



THE FUTURE OF INDONESIA BEYOND 2014: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

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THE FUTURE OF INDONESIA BEYOND 2014: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

REPORT OF A WORKSHOP ORGANIZED BY
THE INDONESIA PROGRAMME

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This report summarizes the proceedings of the conference as interpreted by the assigned rapporteurs and editor appointed by the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this report.

The conference adheres to a variation of the Chatham House Rule. Accordingly, beyond the paper presenters cited, no other attributions have been included in this workshop report.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On 3 November 2008, the Indonesia Programme at S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University organized a workshop on “The Future of Indonesia beyond 2014: Prospects and Challenges” for future leaders of Indonesia from various sectors. The workshop was meant to provide capacity building for Indonesia’s future leaders and aimed at helping these leaders to envision a better future for Indonesia as well as equipping them with the necessary strategic mindset to achieve such an outcome.

The closed-door workshop was organized around a future studies framework led by world renown futurist Professor Sohail Inayatullah, a political scientist associated with Tamkang University, Taiwan (Graduate Institute for Futures Studies), University of the Sunshine Coast (Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences), and Prout College. The workshop participants included eighteen younger generation leaders from Indonesia’s national parliament, major political parties, universities, and research institutes as well as representatives from major civil society groups and the media. These are people who are considered as potential future leaders and opinion makers from various backgrounds and sectors.

The workshop proceeded by giving a brief conceptual overview of futures thinking and framework as developed and employed by Prof. Inayatullah. The following sessions then saw the participants critically engaging and employing the framework to their respected preferred futures. The workshop also provided the opportunity for these leaders to engage one another through various group discussions and enabling them to exchange ideas on how to build a better Indonesia. Throughout the sessions, the common concern and theme that emerged from the participants was their concern of Indonesia’s deteriorating political, social, and economic conditions. However, throughout the discussions, participants also maintained their optimism that they could do more to further improve Indonesia’s weak conditions.

At the end of the workshop, participants critically engaged the workshop leader to further explore the future studies methods that they wished to bring back to Indonesia and their respective institution. On a final note, the workshop leader and participants, all agreed that Indonesia is facing many challenges, but they remained hopeful that its future leaders could play a critical role improve conditions there.

WORKSHOP BACKGROUND

The year 2008 saw Indonesia commemorating the tenth anniversary of the fall of President Soeharto and the advent of political reform and democracy. Throughout the year we have seen various institutions across Indonesia and beyond organize seminars to evaluate the progress of reform thus far and what areas need further improvement. From these activities there exists a wide range of unfinished reform agenda that compromised progress in Indonesia since a decade ago.

While certainly not without its merit, such an approach would make it harder for us to understand what Indonesia would look like in the next twenty years and beyond. This is where the Indonesia Programme is

trying to offer a new perspective. Instead of looking back, and by utilizing the field of future studies, we are trying to look forward and try to see Indonesia’s future through the eyes of future leaders that will lead the country in the next ten to twenty years.

This however would mean that we need to focus beyond the 2009 general elections, and instead look at potential leaders in the 2014 general elections and the Indonesia that they might mould then. Why is looking beyond 2014 crucial? This is mainly because the domestic political arena and discourse in the 2009 election would still be dominated by the last remnants of the old political regime. Thus, one could surmise

that real significant change might not occur in this election. Therefore, many have placed more hope in the 2014 general elections where young leaders could emerge and instill a more profound change.

However, in addition to this future-oriented perspective, it is also necessary to equip these future leaders with a certain basic set of tools to help contour their way of thinking. Thus, an understanding of scenario planning

and strategic foresight – currently refined under the rubric of ‘future studies’ – would be a crucial set of tools for future leaders to plan and shape Indonesia’s future. Thus, this workshop is trying to offer an alternative discourse by emphasizing the future of Indonesia beyond 2014, as well as inviting Indonesia’s emerging leaders while increasing their basic capacity to predict, tackle, and mould the kind of Indonesia that they envision.

WELCOME REMARKS BY INDONESIA PROGRAMME COORDINATOR



Associate Professor Leonard C. Sebastian, Coordinator of the Indonesia Programme, warmly welcomed the participants and expressed his gratitude that Indonesia’s future leaders were willing to participate in the workshop. Assoc Prof. Sebastian also expressed his hope that a brighter and better Indonesia would be realized in the hands of Indonesia’s younger generation of leaders.

He further remarked that the main purpose of the workshop was to equip the participants with the necessary capability to understand future trends, changes, and developments in Indonesia in a more systematic and forward-looking manner. Assoc Prof. Sebastian also mentioned that the reason why the discussion centered on the future beyond the 2014 general elections was because of the assumption that there will not be so drastic changes in next year’s elections. He further hoped that the workshop participants would play a more critical role then.

Assoc Prof. Sebastian ended his remarks by introducing the speaker, Professor Sohail Inayatullah, who will lead the workshop and provide the futures thinking framework to help equip Indonesia’s future leaders to comprehend strategic trends. He also provided the attendees with an overview of Professor Inayatullah’s background and concluded his opening remarks by inviting Prof. Sohail to lead the workshop.

SESSION 1

Introduction by Workshop Leader



Prof. Inayatullah opened the first session of the workshop by indicating that his presentation will be more centered on the basic concepts in futures thinking. He began by first explaining the four parts of the futures learning model. However, he only elaborated on the three most crucial models: the zero loop, single loop, and double loop. The first was described as an attitude where thinking about the next 10 or 20 years is considered a waste of time. Single loop then was said to be reflecting the willingness to learn about the information that comes into a person's mind. Finally, the double loop looks at reflections upon the reflections. Hence, it is not the idea or method *per se*, but it is the narratives behind it or the deeper story.

After providing examples of each model, Prof. Inayatullah stressed the significance of finding the narrative, or the story, or the script, and of figuring out our role in the story. First, this should make decision makers wiser as they reflect upon their decisions. Second, the participants cannot be successful in the future, unless they have their own story and are clear about their own role in that story. As an exercise, he then asked the participants to write down their core story about their future.

Before proceeding into a discussion on the core concepts of futures thinking, he drew the participants' attention to two things. First, about the importance of mapping the future as it would enable them to create directions of where to go in the future. This, he argued,

is the main aim of the workshop. Second, about the importance of a vision as it will serve as a guide to keep decision makers on track.

Prof. Inayatullah then introduced six concepts in future studies: default future, used future, disowned future, alternative future, and aligning story with strategy. Default future refers to the situation in the future where nothing changes. He stressed the importance of understanding default future as it could bring them to the realization that they need to do something. When he asked the participants to name Indonesia's default future, they provided an image of a failed state, where corruption, ineffective democracy, food shortages, military supremacy, poverty, and violence prevails.

The used future meanwhile refers to a situation which came about as a result of something that people do over and over again unconsciously, and does not actually meet their needs. In other words, it is a situation created because others have reinforced these thoughts and images in their minds over and over again, although the utility of such a situation is doubtful. Meanwhile, the disowned future can be understood as a failure that will be encountered as people reach success. He gave example of the rise of the West which was accompanied by an increased global warming. Thus, he told the audience to think about what they will disown, as they think about the future.

The alternative future on the other hand indicates that there is more than one future and that the alternatives can only be known after developing scenarios. This relates to the fifth concept, the desired future, which is crucial to get them to pull away from the situation they dislike. Thus, the clarity of the image of the desired future is important. He further added that people often lack the capability to envision their desired future, but instead are more able to identify what they dislike without having sufficient clarity of their preferred situation.



Finally, the sixth concept is aligning story with strategy. He explained that there must be logical flow between the story they have and the strategy they are trying to formulate. In other words, the strategy must be synchronized with the inner story, otherwise they risk failure. He further explained that if the story no longer works then the leader must change the story. But changing the story can only be done after they understood the problems.

Subsequently, several participants asked Prof. Inayatullah to elaborate more on how to change the story. In response, he touched upon a concept called CLA or Causal Layered Analysis briefly. CLA, which has 4 pillars, is a method to analyze social change or a model of social change. Level one analysis is to look at the data that we see over and over on paper. Level two is the system that supports that data, level three is the world view behind it, and level four is the deep myth. Accordingly, he pointed out that change must be made step by step, from one level to the next. He mentioned that the focus should go to the first level by addressing the problem as appeared in the data. If there is no change, then we should move to the next level until there is change.

To give better idea of CLA, he illustrated with an example from the U.S. health care system. The data indicates that 100.000 people a year died in the United States from medical mistakes. Improvement can be achieved through providing billions of dollars in training. But if there is no significant change, then analyses should move to level two. For example, by asking where they died. The answer may lead to the fact that hospital rooms were not designed with safety as the primary concern. Thus, focus should be directed at addressing structural problems. If the change is still

insignificant, then leaders must move to address the world view. For example, whether patients are empowered, and then leaders may want to find out if it is possible to empower the patient to make different decisions. At the last level, the leader might want to focus on understanding the myth (e.g. doctor knows best). He concluded that long foundational change is possible using the CLA.

Before Prof. Inayatullah ended his discussion, he told the attendees that as a leader they must understand all four levels. And if they want to change, he argued, they must match it with their story. In other words, he said, they must be able to frame the current situation with their own story if they want to instill change. Ultimately, he said, if they really want foundational changes, they must find out and understand the story, and they should come up with their own story.

Summary and Discussion



Prof. Inayatullah opened the session by inviting the participants to volunteer their insights providing brief summaries of their discussions in the previous session applying what he taught them to the Indonesian context in *Bahasa* if necessary if it made them more comfortable to facilitate better understanding among the participants.

The first summary was delivered by Yuddy Chrisnandi, a Member of Parliament from the Golkar Party, who highlighted four phases of how Indonesians understand the problems of today and the future. He said that rational people will consult books, magazines, and newspapers at the first level. On level two, people will make sure that their findings conform to the structure

and system. The next level is their respective views, where the understanding becomes less intellectual as their perspectives will be conditioned by their levels of education. The next level is myth. He cited the example where Sukardi Rinakit, an Indonesian political observer, who attempts to endorse Sri Sultan Hamengkubowono by invoking the myth that the president of Indonesia must be a Javanese.

The next summary was provided by Adinda T. Muchtar, a research director at the Indonesian Institute, who highlighted the need to develop a critical attitude in understanding situations, which according to her does not come easy. The deep rooted myth, like Indonesia's political culture, is a great challenge, but not impossible to change. She further argued that the changes are a shared responsibility between politicians and activists and stressed the importance of thinking about alternative futures, not only reflecting ideal visions but also realistic ones. She also mentioned how unfortunate it was that more often than not people complain while providing no solutions, although she noticed that sometimes people actually want the same thing, but differ in their strategy to achieve them. To sum up, she stressed three attitudes to develop: creativity, critical thinking, and being realistic.

The last summary was provided by Ari Perdana, an economist with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta. He noticed from the previous session how politicians, unlike economists, tend to focus on the part of the Prof Inayatullah's lecture that they can use to justify their political perspectives/activities. For example he noticed how Yuddy Chrisnandi raised the subject of myths and it seemed like he wanted advice on how Jusuf Kalla, chair of the Golkar Party and a non-Javanese could become president.

Subsequently, Prof. Inayatullah proceeded by stating that he will introduce to the participants other core concepts and methods to equip them to envision and achieve their preferred futures. He also wanted the participants to do two things in the workshop. First, to ask any easy question about their future, and second, to employ a methodology called the futures triangle. In this regard, he said that the participants must be clear in terms of the type of future that they would like to see, the future that they fear, the assumptions behind the preferred and negative futures, and the alternative futures. He continued by breaking them into four groups where they would develop scenarios for the future.

SESSION 2

Several Future Scenarios for Indonesia



The session began with four groups of 4-6 participants tasked with creating several future scenarios for Indonesia.



The first group, represented by Yuddy Chrisnandi, came up with the following scenarios:

Scenario 1, they predicted that within 10 years, the population of Indonesia will be over 250 million people and they fear that there will be food shortages, overpopulation in big cities, and increased criminal activity. The assumption is that there will be baby boom. The strategy, then, is to control population growth.

Scenario 2, they predicted that Indonesia will suffer from energy shortages and would have little option but to import fuel and coal. The assumption here is that current domestic oil production is less than 1 million barrels a day, with demand being more than 1, 5 million a day. Thus, the strategy that they would pursue is to achieve energy self-sufficiency by emphasizing alternative energy options producing bio-ethanol and bio-energy, and develop industries to support this project.

Scenario 3, they predicted that climate change will worsen as Indonesia continues to experience rapid deforestation. The assumption is that 1 million square miles of tropical rainforest will be lost annually. Their strategy to achieve a clean and green environment where there is less pollution is to stop forest industry concessions, bring the perpetrators to justice, and engage in reforestations.

Scenario 4, they predicted that illegal logging, mining, and fishing by foreigners will continue. The assumption is that Indonesia does not have sufficient capability to control its territory. The strategy to protect territorial integrity is to strengthen Indonesia's defense capabilities so as to "regain" control over its territory and natural resources.



The second group, represented by Dicky Dooradi, developed scenarios on what civil society-state relations

would be in the future. The group predicted that in the future freedom of association and freedom of organization will be maintained and civil society organizations (CSOs) can effectively advocate views and policies addressing whatever critical issues the country faces. At the same time, he added, the ever-present insecurity felt by CSOs regarding the possibility of state repression.

He continued by specifying two key drivers that will determine the future: level of civic engagement or active citizenry in promoting their interests, and the socio political environment. Based on the two drivers, the group developed the following scenarios:

Scenario 1, the combination of high civic engagement and high enabling socio-political factors will create good governance or balance between the state, CSOs and the market.

Scenario 2, the combination of low civic engagement and high enabling socio political environment will create an oligarchy, where a group of people will benefit from the system.

Scenario 3, the combination of low civic engagement and socio-political environment characterized by repression will create a Dark Age.

Scenario 4, the combination of high civic engagement and a disabling socio-political environment will create conflicts between CSOs and the state.

The third group, represented by Anies Baswedan, focused their discussions on Southeast Asia. Their scenario reflected core-periphery relations coloured by conflict and cooperation. Here, they envisioned Indonesia as part of a prosperous, advanced, strong, and powerful Southeast Asia. The scenarios that they develop are the following:

Scenario 1, Southeast Asia is the home for advanced and prosperous countries, equipped with advanced knowledge and technology.

Scenario 2, Southeast Asia will be filled with advanced and prosperous countries, but the region is filled with tension, conflict, and threatening neighbors.



Scenario 3, Southeast Asia will be characterized by developmental gaps, where some of its members excel, while others in the region are far behind. Thus, there are tighter immigration laws, and increased population control to avoid unnecessary spill over problems.

Scenario 4, Southeast Asia will be less advanced and coloured with conflicts.

The fourth group, represented by Andi Widjajanto, focused on the Indonesian military. In this regard, the group wanted war to occur in the region, to motivate Indonesia to develop strong maritime power. At the same time, they fear the existence of internal enemies, which will lead to a military comeback in politics. The assumption behind these images is that military reform will be completed by 2014 where the military will no longer be involved in business activities and politics, and civilians will have undisputed control over military.

He argued that there are two drivers: state capacity, which is located between strong and weak capacity, and threat, which comprised of internal and external threats. The group then developed the following scenarios:

Scenario 1, the combination between strong state and external threat will foster conditions enabling Indonesia to become a maritime power by 2024.

Scenario 2, the combination between strong state and internal threat will create an authoritarian military regime.

Scenario 3, the combination between internal threat and a weak state will create another politically-oriented army.

Scenario 4, the combination between weak state and external threat will create an alliance system.



SESSION 3

Indonesia and The Future Triangle

Prof. Inayatullah began the session by presenting the concept of the future triangle. This triangle has three nodes. The first node on the top of triangle is the image of the future, which, when combined with the belief of the possibility to create the future will lead to higher capacity. The second node is the push factors or the drivers, such as technology, *realpolitik*, the need to dominate, and the need for new resources. The final node is the barriers or factors that hinder the attainment of the future. He further emphasized of the importance of the image of the future. Although they do not create

reality *per se*, but the image defines what is possible – which is crucial in foresight. Nevertheless, he said that images change through time, and the future triangle is a way to model that change and understand the image better.

After this brief explanation, he assigned the participants to work in groups again, although with differing compositions, and to employ the future triangle to the case of Indonesia. They were asked to pick one out of the four scenarios developed earlier, and to translate

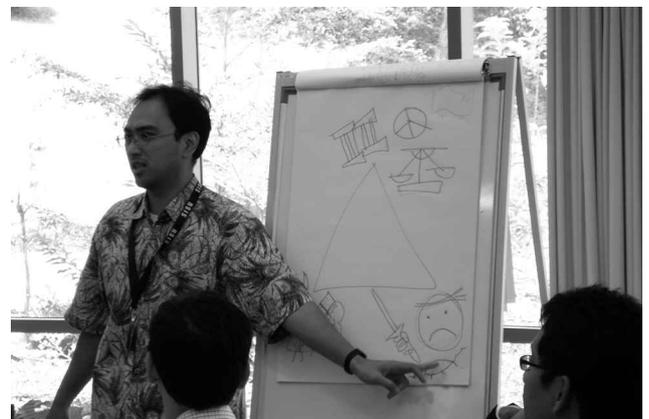
it into a visual image, for example a drawing. He for added that the aim of this exercise is to develop visualization capacity.



The first group talked about Indonesia’s environment, though they did not draw any clear picture to visualize their ideas. Represented by Usman Hamid, they said that they wanted to see a clean and green environment. The push factors are: (1) regulations to stop illegal logging and deforestation, increase reforestation efforts, protect farming efforts, and establishing control over multinational companies; (2) enhancing public participation in the decision making processes, strengthening the bargaining position of farmers and fishermen, and to develop a people-centered agro-industry; (3) public education on environmental awareness. Meanwhile, the inhibiting factors are: (1) corrupt mentality; (2) low education level; (3) lack of transparency and accountability in the bureaucracy and business sector; (4) lack of a visionary leader; and (5) uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources.



The second group, represented by Budiman Sujatmiko, focused on Southeast Asia’s integration. On top of the triangle they drew an airplane which displayed the name “ASEAN Airlines”, money which indicated a Southeast Asian currency, and even a building symbolizing the ASEAN parliament. On the push factors, they drew sketches of several people depicting Southeast Asia’s huge population base as a potential market and human resources. They also drew symbols of various religions and a symbol of communism indicating the region’s diversity, which made Southeast Asia a melting pot of the great cultures of the world. On the inhibiting factors, they drew guns, islands, and unequal charts with the symbol of the dollar on top. The gun reflects the fear of violence and terrorism, and the islands indicate how geographical aspects can hinder communication, while charts with the dollar symbolizes developmental gap among Southeast Asia countries.



The third group, represented by Ari Perdana, focused on social and political aspects. At the top of the image, they drew the symbol of peace, a scale as a symbol of justice, money reflecting prosperity, and two building pillars which symbolize strong government. On the push factors, they drew a small head of a bull, and group of people sitting around a table, and a book, all of which symbolizing people participation in the decision making process. Meanwhile, on inhibiting factors, they drew a head and a hand holding a knife which symbolizing monarchy and they also drew a rat, which symbolized corruption.



The last group, represented by Andi Widjajanto, focused on military power. On top of the triangle they drew an aircraft carrier, submarines, and the islands within Indonesia's territory, and they also wrote MP 2024 – all of which symbolizes their hope that Indonesia will become a maritime power in 2024. On the push factors, they drew Indonesia and its 5 big islands with two arrows pointing from outward to the picture. It symbolizes that the main facilitating factor contributing to the realization of Indonesia's emergence as a maritime power is external threat. They also wrote strong state and military reform. On the inhibiting factors, they drew Indonesia's five big islands and Bali. For Sumatra Island, they wrote "Islamic Republic" and "Aceh kingdom." Java Island was represented as the "Republic of Java," with Borneo called "Dayak Kingdom," Sulawesi referred to as the "Islamic Republic" and "Goa Kingdom," while for Papua, they wrote the "Republic of Papua," and finally, Bali, they identified as the "Kingdom of Bali." This picture indicates that Indonesia will become a failed state, where there will be the increased communal conflicts, separatism, and eventually disintegration. To put it simply, in approximately 20 years, Indonesia will no longer exist, and instead be replaced by the kingdoms stated above.

Discussion

After the presentations, Prof. Inayatullah invited queries from the participants. The first issue raised was about the boundaries of what is real and unreal. He responded by saying that the notion of 'realism' is what futures thinking has always tried to break. According to his experience in the last 20 years, he noticed that through emerging issue analysis, an understanding of trends, as well as issues that form the seeds of change, something that may seem impossible could become possible. He further added that as a principle, he always challenged the notion of impossibility through empirical history and logic. For example, the collapse of the Soviet Union may not be expected. However, he found out that there were two predictions confirming that such a development could become a reality. The first observation was made by Johan Galtung in 1981 who stated that within 10 years the Soviet Union will collapse, and the second was made by an Indian philosopher P. R. Sarkar, who predicted in the 1950s, that by the time he dies or about to die, the Soviet Union will collapse. He died in 1990. He went on further to stress that talking about future imaginations may involve some risk.

Another participant asked whether making predictions as in the case of Soviet Union's collapse, rely on personal capacity to anticipate the future, or on theory such as path dependence. Prof. Inayatullah explained that in the case of the Soviet Union, the prediction was not based on trends, but it was based on a theory of macro history. However, in terms of shorter time, it is path and agency dependent.

Another question was posed about the difference between the inner story and success story in each country and whether the inner story should be a success story, which depicted the strength of the country. Prof. Inayatullah explained that inner stories should be understood to have a sense of what is possible, and therefore can be used for social political transformation. Nevertheless, having a sense of the root story may not be easy because we live in our culture. But, if we live in our country long enough we might know what the myths are. He proceeded by indicating that the inner story or success story of each country is different. Finally, he left the audience with the message that from an ethical view, leaders must not use inner stories for detrimental purposes, and must use it to bring out the best outcome for the people.

The issue of emergent stories and futures was raised next. Prof. Inayatullah said that this is one of the core concepts in future studies and explained that the whole purpose of learning tools such as the future triangle, scenario planning, visioning, or deep metaphors, is to create strategies and reach capacity building and are dedicated to creating the possibility that some new outcome could happen. When some of the participants asked whether the emergence of a new outcome is predictable, he put the issue under the context of agreements and certainties. He said that societies live under different degrees of combination between agreements and certainties. In the case of Indonesia, it seemed to him that people disagree as to where Indonesia should go, but there is certainty that it should be a better place. When at least there is agreement either on goals or there is a high degree of certainty, the emergence of new outcomes can be approached through future studies.

The next question highlighted the concern that imagination or projection, even if based on data, may lead to utopian thinking. In this sense, the participants asked if the desire to eradicate poverty is real or a figment of imagination. Prof. Inayatullah responded by arguing that what is today considered imagination may tomorrow become a reality. He cited an example that in the 18th century the debate over slavery revolved on whether ending slavery was viewed as a utopian ideal or seen as a necessity. However today, global norms are solidly against slavery. Nevertheless, he

acknowledged that it is not clear where the projections could lead to.

The issue of failed imaginations was raised subsequently, and he began by saying that the capacity to anticipate the future is always framed through personal lenses, worldview, and current data. That is why people need to go outside their current way of thinking, and devise several scenarios. They have to acknowledge their fears and predictions, and be clear about the assumptions behind those images. He stressed once again about the importance of research, anticipating, and devising scenarios. Correspondingly, he said, although people desire a different world, they are at the same time struggling to come to terms with themselves.

One participant asked Prof. Inayatullah to expand on prediction. He highlighted two points. First, prediction itself is a very tough exercise, so he was not recommending the participants to spend time predicting the future. However, he stressed that is important to have a sense of what the alternatives are, and their role is to keep bringing in new ideas. Second, human beings create something different through imagination. He then suggested that predictions are made only after they figured out the inner story, got their vision, and develop strategies forward.

The last question touched upon the issue of how to resolve disagreements on what is considered the objective goal and once again voiced concerns in the difficulty of deciding what is possible and impossible. Prof. Inayatullah said that after listening to the participants, he came to the conclusion that they already have a world view, and that in reality telling people to think differently is not easy. So part of the challenge is deciding if the present is something good or bad. In this case, a shared criterion can be developed. Finally, he ended the discussion by suggesting that the participants come up with a complete idea about what is possible and impossible and to begin by asking the question: "Why do I believe what I believe?" If certain stories are helping them to achieve their goal then he urged the participants use them, but if they are stopping them from being successful, then they should change the story. That of course, he argued, takes a lot of analytic as well as spiritual work.

SESSION 4

Backcasting and a Journey to Indonesia in 2020

Prof. Inayatullah began the session by discussing creative visualizing and backcasting. He specified three types of visioning or three methods to get to the future or to be clear of where you want to be and what you want to see in the future: scenarios, creative visualization, and interviewing. As the scenarios have been covered in the previous session, in this session, the participants were introduced to creative visualizing, which involved an exercise called “dreaming.” In this exercise, he asked the participants to a journey to the year 2020.

The journey began from a small park to a six-storey building, where he asked the participants to imagine themselves being in the balcony from which they overlooked the entire city and how the situation they imagined was unfolding before them. The participants must imagine themselves taking gentle steps to the balcony on the sixth floor. On their way to the balcony, they were asked to imagine the view they expect to see from the balcony. Once they reach the sixth floor, they were asked to visualize what they saw, and to imagine someone waiting for them at the balcony wanting to give them a note containing a message from the future. He then asked each participant to share the message they received from the future.

For Dicky Dooradi, the message was “we are triumphant” while Andi Widjajanto, message’s read “the new destroyer will be commissioned today.” Adinda Muchtar shared that her message was “anything is possible, just say it, believe it, and make it come true” while for Budiman Sudjatmiko, he saw that the political party he led was strong and imbued with democratic programmes and the message said “take back the memory of your past, use it to drive Indonesia as a leader of Asia and Africa.” For Usman Hamid, he simply saw his family being happy in a green environment, but the road to get there was difficult and his message stated “this future is something we want” while Nursanita Nasution’s message said “be consistent in what you believe.”

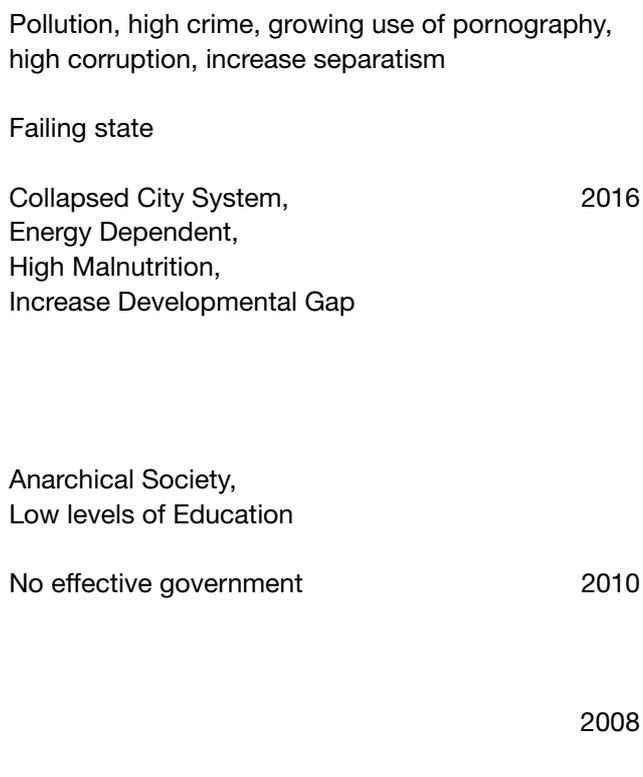
For Purbaya Yudhi Sadewa who saw his happy family, the message was “make sure it happens,” and Anies Baswedan saw that Indonesia’s future lay in regions where people could enjoy rural life. Ari Perdana he saw a fisherman’s village that now has more modern boats and better facilities and the message said “thanks to economic development, we now have access to basic facilities, education, sanitation, and a better living standard, and Indonesia won the World Cup and beat Singapore.” Zuhairi Misrawi saw himself as minister of transportation and the message said “as politicians they must have the political will to solve problems.” Zainal Muchtar saw himself entering the Supreme Court as a Chief Justice and the message was “it is now your turn to sentence corruptors with the maximum penalty.” Endy Bayuni saw himself in a beautiful environment and the message said “Indonesia is now a free society.” Suryo Ariwibowo saw a peaceful Indonesia and the message was “continue what you have been doing.”

Meanwhile, Fadjoel Rahman saw himself standing in the Presidential Palace in the last day of his second term as president where he saw his people living in prosperity. Bima Arya Sugiarto saw himself standing in front of the class as a professor of political science, becoming president of the university, and his message was “great things have small beginnings, just continue what your doing now.” Robertus Robet saw the whole world was mixed with sea, fire, and a beautiful environment but the people are similar, with materialistic goals, and his message was “the burden will be the same.” Finally, Yuddy Chrisnandi saw that the younger generation’s lifestyle is about sex, drugs, and rock and roll, and the message was “the country will fall without you and your friend who sits here today; you must work together with the same vision to save the future and bring glory to the country.”

Prof. Inayatullah concluded that the message the participants received was generally positive and then tried to summarize the dominant images that appeared. The images were categorized into: positive images (decentralization, green environment, happy family, no poverty, strong country, and regional leadership); nightmare scenarios (alcohol, drugs, sex, pollution, criminals); and a unique image, dubbed, "soulless city." He proceeded by introducing the participants to a method called backcasting or being in the future

and asked them to form three groups based on these three images and to imagine they live in the year 2020. They then must go backwards and to remember of what happen over the last 12 years. Following which they needed to formulate strategies to avoid or to create the future.

The first group discussed negative visions, why it happened, and strategy to avoid it. The following is the timeline they drew during the workshop:



The group specified that in 2020, Indonesia will experience deforestation, poverty, malnutrition, disregard for the law, pollution, high crime, growing use of pornography, high incidences of corruption, and an increase separatism. The factors that contribute to the negative images are on the left of the above

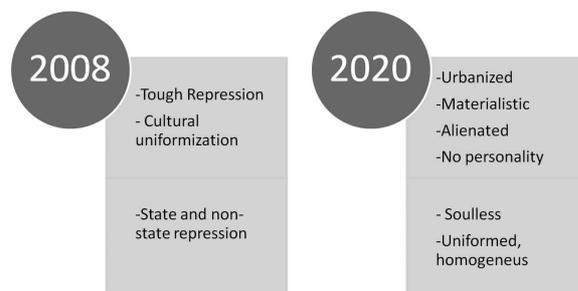
diagram. Meanwhile, the strategies they proposed are indicated on the right side of the diagram.

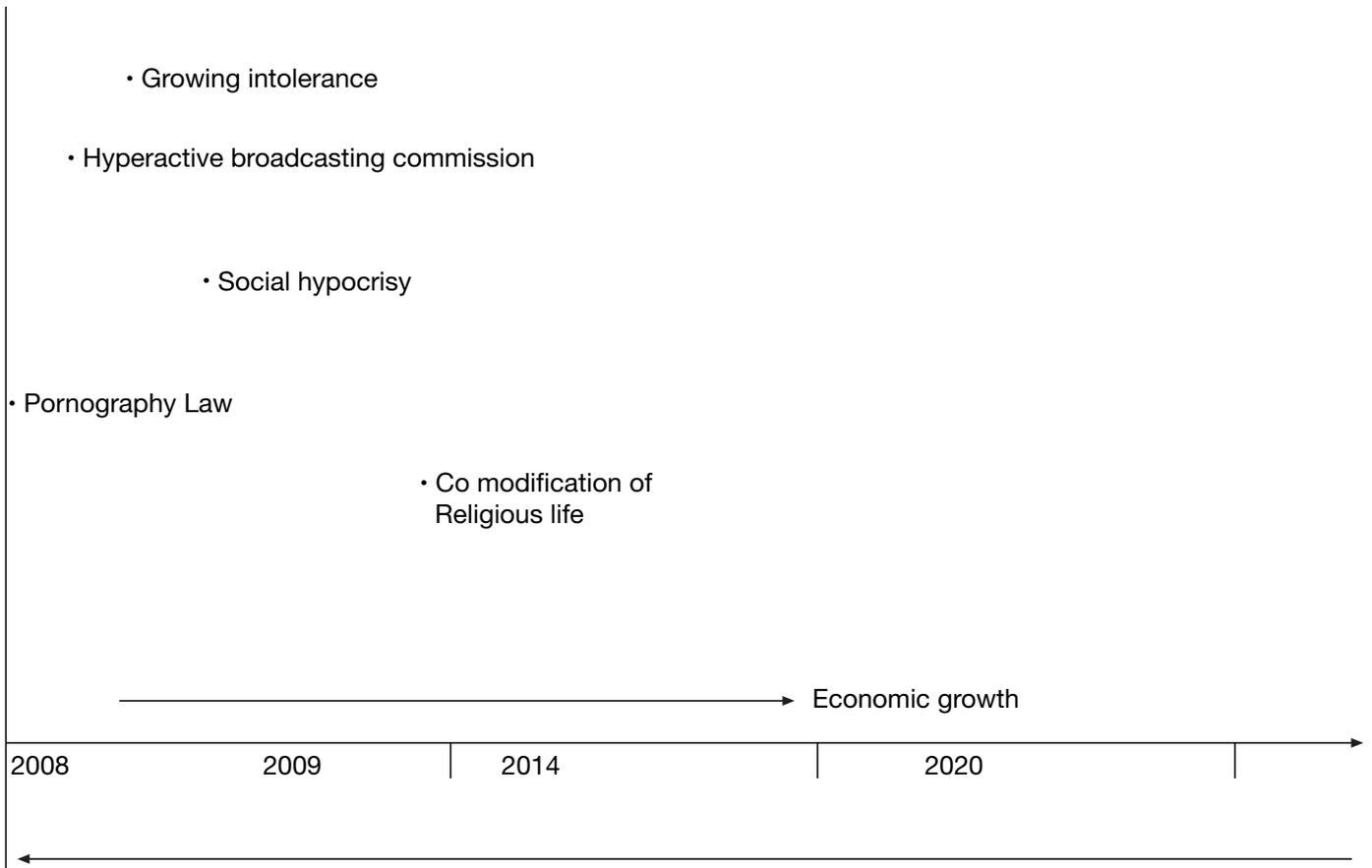
The second group discussed the social environment in Indonesia in 2020. The following are two diagrams that they drew during the workshop:

Hyperactive KPI (Indonesia Broadcasting Commission)

Pornographic law

Conservatism



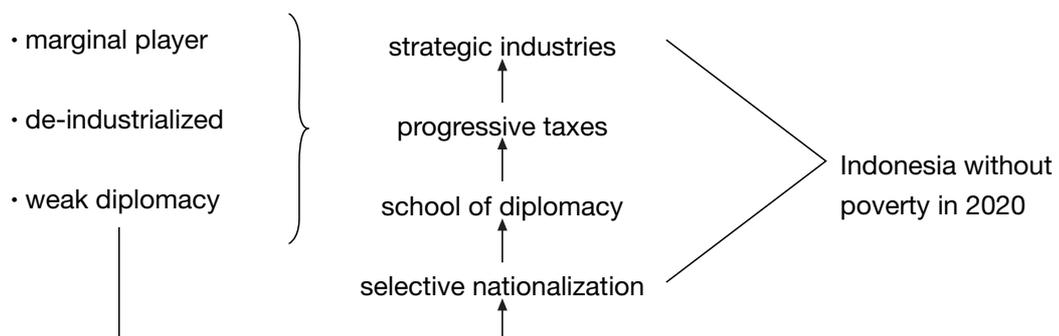


The third group focused on four themes: decentralization, environment, international cooperation, and politics. The following model captures their vision in 2020, and the events that preceded developments in 2020:

1. Decentralized prosperity ④ 2020
- BUMN relocation to the regions ④ 2014
 - Agriculture empowerment ④ 2012
 - Pro-poor budget ④ 2012
 - Balancing power central + regional + local ④ 2008

2. Green Indonesia ④ 2020
- Jakarta Governor is environmentally visionary ④ 2014
 - 100 % bio fuel ④ 2009
 - Participatory city planning ④ 2014
 - Reforestation ④ 2010

3. Indonesia joins BRIC → IBRIC (Indonesia-Brazil-Russia-India-China) in 2020



4. Clean Government

- 2009 — amending constitution
- 2014 — apprehend “rotten politicians”
- 2014 — strong law enforcement
- 2017 — reforming bureaucracy

The group indicated that decentralized prosperity will be in place in 2020 thanks to the four strategies prior to 2020. They also imagined a green Indonesia in 2020 as a result of environmental policies during the ten year period prior to 2020. In the economic arena, they desired an Indonesia free from poverty in 2020, a goal to be pursued through a combination of international cooperation and domestic policies. Last but not least, they expected clean government in 2020 materializing through the completion of necessary constitutional amendments, strong law enforcement, tough disciplinary action against corrupt politicians, and bureaucratic reform.

The final presentation brought an end to the session. Before Prof. Inayatullah closed the session, he invited the participants to provide a brief summary of the workshop. Ari Perdana said that the workshop is about looking into the future and that thinking about the future is an art and a science. He went on to say that

the exercise of drawing the picture is an extrapolation from the past, plus a vision about the future involving some personal views: namely, how do we see the future, will depend on how each of the participants view the world individually, how they portray ourselves in history and in the future, whether as a captain of the ship, or innocent bystanders, or one in the driver’s seat with the ability to drive the changes.

Usman Hamid said that most of the participants attending the workshop were intent on trying to do something to change Indonesia. He added that to make changes they all needed friends and changes would take time. In summary, he said that future change depends on the way they define themselves and their friends today. Yuddy Chrisnandi stated that “our dream is like climbing a tree, where we need motivation, we need to prepare ourselves,” and following which “we need interactions, and some examples, a hero in our lives, after which we then move on to transcendental process.” Finally, Endy Bayuni said he learnt about the power of narrative and the use of metaphor, to make changes and he sees himself as a writer together with the scholars present in the workshop whose duty is to bring about change.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Prof. Sohail Inayatullah in his closing remarks stated that each participant has their story and he felt that all the workshop participants would agree that there are a variety of changes plausible and whether they feel change would be big or small, he urged them find their specific role in promoting change. The Workshop was brought to a close by Assoc. Prof Leonard C. Sebastian who thanked the participants once again, and expressed his appreciation of their participation. He told the participants how he hoped that the workshop will be useful exercise for them to think about the various futures that may evolve in time to come. In addition to that, he cherished the opportunity of being able to learn and explore Indonesia from the perspective of the participants. He noted that with the collapse of the Suharto regime in 1998, Singapore had

to develop new thinking about Indonesia, quickly come to grips with the emergence of the *reformasi* elite, and later make sense of the immense changes taking place in Indonesia during the *reformasi* era. Prior to 1998, adherence to ASEAN norms made it impossible for Singapore to cultivate the Soeharto era opposition unlike countries like United States and Australia who as a consequence have enjoyed a head start benefiting well established linkages with a variety of groups that have come to dominate the post Suharto era. Initiatives like this Workshop aimed at reaching across a variety of individuals representing Indonesia’s different political, religious, and cultural streams could bridge such gaps and will go a long way in enabling Singapore’s post 1965 generation to better understand the thinking of their contemporaries in Indonesia.

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ABOUT THE INDONESIA PROGRAMME

The **Indonesia Programme**—coordinated by Associate Professor Leonard Sebastian—focuses on three areas. *Firstly*, to conduct research on issues pertaining to Indonesia that is of relevance to Singapore; *secondly*, to contribute to RSIS Master's Programmes by offering quality courses; and *thirdly*, to provide policy reviews and briefings to assist stakeholders and the policy community to better understand the complex changes taking place in post-Suharto Indonesia. At the regional and global levels, it aims to network and engage in collaborative research activities with like-minded international institutions interested in modern Indonesia, specifically post-Suharto Indonesia.

Research at the Programme encompasses a variety of key areas ranging from civil-military relations, developments relating to defence and security sectors, political Islam, militant Muslim movements phenomenon, terrorism, intra-state conflicts, Indonesian foreign policy/international relations, the Indonesian economy, problems of underdevelopment, and local politics and decentralization in the Riau region. Currently, the Programme's primary research focuses on five main fields: Defence and Security, National Politics, Local Politics and Political Economy, Islam, and Intra-state Conflicts. The need to contribute to policy-relevant knowledge that is specifically related to political, economic, and social trends in the provinces of Riau and Riau

Archipelago has resulted in the inauguration of a fortnightly publication called the Riau Bulletin in August 2006.

Over the past year our networking initiatives have sought to reach out to both the policy and academic communities. Particularly relevant in this regard was our inaugural Riau Roundtable, held on 27 June 2007. An in-house seminar entitled "Riau: Politics and Society" was held at RSIS on 25 October 2007 featuring scholars specializing on Riau, such as Associate Professor Lenore Lyons, Dr. Michelle Ford, and Mr. Nick Long. Essays from these events are to be combined into an edited volume on Riau.

The Programme has also hosted a number of seminars on politics, economy, civil-military relations and Singapore-Indonesia relations. In 2007, it featured Indonesian notable speakers, including Minister of Trade Dr. Mari Pangestu, Mr. Taufik Kiemas (PDI-P), Dr. Yuddy Chrisnandi (Golkar), and Dr. Sutradara Gintings (PDI-P). Analysis of the state of conflict resolution and peace building in Aceh were provided by Dr. Kuntoro Mangkusubroto (BRRI) and Dr. Irman G. Lanti (UNDP).

For more information on the Indonesia Programme, please visit http://www.rsis.edu.sg/Indonesia_Prog

ABOUT THE S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY

The **S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)** was inaugurated on 1 January 2007 as an autonomous School within the **Nanyang Technological University (NTU)**, upgraded from its previous incarnation as the **Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS)**, which was established in 1996.

The School exists to develop a community of scholars and policy analysts at the forefront of Asia-Pacific security studies and international affairs. Its three core functions are research, graduate teaching and networking activities in the Asia-

Pacific region. It produces cutting-edge security related research in Asia-Pacific Security, Conflict and Non-Traditional Security, International Political Economy, and Country and Area Studies.

The School's activities are aimed at assisting policymakers to develop comprehensive approaches to strategic thinking on issues related to security and stability in the Asia-Pacific and their implications for Singapore.

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