변부' 사이에서: 인도네시아 이주민의 이슬람 공간의 구축과 활용
 - 발표: 박광우(부산외대) | 토론: 강윤희(서울대)
- 민주주의 확산과 이슬람화의 불협화음: 자카르타 주지사 아훅(Ahok)의 쿠란 인용 사건을 중심으로
 - 발표: 이지혁(서울대) | 토론: 강윤희(서울대)

사회: 이한우(서강대)

분과회의 5 | 동남아시아 전통 내러티브의 현대적 표상화**230호**

- 필리핀의 전통극 모로-모로에 나타난 권력관계와 국민정책성: 지역연구 방법론으로서의 상호텍스트성을 중심으로 - 김동엽(부산외대)
- 태국 전통 가면무용극 '콘(Khon)'의 현대적 변용: 전통문화와 관광전략
 - 이미지(부산외대)
- 미얀마 종교의식 '까테인'의 조직화 양상과 물품의 변화가 갖는 사회문화적 함의
 - 김희숙(부산외대)
- 인도네시아 공연예술에 나타난 힌두서사의 사회문화적 맥락화: Mahabharata를 중심으로
 - 김예경(부산외대)

사회: 김예경(부산외대)
토론: 조윤미(서울대)

분과회의 6 | 신진박사 발표**240호**

- Elite capture of participatory governance : The case of *Musrenbang* in Indonesia
 - 발표: 최인아(서강대) | 토론: 전제성(전북대)
- 범람과 실험실-마을의 중지
 - 발표: 이경목(서울대) | 토론: 전제성(전북대)
- 발리 우붓 지역 관광발달과 전통의 재구성: 뉴꾸닝 주민의 문화적 실천을 중심으로
 - 발표: 정정훈(서강대) | 여운경(서울대)

사회: 여운경(서울대)

| 한국동남아학회 총회 | 17:50-18:40

210호 | 영원홀
사회: 이상국(연세대)

DAY 2 | 2017년 8월 26일

| 제4부 | 09:00 - 10:30

분과회의 7 | 동남아시아 정치와 국제관계 현안: 인권, 선거, 테러리즘

303호

- ☐ 조코위 정부와 과거청산 - 서지원(창원대)
- ☐ 필리핀 선거제도 개혁의 원인과 결과 - 신재혁(고려대) 사회: 신재혁(고려대)
- ☐ Counter-terrorism cooperation in ASEAN: state level capacity-building and the Malay-Muslim insurgency in Southern Thailand 토론: 이재현
- Iordanka Alexandrova (고려대) (아산정책연구원)

분과회의 8 | (대학원생 발표) 동남아시아의 정치, 제도와 사회변화

230호

- ☐ 군부의 선택과 신생 민주주의 정부의 군부통제: 태국, 인도네시아 사례를 중심으로
- 발표: 오중원(고려대) | 토론: 여운경(서울대)
- ☐ 무엇이 평화협상을 막는가? 미얀마 사례연구: 카친족과 카렌족 비교 사회: 여운경(서울대)
- 발표: 소예니(고려대) | 토론: 이상국(연세대)
- ☐ 말레이시아인의 종교성이 성 평등 태도에 미치는 영향: 무슬림과 비무슬림 비교
- 발표: 강은혜(서울대) | 이상국(연세대)

분과회의 9 : 동남아와 한인의 삶: 생애사 연구를 통해 본 동남아 한인의 정체성 I

240호

- ☐ 재태한인들의 초국적 경험: 초국적 정체성과 현지문화와의 관계를 중심으로
- 김홍구(부산외대) 사회: 김홍구(부산외대)
- ☐ 교민 생애사를 통해 본 필리핀 한인사회의 변천 - 김동엽(부산외대) 토론: 임시연
- ☐ 생애사를 통해 본 말레이시아 한인 정체성의 형성과 변화: 말레이시아 이주정책에 대한 한인 (유네스코한국위원회)
- 들의 대응을 중심으로 - 홍석준(목포대)

| 브레이크타임 | 10:30 - 10:40

| 제5부 | 10:40 - 12:40

분과회의 10 | Politics of Culture and Discourse in Southeast Asia

303호

- ☐ Color Revolution in Cambodia - Too Much Ado about Nothing?
- 발표: Deth Sok Udom(Zaman University) | 토론: 오윤아(KIEP)
- ☐ How Migration Has Shaped the Birth and Development of an East Javanese Village Community: The Case of Pranggang from the 1890s to the Mid-1960s
- 발표: Nurchayati(Surabaya State University) | 토론: 오윤아(KIEP)
- ☐ Comparing the National Ideologies: The History and Influences of Rukunegara in Malaysia and Pancasila in Indonesia 사회: 황인원(경상대)
- 발표: Sahul Hamid Mohamed Maiddin (Sultan Idris Education University)
- 토론: 송승원(한국외대)
- ☐ Dolorosa Sinaga: The Life, Art, and Politics of an Indonesian Woman Sculptor
- 발표: Sony Karsono (Center for the Interdisciplinary Study of Culture, Society, and History)
- 토론: 송승원(한국외대)

분과회의 11 | 한국의 대 아세안 정책 주요 이슈와 정책 방향

230호

- 발표 및 토론: 김형중(연세대) | 신재혁(고려대) | 이재현(아산정책연구원)
이종하(조선대) | 이충열(고려대) | 최경희(서울대)

사회: 이충열(고려대)

분과회의 12 : 메콩 유역을 둘러싼 개발 이슈와 협력 거버넌스

240호

- 태국 전력/에너지 체제의 경로 형성과 지속가능성 평가
- 엄은희(서울대), 신동혁(서울대)
□ 지역통합은 국경비즈니스에 어떤 영향을 미치는가: 태국-미얀마 국경지역 소수민족 군벌을
중심으로 - 이상국(연세대)
□ Determinants affecting on paddy productivity in Tonle Sap zone, Cambodia
- 안정욱(서울대), 김태운(서울대)
□ 메콩 지역 스마트 농업의 주요 사례 분석 - 이재원(서울대), 김태운(서울대)
□ 개발도상국 기후변화 대응 역량 구축을 위한 국제사회의 기여: 캄보디아 대학의 기후변화 교
육을 중심으로 - 전은정(서울대), 윤순진(서울대)

사회: 이준표(서울대)

토론: 이요한(한국외대)

이승호(고려대)

| 오찬 | 12:40-14:00

오찬사 : 박원순 서울시장

220호 | 삼익홀

| 제6부 Roundtable | Asian Peace Union as a Realistic Utopian Project

210호 | 영원홀

사회: 박은홍
(성공회대)

□ 발표자

Walden Bello(State University of New York, Binghamton)
Ekapant Pindavanija(Mahidol University)
백태웅(University of Hawaii) | 조희연(서울시교육감)

14:00-16:00

박은홍(성공회대) | 김희정(성공회대)

□ 토론자

박사영(한국동남아연구소) | 박정은(참여연대) | 이상국(연세대) | 이인영(국회의원, 외교통일위)
조효제(성공회대)

| 브레이크타임 | 16:00 - 16:10

| 제7부 | 16:10-18:10

분과회의 13 | (대학원생 발표) 일반 논문

303호

- 잠재적 이주자로서 베트남 여성들의 초국가성 경험: 한국 NGO의 신부수업 프로그램을 중
심으로
- 발표: 김경민(서울대) | 토론: 최호림(부경대)
□ 對 베트남 관광 공적개발원조(ODA) 사업에 대한 수혜지역주민 평가 연구
- 발표: 오수진(부산외대) | 토론: 최호림(부경대)
□ Does Farmer Field School improve Farmers' Willingness to Adopt the
Drought-tolerant Rice Varieties in Pangasinan, the Philippines?
- 발표: 조선미(서울대) | 토론: 정법모(서울대)

사회: 윤진표(성신여대)

분과회의 14 | Political Developments in Southeast Asia: Democracy Versus Authoritarianism 230호

☐ Thai Politics in the Post-Succession Period

- 발표: Pavin Chachavalpongpun(Kyoto University) | 토론: 서지원(창원대)

☐ Indonesian Democracy in Deconsolidation? Populism, Intolerance and Post-Truth

- 발표: Okamoto Masaaki(Kyoto University) | 토론: 서지원(창원대)

사회: 김형중(연세대)

☐ Re-authoritarianising Malaysia? Political Scandals and Problems of Accountability in the Post-Mahathir Era

- 발표: Iga Tsukasa (Kyoto University) | 토론: 김형중(연세대)

분과회의 15 | 동남아와 한인의 삶: 생애사 연구를 통해 본 동남아 한인의 정체성 II 240호

☐ 생애사를 통해 본 베트남 한인사회: 남과 북의 차이를 중심으로 - 채수홍(서울대)

☐ 이국에서 살아남기/살아가기 : 구술생애사를 통한 인도네시아 한인 정체성의 형성과 변화
- 엄은희(서울대)

사회: 김홍구(부산외대)

토론: 심주형(서강대)

☐ 라오스 한인의 삶: 생애사를 통해 본 정체성과 네트워크 - 이요한(한국외대)

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Creative Approaches in Peace Building Initiatives in Indonesia

Putut Widjanarko¹³⁾

With the worrying growing tendency of religious radicalism in most parts of the world, Indonesia, with its little more than 200 million Muslims (87 percent of total population), the largest Muslim population in a country in the world, is certainly not immune from this global phenomenon. Being often dubbed as the world's third largest democratic country, its democratic future is challenged by what some observers called as a "conservative turn" in Indonesian society (Bagir, 2014; van Bruinessen, 2014).

For example, the recent event in Marawi in the Southern part of the Philippines, where an armed militant group associated themselves with ISIS took over the city for around two months, certainly alarmed governments in the region. Indeed, there were Indonesian and Malaysian fighters who joined in the attack (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017 & "ISIL invasion," 2017). Furthermore, the government has estimated that around 500-600 Indonesians (including women and children) have joined ISIS ("Foreign Ministry," 2017), and many of them are involved in the violent fighting. Along with the demise of ISIS, some of these people are returning to Indonesia which naturally triggers some concern from both the authority and the society.

This concern is certainly justified, although, according to some observers (e.g. Friedman, 2016), Indonesia has been successful in some degree, although probably for temporarily, in reducing terror acts in the country. The latest and more recent terror attacks that happened in Indonesia are much smaller in scale compared to previous attacks, indicating that the capability of the terror network

13) Putut Widjanarko, Ph. D. is a lecturer at Paramadina Graduate School of Communication, Paramadina University, Jakarta, Indonesia. He co-founded the school and was its first Program Director (2009-2013). Putut earned his Ph. D. and master's degree in media studies from the School of Media Arts and Studies, Ohio University, USA. He is also the Vice President of Mizan Group, one of the most prominent publishing groups in Indonesia.

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seems to be dwindling. It must be pointed out, however, that this is a completely new phenomenon, because Islamic conservatism in various forms, and in various degrees with regards to its relationship with the state and the rest of the society, has always been part of Indonesian history (see Solahudin, 2011). The phenomenon has taken into a new dimension with the growingly unstable Middle East and the proliferation of new communication technology and social media use to make a globally interrelated conservatism around the word.

Moreover, there are signs showing that the conservative approach to Islam is gaining ground in Indonesia. For example, some research reveal the radical view of Indonesian youth is increasing (Azca, 2013; Fananai, 2013; Gani, 2013; see also "Survei: hampir 50% pelajar setuju tindakan radikal", 2011). The radical or conservative views, for a lack of better terminologies, certainly do not necessarily lead to violent expressions manifested in terrorism acts. But since terrorism attacks certainly initially stem from such radical views on religion, the peace building efforts to prevent such atrocities from happening need to be taken. The state Islamic organizations (such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama) and other non-state civil society organizations actors have dealt with the issue with different approaches, executions and results.

This paper will discuss the peace building program conducted by Peace Generation organizations that have been working on this issue for about a decade: Peace Generation and Yayasan Prasasti Perdamaian (YPP)

Peace Generation

Peace Generation was founded in 2007 by two friends, Irfan Amalee and Erik Lincoln (an American living in Bandung, Indonesia). It was the journey of their friendship from two people with a set of prejudice and who were strangers to each other to becoming best friends that lead the establishment of the organization. Amalee works professionally as one of the CEO in Mizan Group, one of the most prominent publishing groups in Indonesia, and has played a very important role in the digital initiatives of the company. He earned a master's degree in Peace Studies from Brandeis University, Boston, USA in 2012. Amalee was listed as one of the 500 most influential Muslims in the world by the Royal Institute for Islamic Studies, Amman, Jordan, for two years.

in a row: 2010 and 2011 (Amalee: 2107). His co-founder of Peace Generation, Eric Lincoln, is a teacher of an international school.

Peace Generation formulated what they call 12 *Nilai Dasar Perdamaian* (12 Basic Values of Peace), which is derived from Islamic teachings, to serve as its platform for any their peace building initiatives. The first initiative was to create a module consisting of 12 books to be used in the training. The training has covered as many as 45 regions in Indonesia, involving more than 30 thousand youths—and they are called “agents of peace”—and more than 500 school teachers. There are now seven versions of the modules published for different target audiences: Muslims (in Indonesian and English), Christians (in Indonesian), Aceh (in the local language Acehnese), children, Malaysians and Mindanao (The Philippines). Peace Generation uses one of the most innovative and recent method for training and learning called Accelerated Learning method in the module. A study conducted by psychologists from the State Islamic University Bandung, albeit with a small sample, shows that the aggressiveness level among student participants decrease 31,6 percent and the EID (emotional intelligence and diversity) among teacher participants increase 30 percent (Peace Generation, 2017; see also Rusyana, 2015).

Other than peace trainings using the module, Peace Generation has explored and organized some creative events in its peace building program line, e.g. Rock The Peace, Walk The Peace, Rock The Peace, Peacetival (2015, 2017) and PeaceZone (2017). These various programs are intended to give example or insights for the agents of peace to conduct similar or modified, if necessary, programs in their own local settings. The first big event was when Peace Generation held a rock concert called Rock The Peace in 2009, with main performers The Mahad (a rock band which members are students of the Islamic boarding school Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, Garut) and the indie rock band North of Here from Georgia, USA (see also Tan 2014). Around one thousand youngsters attended the concert which was filled with peace themed songs.

Walk The Peace, held once only in 2011, attracted forty participants—consisted of five participants from both South Korea and the US, and the rest of the participants were youths coming from various provinces in Indonesia. The participants walked from Bandung to Pangandaran, which is about 200 kilometers

apart, for ten days. Along the way they stopped and met Peace Generation communities to learn and teach about peace at schools or local communities.

Following the success of Rock The Peace, Peace Generation expanded the concept to what it called Peacetival, a portmanteau from the words peace and festival, and held in Bandung in 2015. It was a 12-hour event with various types of programs, such as a rock concert, film showings, talk shows and workshops, games, exhibition from around twenty institutions related to peace building (including such organizations as UNICEF, UNESCO etc), booths for peace-themed merchandise and environmentally friendly foods, and the launching of BobotohBageur (literally means “nice and kind football fans”—since the local football fans was known to be quite notorious and rough) campaign. The Mahad the indie rock from the *pesantren*, also performed, and a rock band from Canada called Air Marshall Landing was the guest performer. It was estimated that more than five thousand people attended the festival. In early 2017, with some small modifications to meet the local needs, Peacetival was held in Makassar, the capital city of South Sulawesi Province.

The latest event Peace Generation organized in mid-2017 was a funfair called PeaceZone. The event was held in upmarket shopping malls in Greater Jakarta, intended to attract children to play various games in twelve zones specially designed and created to promote the 12 basic values of peace formulated by Peace Generation. Around two hundred children participated in this Peace Generation new initiative to teach peace.

Yayasan PrasastiPerdamaian (Institute for International Peace Building)

Noor Huda Ismail worked as a special correspondent for the Washington Post Southeast Asia Bureau when the first Bali Bombing which claimed more than 200 lives (most of them were foreigners) happened in 2002. Later on, when the police announced the perpetrators of the atrocity, Ismail recognized one of them as his roommate and close friend when they studied together at Pesantren Al Mukmin, Ngruki, Solo—a pesantren which it's leaning to radical Islam was widely known. It was a watershed moment for him to seek more understanding about Islamic radicalism and to do something about it (Ismail, 2010). In 2005 he continued his study for a Master's degree in International Security at St Andrews University, Scotland, under a Chevening Scholarship awarded by the

British government. He also met with some former IRA leaders that had been successfully reintegrated into the society, which gave him the confidence that terrorists could be rehabilitated. Upon his return to Indonesia, he established Yayasan Prasasti Perdamaian (YPP) or International Institute for Peace Building in 2008. Ismail's writing and interviews on Islamic radicalism have appeared in national and international media outlets. He has also given public talks on this matter in many countries around the world. Currently he is doing his Ph.D. at Monash University on an Australian Award Scholarship with dissertation research on Indonesian foreign fighters.

Ismail believes more on disengagement rather than de-radicalization with regards to rehabilitation of people who already hold radical or violent view on Islam. Replacing a type of strongly held, albeit misleading perspective on religion with a more inclusive and tolerant perspective (i.e. de-radicalization), is much more difficult than trying to disconnect the person with their previous social network by giving the person chances to do something different and form new social networks (i.e. disengagement). Disengagement is seen as a more natural process of reintegration to society rather than de-radicalization. For this reason, one of YPP programs serves similar to a business incubator of especially for ex-prisoners who intend to start a new life and to abandon violent acts. The most successful program which had got wide attention and even international publicity (e.g Bend, 2014) is Dapur Bistik, a restaurant with around 100 seats run by Yusuf Adirisma, an ex-convict serving seven years sentence in prison. Since YPP's inception, there had been about 35 ex-convicts and/or their spouses who are in this program with varying degrees of success and failure in doing the business (Yayasan Prasasti Perdamaian, 2017).

YPP also had helped the government by conducting capacity building for parole prison officers. Certainly, the inmates who have extreme views on Islam, whom even had committed violent acts in the name of the religion, have very different characteristics compared to ordinary inmates. Consequently the parole and prison officers need to have some different approaches in dealing with those inmates, something that they are mostly not trained in and lack the experience to do so. YPP also engages selected inmates who are receptive to more moderate perspective on Islamic ideas with the hope that they will be able to persuade the

other more militant inmates to gradually soften their positions and therefore more open for further dialogue (Yayasan Prasasti Perdamaian, 2017).

YPP also has taken another different approach by producing a documentary film *Jihad Selfie* in 2016. This film, directed by Ismail himself, tells the story of Teuku Akbar Maulana, a young Indonesian studying in Turkey who was ready to join ISIS and later on abandoned the idea. It shows how social media has been an effective tool for recruitment. It also reveals that it is not always ideological reasons for somebody to become interested in joining violent extremism—some other factors like masculinity or identity searching frequently play a more important role. The film was screened at more than 100 places such as campuses and schools, media outlets, NGO offices, and community centers across Indonesia. *Jihad Selfie* was also screened in Geneva Forum on Countering Violent Extremism, and other special screenings in other countries such as Singapore, South Korea, Australia, and the UK. Other than Dapoer Bistik, *Jihad Selfie* is one of YPP's programs that had been frequently covered by the media, both national and international media (e.g. Topikasia, 2016).

Some Lessons

Countering violent extremism (CVE) programs, or its other terminology preventing violent extremism (PVE), are usually divided into three categories: first, programs intended to the general society to prevent them from being attracted to radicalism; second, programs dealing with specific communities or even individuals already drawn to the radical views and may have thought of violent acts as an option; third, programs aimed to deal with groups or individuals who have committed violence and are now still serving their sentence or trying to reintegrate with society (Sumpter, 2017). Peace Generation programs largely fall into the first category, by exploring many creative initiatives and events. Meanwhile, YPP touches all the three categories largely thanks to Ismail's background as a journalist and personal relationship which enable YPP on many cases to build direct access to, and win the trust of terrorism perpetrators.

Both YPP and Peace Generation carry out their programs with no, or very little at the least, coordination with the national counterterrorism agency.

Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT). There is some reluctance even to deal with BNPT because its approach is seen to be too top-down, and, by its nature as a state body, is seen cautiously and even distrustfully by the radical groups or terrorism perpetrators. Both YPP and Peace Generation have strong and wide grass-roots networks and hands-on experience that can be shared with other non-state actors, and even with BTPN, as well.

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주관

한국동남아학회

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주최

부산외대 동남아지역원

서강대 동아연구소

서울대 아시아연구소 동남아센터

서울대 인류학과 BK21플러스사업단

사단법인 한국동남아연구소

●
후원

한국연구재단

