



**LUNDS**  
UNIVERSITET

Lund University Master of Science in  
International Development and Management  
May 2019

# **Human Rights Cities in Indonesia**

- A case study of diverse approaches in Bandung City and Wonosobo Regency

**Author: Sofie Viborg Jensen**  
**Supervisor: Christopher Mathieu**

## **Abstract**

Building on a previous thesis, which focused on the historical emergence and transformations of different conceptions of so-called human rights cities (HRCs), this study focuses on the ramifications of operationalising the concept in practice in two cities on the Indonesian island Java. The thesis adopts sociological- and discursive new institutionalism as a point of departure for its analysis, looking at the social- and political practices of diffusing HRC. Fieldwork was conducted during a period of 10 weeks, in the mega city Bandung, which since 2015 have been known as Indonesia's first human rights city, and in the rural region Wonosobo, which since 2013 have been working actively with the concept. The two cases represent vastly different societal contexts, and they have gone about the process of becoming human rights cities in very different ways. Still this study is able to identify certain commonalities and common challenges. In this way, it is possible to draw valuable lessons learned from the cases and get an understanding of the complexities of working with human rights at the local level through a concept that has yet to gain a clear definition or common understanding across actors.

**Key words:** Cities, Urban Development, Human Rights, Local Governance, Indonesia, Case study

**Word Count:** 14.830, excluding footnotes and figures

## Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to acknowledge the great work Aldhiana, Fahmi, Mugi and all the other passionate individuals, working to realise the ambition of human rights cities in Indonesia, and thank you for your participation in this study. You have allowed me to follow, document and analyse your work, and you have supported my ambition to pursue this work by sharing your thoughts, knowledge and networks with me. Secondly, I would like to thank my great colleagues at the Raoul Wallenberg Institute for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, and in particular, Sabastian, Wulan and Lena from the Jakarta office who has supported me and been the friendly and familiar faces I have needed when things did not always go as expected. Sabastian, I am especially grateful for our exchange of ideas, your commitment to the human rights city project and your continuing support and believe in me.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Christopher Mathieu, who has followed me through the journey of completing two master's degree projects, keeping my sociological lens on point and always asking the right questions. I would also like to extend my gratitude to The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) for awarding me a Minor Field Study scholarship without which this study would not have been possible.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge and thank my husband, Muhammad, who took part in this journey. Thank you for your love, patience, support and sacrifice. I know it has not all been easy. And I would like to dedicate this work to Elias. As a stowaway, you travelled with your father and me, as we made our way from Bali to Bandung, Wonosobo and Jakarta. You complicated our journey quite a bit, but you have already sparked so much excitement and joy. You are the reason why Indonesia will forever hold a special place in my heart. I look forward to meeting you soon!

## Contents

ABSTRACT .....	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	II
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	V
<b>1. INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>6</b>
1.1. RELEVANCE AND CONTEXTUALISATION .....	6
1.2. PURPOSE, AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS .....	7
1.3. LIMITATIONS .....	7
<b>2. LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>3. CONCEPTUAL- AND THEORETICAL ENGAGEMENTS .....</b>	<b>9</b>
3.1. DEFINITIONS OF HUMAN RIGHT CITIES .....	9
3.2. GOVERNING HUMAN RIGHTS CITIES .....	11
3.3. ANALYSING HUMAN RIGHTS CITIES .....	13
<b>4. METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>15</b>
4.1. STRATEGIES FOR CASE SELECTION .....	15
4.2. DATA COLLECTION .....	15
ROLE OF GATEKEEPERS AND IDENTIFICATION OF STAKEHOLDERS AND INTERVIEWEES .....	15
EXPERT AND GROUP INTERVIEWS .....	16
DOCUMENT REVIEW .....	17
4.3. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS .....	17
RELATION TO GATEKEEPERS AND INTERVIEWEES .....	17
DATA PROTECTION .....	17
INTERPRETATIONS AND LANGUAGE BARRIERS .....	18
INFORMED AND CONTINUOUS CONSENT .....	18
<b>5. CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND .....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>6. CASE I: WONOSOBO REGENCY, JAVA .....</b>	<b>20</b>
6.1. STEP-BY-STEP: BECOMING A HUMAN RIGHTS CITY .....	20
STAGE 1, 2013: EMBRYO PHASE .....	21
STAGE 2, 2015-2017: HARMONISING .....	21
STAGE 3 2018: IMPLEMENTATION .....	22
6.2. SPECIAL FOCUS AREAS OF WONOSOBO HUMAN RIGHTS CITY .....	23

6.3.	STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE INITIATIVE IN WONOSOBO .....	25
<b>7.</b>	<b><u>CASE II: BANDUNG CITY, JAVA.....</u></b>	<b>27</b>
7.1.	STEP-BY-STEP: BECOMING A HUMAN RIGHTS CITY.....	27
	STEP 1, APRIL 2015: DECLARING BANDUNG A HUMAN RIGHTS CITY.....	28
	STEP 2 MAY-NOVEMBER 2015: LOCAL CONSULTATIONS AND PARTICIPATION.....	29
	STEP 3, DECEMBER 2015: THE LAUNCH OF THE BANDUNG CHARTER.....	29
7.2.	SPECIAL FOCUS AREAS OF FIHRRST HUMAN RIGHTS CITY INITIATIVE .....	30
7.3.	STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF FIHRRST'S INITIATIVE .....	31
<b>8.</b>	<b><u>DIFFUSIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS CITIES IN WONOSOBO AND BANDUNG .....</u></b>	<b>32</b>
8.1.	THE NARRATIVE OF HUMAN RIGHTS CITIES.....	32
8.2.	ADOPTING A LONG-TERM MULTI-STAKEHOLDER APPROACH.....	34
8.3.	TAKING DEPARTURE IN LOCAL NEED ASSESSMENTS .....	35
8.4.	A BOTTOM-UP AND PARTICIPATORY APPROACH .....	36
<b>9.</b>	<b><u>CONCLUSION.....</u></b>	<b>37</b>
<b>10.</b>	<b><u>FUTURE RESEARCH.....</u></b>	<b>38</b>
	<b><u>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</u></b>	<b>40</b>
	<b><u>LIST OF APPENDIX.....</u></b>	<b>43</b>
	APPENDIX 1: EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW GUIDE .....	43
	APPENDIX 2: IMAGES FROM FIELDWORK.....	44
	APPENDIX 3: EMPIRICAL DATA AND INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS.....	49
	APPENDIX 4: TRANSCRIBED EXCERPTS FROM INTERVIEWS .....	52
	APPENDIX 5: 10 BASIC RIGHTS IN REGIONAL LAW 5/2016.....	71
	APPENDIX 6: SWOT ANALYSIS .....	72

## List of Abbreviations

FIHRRST	The Association for International Human Rights Reporting Standards
HRC	Human Rights City
INFID	International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development
Komnas HAM	The National Commission on Human Rights
PDHRE	Peoples Movement for Human Rights Education
RANHAM	National Action Plan of Human Rights
RWI	Raoul Wallenberg Institute for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UCLG	United Cities and Local Governments
UCLG-ASPAC	United Cities and Local Governments Asia Pacific
UCLG-CISDP	United Cities and Local Governments committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights
UN	United Nations
WHRCF	World Human Rights City Forum

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Relevance and contextualisation

Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16 is about promoting peaceful and inclusive societies and providing access to justice for all (United Nations General Assembly, 2015). Many of the targets are institutional, which means they focus specifically on creating effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels, to ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making processes, and promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies. This is done to make sure that the law works equally for all, and follows good procedures, what is usually referred to as the “rule of law” (Ibid.). Because the SDGs are founded in the UN Declaration for Human Rights, this means working towards societies where human rights guide sustainable development and where governments and other institutions both at the local, national and global level take their responsibility towards their people serious, protect them from harm, and actively work to prevent human rights abuse. SDG 11 is about creating cities and human settlements that are inclusive, resilient and sustainable (Ibid.). Because challenges related to safe and resilient human habitats is often affecting the poor and marginalized first, adopting a human rights-based approach to the realization of SDG 11 is a way to make sure that these people are heard and included in the decision-making processes. This ought to especially be true when it comes to adopting local policies, designing social services, and building cities and human settlements for the future (OHCHR, no date). Human rights responsibilities are traditionally considered the responsibility of nation states, monitored and reviewed within a global governance system guided by mechanisms within the framework of the UN. However, with the adoption of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, as well as the New Urban Agenda, there has been a tendency towards adopting more inclusive approaches, inviting city representatives and NGOs to participate in- and comment on decision-making. According to the United Cities and Local Government (UCLG), this development is vital because the current global governance system is no longer adequate to address existing challenges, which the world is facing. This is because these challenges manifest themselves as simultaneously more global and local (UCLG, 2016). It is in the context of the interplay between these two goals and the realisation that we live in a *glocalised* world<sup>1</sup> that the current study aims to investigate local interpretations, practices and institutionalisations of the emerging concept of Human Rights Cities (HRCs).

---

<sup>1</sup> Defined by Blatter (2013) as “the simultaneous occurrence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies in contemporary social, political, and economic systems”

## **1.2. Purpose, aim and research questions**

Because of the limited scope of literature about HRCs today (see section 2), I have identified a need to expand the level of knowledge on the topic from contexts outside of the Global North. This study therefore specifically focuses on cities in Indonesia. Indonesia is a country where there is already extensive legislation in place specifying the role of local government's responsibilities for human rights (see section 5). At the same time, there are NGOs that work to promote the concept of HRCs as an alternative or supplement to the top-down initiatives provided by central government. This study aims to investigate the diffusion and institutionalisation of the concept of HRCs through two cases that differentiate greatly both in terms of their geographic settings but also in terms of the implementing actors and the scope and nature of their initiatives. In this sense, the study's objective is to contribute with an understanding of the complexity of institutionalising new ideas and it explores the practices that enable successful local adoptions of such ideas. The research questions that guide this study are:

1. How is the notion of HRCs understood by actors in Bandung and Wonosobo?
2. Which steps are taken to diffuse the idea of HRCs in the two cases and what are the key challenges?
3. Who are the stakeholders that are engaged in the process – and who are not involved?
4. What key initiatives or mechanisms has been implemented as part of the work with institutionalising HRC in the two cases?

## **1.3. Limitations**

The current study is written as an empirical study that follows a previous thesis I wrote in the spring of 2018. This thesis focused on the historical conception of HRCs at a macro level and analysed their progressive potential as a tool to promote a more inclusive and participatory human rights paradigm. By researching the moving trends of HRCs through a critical reading of contemporary literature, a list of expert interviews and observations during international conferences, I identified the lack of contemporary empirical evidence from cases outside of the Global North, which makes this study relevant. With this in mind, the current thesis does not focus on placing the concept of HRCs in a more general global context or the historical development, which the concept has gone through over the last twenty years. Instead, the thesis investigates the concept on an institutional level, targeting the local, using an empirical approach to reflect critically upon the diverse ways the concept is being institutionalised at a lower governance level by different actors. The thesis also does not explore in detail the more abstract



ontological- and theoretical backgrounds for working with human rights as a subject within the social sciences. This is something that the emerging field of sociology of human rights has been concerned with for the last two decades and I wrote about in great details in the previous thesis (Viborg, 2018).

## 2. Literature review

The notion of HRCs is relatively new and in contemporary academic literature, there is an overrepresentation of cases from EU and the US. These studies are usually small in scope and relate to cities within a close proximity to the researcher conducting the study, who is often also directly active in the construction of the case in question as an actor within the HRC. Generally the case studies focus on understanding the legal-and political grounds for working with human rights at the local level as opposed to working specifically with the concept of HRCs (Berg and Oomen, 2013). An exception is Grigolo who has been working with the concept since 2001 and has developed a theoretical understanding of the social practices of human right cities (See Grigolo in Oomen, Davis and Grigolo, 2016; Grigolo, 2010 and 2019). Grigolo's writings have been significant for this study in that it helped shape the lens from which to view HRCs as a social practice and identify key stakeholders that are of importance to the analysis. The first major academic publication discussing the interlinkages between urban justice, human rights and cities, under the umbrella term HRCs is the publication from 2016 edited by Oomen, Davis and Grigolo, which includes contributions by scholars and practitioners discussing the rise of cities as a field – and actor for human rights. The publication also includes conceptual distinctions between different associated and relevant concepts.

The only available case studies from outside of the EU and the US can be found in publications from the People's Movement for Human Rights Learning (PDHRE), but this literature is largely shaped in light of their programmatic work with creating so-called HRCs in developing countries. Their publication thus takes form more as evaluations of their own work or are written as annual reporting's, rather than academic studies (PDHRE, 2007). Even if one book does include elaborate considerations on their methodology and an introductory chapter with more general and contextual considerations (Marks, Modrowski and Lichem, 2008) there continues to be mainly generic mentioning's and references to the PDHREs work in contemporary literature. Beside this thesis, there are currently initiatives attempting to make up for the limited research on HRCs in the Global South. The Raoul Wallenberg Institute for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law (RWI) just launched a regional study in the Asia-Pacific's, focusing on the effects of being a HRC in regard to implementing gender equality and environmental rights. There

is also increased focus on academic paper presentations at the annual World Human Rights City Forum (WHRCF) in South Korea, as a way to promote the field. Without such broader representation, there is a risk that future global guidelines and indicators might be informed and shaped without learning from these cases, and thus not be representative of experiences from the South. This realisation brings merit to the current study. Of non-academic sources on the topic, one of the key documents is a report from 2015, published by the UN on the role of local government in protecting and promoting human rights. I will get back to this report in section 3.1. where I will also go more in depth with content from some of the sources listed above and present additional sources used to define HRCs.

### 3. Conceptual- and theoretical engagements

#### 3.1. Definitions of human right cities

There is no set definition of what a HRC is. Historically, it has been defined as a tool to enhance human rights learning and community development by the PDHRE, who is considered the initial inventor of the concept back in the late 1990's. In this definition, the initiative was meant to be rooted in local civil society groups and one of the key steps to become a HRC was the establishment of a committee, representing different stakeholders from the local community. This could be representatives from youth or women's groups, religious minorities, traditional leaders, local academics and even members of police forces and local government (Marks, Modrowski and Lichem, 2008). Lately, however, reports and actors tend to only make superficial mentioning to this initial definition and their methodology, which they applied to a list of cities all around the world during the 90's and early 2000's. The concept today is largely shaped by the WHRCF, and its charter and guiding principles from 2012 and 2014. Here, the concept is defined more as a framework for working with human rights as a tool to improve local governance and local governments are considered the primary implementing actor (Viborg, 2018). Other definitions from international organisations and academics have also been identified of which Grigolo provides the broadest definition claiming that a HRC is "a city which is organised around norms and principles of human rights" (Grigolo in Oomen, Davis and Grigolo, 2016: 277). Grigolo, purposefully, does not refer to international human rights standards because he subscribes to the notion of human rights as more than a legal framework but as a social practice. Other more popular definitions make explicit reference to international conventions as the natural foundation for the concept (Berg and Oomen, 2013).

Across different definitions, the concept is often framed as a good tool to emphasise the relevance and importance of social- and economic (second generation); and cultural- and economic (thirds generation) human rights. This should be seen in light of the critique of the normative understanding of human rights as simply being civil- and political rights (first generation)<sup>2</sup>, but case studies from Europe and the US show that it is still primarily first generation rights that are being considered (Berg and Oomen, 2013). This can be because these are the “easy” rights to implement in societies that are already democratised, and because second- and third generation rights are very politicised (Viborg 2018). Concepts such as *rights to the city* is also highly controversial to use in these contexts due to the political nature of the concept (Chueca, 2016). On the contrary, the limited examples from the Global South show that the concept is closely linked to the sustainability agenda and issues closely associated to the second- and third generation of human rights<sup>3</sup>. Here the concept of rights to the city is also used with less sense of controversy as it is associated with more recent definitions as the one set out in the World Charter for the Right to the City from 2005 (Chueca, 2016). In this charter the World Urban Forum claims that the rights to the city concept “implies initiating a new way of promotion, respect, defense and fulfillment of the civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights guaranteed in regional and international human rights instruments. [sec]” (World Urban Forum, 2005). Another important aspect of most of the conceptions of HRCs is also the emphasis on social inclusion which could be understood in accordance to the World Banks definition as “the process of improving the terms on which individuals and groups take part in society—improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of those disadvantaged on the basis of their identity.” (The World Bank, no date). Another important concept often associated with HRCs is citizen participation. Traditionally one talks about three core responsibilities, which nation states have when it comes to commitments to human rights, the responsibility to *respect*, *protect* and *fulfil* human rights. Recently, people involved in the HRC movement, however, suggest including the responsibility to *engage*<sup>4</sup>. Much has been written on the

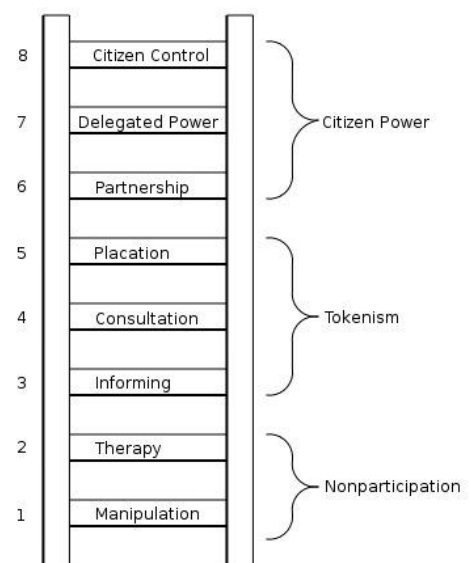


Figure 1: Arnsteins ladder of citizen participation, source: Arnsteins (1969)

<sup>2</sup> For an elaborate distinction between the different generations and a problematisation of these see my previous thesis Viborg 2018

<sup>3</sup> Observations from WHRCF 2017 and 2018

<sup>4</sup> This was voiced by for example Aida Guillén Lanzarote, Director of the Citizens’ Rights and Diversity Department of the City Council of Barcelona during the WHRCF 2018

challenges of adopting participatory methodologies, but one of the most popularly used approaches is Arnsteins conception of the ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969, see also figure 1). Here, she defines different levels of assumed participation and concludes that for true participation to take place there needs to be an element of citizen power, defined as partnership, delegation of power, and citizen control. Consultations, for example, too often take the form of tokenism and is often used to profit on the knowledge and participation of citizens as opposed to truly empowering them. The idea, to engage regular residents in defining their own perceptions of what human rights are, means that understandings often depart in local social justice issues and that it becomes relevant to adjust and adopt the language around human rights to one that resonates with the local context. In anthropology, this process is referred to as *Vernacularization*.

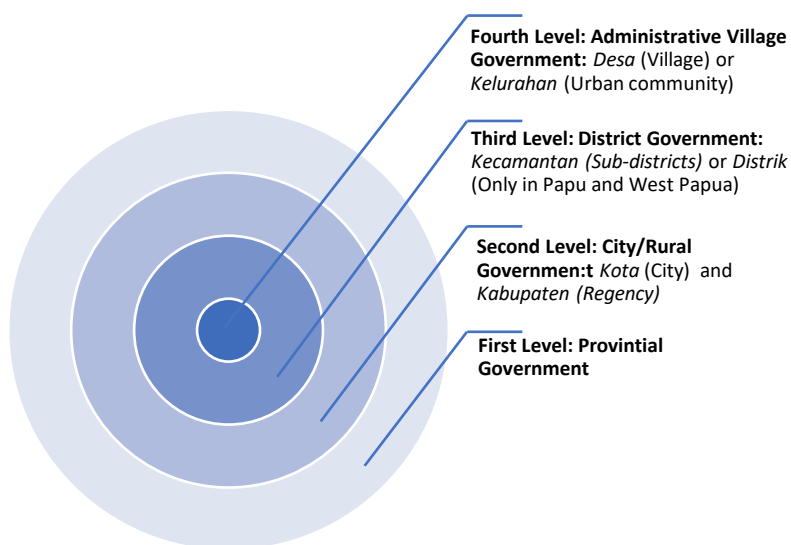
### 3.2. Governing human rights cities

Local governance refers to the institutional- and political processes and actions of decision making in a city. According to the UCLG, governance is most effective when processes are “participatory, accountable, transparent, efficient, inclusive, and respect the rule of law” (UCLG, no date). Grigolo has identified a list of relevant stakeholders that have an interest in the concept of HRCs (see figure 1). However, various definitions of HRCs place emphasis and responsibilities of those stakeholders differently, which affects

the governance structure of the initiatives. One of the key stakeholders is often the local government, which according to the definition provided in section II of the UN report on local governments’ human rights responsibilities from 2015, is defined as “the lowest tier of public administration within a given State” (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2015: 3). In the definition, it is stated that one of the aims of local government is to bring “government to the grass roots and enabling citizens to participate effectively in the making of decisions affecting their daily lives” (Ibid. 3-4). Local government is also understood to be in a better position to “deal with matters that require local knowledge and regulation on the basis of local needs and priorities” than central government (Ibid. 4). It is important to stress that



Figure 2: Key stakeholders with an interest in human rights cities, source Grigolo in Davis, Gammeltoft-Hansen and Hanna (2017)



**Figure 3: Subdivisions of local government tiers in Indonesia,**  
source: UCLG-ASPAC meeting

the definition of local government is not always straightforward. In Indonesia for example, they introduced a new village law in 2014, which meant a recognition of a new lower level of local government administration. For this study, this problematizes the use of the definition above because local government is defined in multiple different levels that depend on the size and nature of the area in question. Generally, however, when referring to

local government here, the study refers to the second level of local government, as identified in figure 3. At this level, there is a distinction between City, which is urban, and Regency, which is rural. However, they are recognised as the same sub-national level of government.

When it comes to human rights and local government, the UN report identifies several critical issues that are important to consider. These are, for example, the level of political will to prioritise human rights issues; budgetary means allocated to human rights initiatives and levels of inclusive governance structures. While recognising that local governments can play an important role in the institutionalisation of HRCs, it is also important to recognise that relying too heavily on local government can make the concept vulnerable. This is, for example, due to election cycles and changes in political priorities (Viborg, 2018; Grigolo in Davis, Gammeltoft-Hansen and Hanna, 2017). It is therefore stressed in the report, and by scholars, that civil society ought to play an increasingly large role in the work to secure human rights at the local level. In some examples of HRCs, local government play a marginal role if any and sometimes the initiative is taken solely by civil society or even by organisations from outside of the city. Grigolo emphasizes in this regard, that the many different stakeholders can have very different priorities or reasons for why they engage in the work of HRCs. This means that it can become an issue of power dynamics, and it is not always possible to work together. The question of governance and the actors involved in shaping the priorities of the HRC is thus of great importance for the institutionalisation and diffusion of the idea.

### 3.3. Analysing human rights cities

According to the UN, having a legal framework for human rights at the local level is an important way “to ensure effective local governance and adequate implementation of human rights at the local level” (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2015: 5). However, human rights is not only a legal phenomenon and some scholars argue that law is simply not enough (Woodiwiss, 2016) or question whether legislation in fact is the most appropriate way through which to realise human rights. Sen (2004) for example argues that “human rights can be seen as primarily ethical demands”, which does not necessarily have to be legal in character. In fact, the legal approach to human rights, which have become the norm over the years are criticised for not being inclusive enough since the most vulnerable groups in society often find themselves outside of reach of the established legal frameworks where human rights are usually the responsibility of the nation state (Castellino and Bradshaw, 2015). Other scholars, specifically within the emerging sub-discipline of sociology of human rights argue similarly, that human rights have political- and cultural roots and could be seen as a social practice that always needs to be situated into political and cultural context, not to mention a physical space (Berg and Oomen, 2013; Frezzo, 2015). By seeing human rights as a practice, the political and social aspects of negotiating rights emerge, and the effectiveness of HRCs, for example, comes to depend on “who has the power to define and lead the human rights city” (Grigolo in Oomen, Davis and Grigolo, 2016: 277).

In light with definitions above, this study treats the concept of HRCs as a social- and political practice, a new idea and a discourse that has the potential to enhance local protection and promotion of human rights through an institutionalisation of a more inclusive and participatory local governance system. As such, HRC’s also has the prospects of fostering an enabling environment for a rights-based approaches to local realisations of the sustainable development goals, in particular goal 11 and 16 (RWI, 2018). The analysis draws on sociological- and discursive understandings of new institutionalism to explain the prospects for change. It is inspired by a theory developed by sociologist Evertt Rogers, which attempts to explain the steps of successful diffusions of new ideas and innovations. In new institutionalism, institutions themselves are perceived as actors as opposed to merely fields or arenas for actions. In sociological institutionalism specifically, the main focus of analysis is “the forms and procedures of organisational life” deriving from social norms and cultural practices (Schmidt, 2010: 13). Here, institutions are seen as the norm-setting frames and meaning systems that guide the behaviour of actors. However, what distinguishes discursive institutionalism from both sociological institutionalism and other forms – such as rational choice and historical institutionalism – is, amongst other things, that institutions are not understood simply as static external structures, which act to constraint actors, but rather as

dynamic structures guided by actors' ability to reflect, reframe and advocate for change (Schmidt, 2010). In this sense, institutions play a role in the explanation of changes in politics and social life because they influence and shape attitudes and behaviours through discourse and deliberation (Ibid). The task of scholars within discursive institutionalism thus becomes "to show empirically how, when, where, and why ideas and discourse matter for institutional change, and when they do not" (Ibid: 21).

According to Rogers, change can be understood through the successful diffusion of new ideas. Rogers defines diffusion as "the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time amongst the members of a social system." (1995: 5). As such, he identifies four main elements of his theory of diffusion of innovations to be: 1) The innovation itself; 2) the communication channels used to share information in order to reach a common understanding; 3) time; and finally 4) the social system within which the innovation is meant to be adopted. Rogers define a social system as "a set of interrelated units that are engaged in joint problem-solving to accomplish a common goal" (Rogers, 1995: 23). He further emphasises that such system may include different units; of e.g. individuals, informal groups, organisations and even subsystems. While Rogers's theory is often applied more directly to the analysis of diffusions of technologies or products, it is possible to treat HRCs as an innovation and thus be inspired by the framework for an analysis of how to diffuse HRCs into local governance systems. By treating HRCs as an innovation, what becomes important to consider in each of the cases is how HRCs are perceived in terms of the *relative advantage* of the innovation as well as its *compatibility* with the local context in terms of values and norms of the social system. It is also important to understand to what extent the notion of HRCs is understood and its level of *complexity* in the respective contexts. Innovations that are of great complexity will usually take more time to be understood and adopted by a social system. *Trialability* (the level to which the innovation is tested on reality) becomes important because new ideas that can be tried in reality "will generally be adopted more quickly than innovations that are not divisible" (Rogers, 1995: 16). Finally, *Observability* is important because the easier it is to detect visible results or change from an innovation, the more likely it is that a social system will adopt the innovation and as such secure the long-term diffusion and sustainability of the innovation.

While discursive institutionalism relies on the power of deliberation as an important aspect of facilitating change and implementing new ideas, there is simultaneously a recognition of the limitations of such approach and to the fact that many efforts to facilitate change fail or have little long-term effects. This is amongst other reasons, because of the rationalist assumption that institutions are static, and an

understanding of society where incentive structures are hidden behind notions of calculated objectivity or simplistic utilitarian arguments, which does not allow for questioning or negotiations (Schmidt, 2010).

## 4. Methodology

### 4.1. Strategies for case selection

According to Flyvbjerg (2011), what identifies a case-study is not so much a matter of methodology, as it is a matter of setting clear boundaries for the *case*. Following his terminology, the strategy for selecting cases for this study has been an *information-oriented selection*. This means that cases have been selected based on an expectation about high levels of information and content (Ibid.). Initially, the city of Bandung was selected because it is presented as the first HRC in Indonesia, and there is a list of available literature about the city, which could be useful for describing and understanding the context. There seemed to be a strong methodological foundation for its work with HRCs when looking through available sources online, which seemed to make it an ideal case from which to derive great amounts of knowledge. However, after conducting a few initial meetings, and having spent time in Bandung, a decision was made to change the approach and include a second case, creating a comparative element to the case-study design based on the strategy of *maximum variation cases*. Adopting this strategy means “to obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for case process and outcome; e.g., three to four cases that are very different on one dimension: size, form of organization, location, budget, etc.” However, the criteria do not hold firmly as the cases selected differentiate on multiple dimensions, not just one. Still, the two cases were found to be useful and rich on information, each in its way, and as such it was found justifiable because the objective of the study is not to attempt to find an objective truth that can be generalised across contexts, but rather to bring nuances and diversity into the body of literature on HRCs.

### 4.2. Data collection

The empirical data was primarily collected during a period of 10 weeks in Jakarta, Bandung and Wonosobo from January to mid-March 2019, however, the study also, to some extent, relies on data collected during my participation in the WHRCF in 2017 and 2018 in Gwangju.

#### Role of Gatekeepers and identification of stakeholders and interviewees

My initial contact in the field was my important gatekeepers who I knew from having worked at the RWI and through my participation at the WHRCFs. Those gatekeepers helped facilitate access to interviewees



and provided me with important background information about the context of Indonesia in relation to human rights, governance structures etc. My first and most important gatekeeper was naturally the RWIs office in Jakarta and the program officer who also acted as my contact person in Indonesia during my stay. Other gatekeepers were representatives from UCLG-ASPAC and University of Indonesia as well as the International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID) and The National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) (of which the latter two were also important key implementing organisations in one of the cases). The gatekeepers were identified to represent different sectors of society in accordance to Figure 2. I kept track of my contacts with gatekeepers and interviewees through the creation of *case classifications* in Nvivo where I made two categories *Persons* and *Organisations*, which was classified again with a list of attributes such as *role in project* (e.g. *gatekeeper* or *Interviewee*) or their *association* (e.g. *Academia* or *NGO*). I used the *memo* function to keep track of my communication and engagements with each of them, by adding separate memos to each of the individual cases. I also used the *relationship* function in Nvivo, which enabled me to keep track of the snowballing process and thus the interconnectedness between my various gatekeepers and interviewees.

### Expert and group interviews

During the fieldwork, I had different kinds of encounters with stakeholders. I conducted introductory meetings with a list of gatekeepers, and I conducted seven expert- and/or group interviews with key implementing actors, using a semi-structured interview guide adapted to each of the interviews<sup>5</sup>. I also participated in two sessions, which I would identify as *workshops* because they were sessions where I actively engaged with implementing actors from each of the cases, being introduced in detail to their respective models and being able to ask questions and engage in discussion. In case I Wonosobo we created a timeline describing key stages of their work. In case II Bandung and FIHRRST, the workshop included getting a behind-the-scenes view of the online platform they have developed and a chance to discuss the steps of their model. All interviews and the workshops were audio recorded, however, they were not all transcribed in full due to difficulties partly with translation and partly due to the many overlapping voices, which makes it difficult to depict the content in writing (Denscombe, 2010). For most parts, I have used the audio function in Nvivo to listen to the interviews and noted relevant time sections where I have written notes. I have only transcribed those sections that I directly quote in the thesis or have found of particular importance (See appendix 4 for examples of transcribing and notes). During the analysis, I generally refer to the source from which the information derives by using brackets

---

<sup>5</sup> See example of interview guide in appendix 1

referring to the respective interviews as listed in appendix 3 (which is an overview of all data collected) or transcribed parts in appendix 4. For images from the fieldwork, see appendix 2.

### Document review

As part of the data collection, I also gathered relevant written material from stakeholders. There was an inconsistent amount of available data on the context of the two cases as there were plenty of academic studies about Bandung as a city and none on Wonosobo Regency because it is a smaller rural province. This means that I have had to rely on local sources, which I have received from local gatekeepers and interviewees and often had to translate myself using online translation tools. This is also the case when reviewing legal documents and project documents, which have been difficult to analyse in detail due to poor quality of translation. Still, I have been able to get a general overview and asked for greater details from experts.

## **4.3. Ethical considerations**

### Relation to gatekeepers and interviewees

My affiliation with RWI played a significant role in relations to accessibility to interviewees and gatekeepers initially. Even if I tried to stress that my study was independent and a master's thesis project, I sensed that the affiliation continued to be important and that many expected that I was able to facilitate access and act as a bridge between them and the broader network of actors working with HRCs at global level<sup>6</sup>. As a way to accommodate this, and because I have previously worked with the topic and participated in global networks and workshops on the topic, I made an effort to convey my observations from e.g. the WHRCF and share any information I had on developments on the topic after – or sometimes during the interviews. I did this as a way of giving back and so that participants felt they also got something out of the encounter. Initially, I had agreed with RWI to arrange a follow up seminar, getting all the different actors together for a discussion and networking session by the end of my stay. However, because my stay in Indonesia was cut short due to personal circumstances and I had to abruptly return to Sweden, I have only been able to follow up bilaterally online.

### Data protection

All data derived from the interviews has been stored in a password protected Nvivo project and in a folder on Lund University's online storage platform Box, which is only accessible with a password protected log in. Audio recordings is stored additionally on an external audio recorder as backup.

---

<sup>6</sup> For reflections on my personal positionality in regards to having worked at RWI see my previous thesis (Viborg 2018)

### Interpretations and language barriers

Through initial consultation with gatekeepers, I was informed that I did not need a translator for conducting my interviews, but when arriving in Wonosobo many of the participants in group interview 2 did not speak English or did not feel comfortable expressing themselves in English. This meant that I was forced to rely on a member from the task force to translate which was not ideal and has impacted the quality of the interview negatively. It could have some ethical impact because it was not always clear when the translator was quoting directly and when he was contributing to the conversation, relying on his own knowledge from the task force. The idea had been to talk to the commission alone so they could speak freely, without government representatives present. Instead, it became more of a summary of general points than direct translation but I still found the points valuable and I trust that those others at the meeting that did speak English from the commission would have interfered if there was a high level of misrepresentation in the translation.

### Informed and continuous consent

I did not consider the themes and content discussed during the interviews to be of a particularly sensitive nature, therefore I found it sufficient to ask for oral consent at the beginning of each interview, where I also briefly described my background and explained about the nature of the study. I made sure to emphasise that it was a student project and where it would end up being published. I also asked for oral consent to use pictures taken during or after the interviews for presentations and documentation. I made sure to notice that key informants and gatekeepers would have the chance to review those parts of the thesis, which would include quotes or content relevant for their contributions. I send out draft versions of case I and II and encouraged participants to comment or clarify on potential misunderstandings or framings of their contributions within a week. One limitation here was again the language issues, as some participants from Wonosobo were not accustomed to speaking English, I have had to rely on gatekeepers to distribute the sections and discuss the content with the participants. It has not been possible to verify if such consultation took place.

## 5. Contextual Background

Indonesia is an archipelago nation state consisting of more than 13.400 islands of which 922 are permanently inhabited, with a population of 262,787,403 people representing more than 300 different ethnic groups and 700 different languages (Central Intelligence Agency, 2019). Indonesia has a history of so-called 'big-bang' decentralisation, which was initiated with Law 22/1999 and 25/1999 about regional autonomy and fiscal decentralisation in May 1999 (Firman, 2009). With the addition of Law 32/2004 on

Regional Governments and a revision including a new law on village government from 2014, Indonesia has what is considered “one of the most ambitious decentralisation schemes in modern history” (Ibid. 143).

According to the report for the Universal Periodic Review from the UN country team in Indonesia from 2017 “Indonesia has made substantial progress in human rights conventions” and Indonesia has accepted 150 out of the 180 recommendations made during the last review in 2012 (United Nations Country Team in Indonesia, 2017: 1). One of the efforts the government has made, which is emphasised in the report is to harmonize local laws with national and international standards, specifically in regard to rights for women, children and people with disabilities. This has been done through the adoption of the Presidential Regulation number 75 (2015) concerning the National Action Plan of Human Rights for the period of 2015-2019. The regulation which is referred to as RANHAM is meant to replace the previous Presidential Regulation and action plan from 2011-2014. Local governments are responsible for adopting local action plans accordingly and report twice a year on progress on implementation. According to stipulations, the implementation of the action plans is meant to be carried out with the involvement and participation of local communities. However, they are criticised for largely being implemented as a top-down initiative with a limited room for local government and civil society to give input on issues to be prioritised (Expert Interview 1 and 2; Group Interview 3 and 4). In the recent RANHAM for 2015-2019, there are four priority areas specified:

1. Legal harmony between central and local government on the area of rights for Women, Children and people with disability
2. Teacher distribution and quality of education
3. Access to breastfeeding rooms
4. Reporting mechanisms on social services by communities to local government

Another initiative set out by the central government is an award system for human rights *aware*- or human rights *friendly* cities, which is granted to cities based on a set of standard criteria’s that are meant to reward new innovations in the city as well as indicate a high level of human rights protection in the cities. The criteria, however, are criticised for being insufficient due to their limited focus on quantifiable measures and quantity of service deliveries as opposed to looking at the nature and quality of such. They are also criticised for favouring those cities that has the greatest monetary means and thus rewarding the cities unevenly without looking to more contextual- or specific baselines of improvements (Expert Interview

1 and 2). Finally, they are criticised for simply measuring the wrong thing as some of the indicators, for example, weight lack of demonstrations as a positive indicator (Group Interview 4). In light of these critiques, and as an alternative or supplement to the initiatives described above, different NGOs and local governments are now working actively with promoting the concept of HRCs in Indonesia, as a way to secure inclusive and bottom-up approaches that take into consideration locally defined priorities. It is such initiatives that the following two sections aim to analyse by focusing on different attempts to diffuse and institutionalise HRCs in Wonosobo Regency and Bandung City respectively, both located on the Island of Java.

## 6. Case I: Wonosobo Regency, Java

Wonosobo is a regency located in the province of Central Java with approximately 777.000 residents. The regency is divided into fifteen sub-districts and 236 village governments of which Wonosobo Kota is the capital and administrative centre. Wonosobo regency is located in the highlands of Java and Indonesia's highest village is located here, at the Dieng Plateau, which is 2000 meters above sea level and is a tourist destination due to its ancient Hindu temples and golden sunrise views over the mountains. Wonosobo has a poverty rate of 21,5 %, which, compared to other regencies in Central Java is considered high (Kusumawati, 2018). The poverty rate is unequally distributed with the highest rates being measured in the mountain districts and the lowest rates being in the more easily accessible lowlands to the south.

### 6.1. Step-by-step: Becoming a human rights city

Wonosobo is famous for being 'a place of tolerance' and the regency have been known for its peaceful co-existence of various religious minorities in times where Indonesia is facing great challenges with Islamic extremism and religious intolerance (Qurtuby, 2014). This notion of being a place of tolerance is a narrative, which the actors behind the HRC initiative actively tap into as they try to promote the initiative. It was also one of the reasons INFID and Komnas HAM saw a potential in Wonosobo when identifying prospective cities in which to promote the initiative of HRCs in the first place (Appendix 4, Excerpt 2). Generally, the work to develop Wonosobo's HRC initiative can be divided into three stages as described below.

### Stage 1, 2013: Embryo phase

The first stage of the initiative can be dated back to 2013 when INFID first invited the regent at the time, Abdul Kholiq Arif, to participate in the WHRCF in Gwangju. After this experience, the regent, who was identified by INFID and Komnas HAM as a progressive leader, brought the concept with him back to Wonosobo where he supported the future development of the initiative, which was led by members from Komnas HAM, INFID, local activists and representatives from local government.

One of the first tasks was to secure local commitment building and develop the idea of Wonosobo as a HRC based on lessons learned at the WHRCF and by other cities in INFID's network. They therefore initiated a study, and some of the important lessons learned was the importance of developing a local methodology, adopting a multi-stakeholder approach and linking the human rights agenda to the SDGs (Kusumawati, 2018, slide 5). One of the ways Wonosobo used these lessons was by working across agencies in local government, involving both the legal division, which has the official responsibility for human rights, and the regional planning agency (Bappeda), which takes care of urban and rural planning and development, and has the official responsibility for following up on the SDG's. Another way was to actively involve civil society, NGOs and international organisations in the development of the initiative. Finally, Wonosobo sent representatives to the WHRCF several times after the Mayor first attended back in 2013. In this way, they continue their engagement at the international level as well.

### Stage 2, 2015-2017: Harmonising

In August 2015, a HRC Task Force was created, consistent of representatives of junior local government officials from different public sector's agencies. According to the head of the task force, Fahmi Hidayat, it was a good decision to rely on the younger generations of public officials for this task, because they were not yet 'set in their ways' and were more open to new ideas, eager to work for change and willing to collaborate across agencies (Workshop 1).

The task force worked in this phase to further construct the idea of the HRC by focusing on improving the coordination and commitments of local government agencies. Together with INFID and Komnas HAM the task force conducted several workshops in sub-districts and villages around Wonosobo to gain knowledge about local priorities and secure the participation and support of as many different groups in society as possible. They also drafted the outlines of a regional law on the HRC, which was later adopted as Regional Law 5/2016. The law identifies 10 basic rights, which were decided upon based on the priorities voiced by local communities during the workshops and meetings (See appendix 5 for an

overview). The law also focuses on human rights mainstreaming through principles related to non-discrimination and affirmative action, emphasising participatory democratisation; rights to the city, emphasising social justice and solidarity; and finally, social inclusion and cultural diversity, emphasising rights to reparation. It all feeds into a vision of Wonosobo becoming a place of “unity, resilience and prosperity for all” (Kusumawati, 2018, slide 9). The law was meant to act as a foundation to secure continuous commitment to the initiative and as a framework from which to develop affirmative policies that would centre and mainstream human rights. This stage also included a consideration to how to best harmonise and synchronise efforts of the HRC with the mandatory tasks of the local government, as set out by central government in the RANHAM described in section 5. For this purpose, local action plans were developed (Regent Regulation 20/2017) which included the mandatory aspects but moved beyond these to include aspects and priorities from the local HRC regulation and the SDGs.

### Stage 3 2018: Implementation

From 2018 the third and current stage begun. This stage focuses on implementation and realising the potential of the many years of preparation and institutional capacity building. It also focuses on consolidating the collaborations with partners. In November 2018, Wonosobo hosted the annual National HRC Festival in collaboration with INFID, Komnas HAM, the Executive Office of the President, the Provincial Government of Central Java and the Regional Local Government of Wonosobo. The festival is a way to keep momentum and to continuously learn from other cities and share best and promising practices. Representatives from RWI spoke, for example, about the Swedish experience of working locally with human rights in cities, representatives from Gwangju in South Korea were invited and other HRCs in Indonesia also participated together with for example Regents and Mayors from cities that has shown an interest in the concept. Hosting the festival is a way for the Regent to promote the city externally, which in return also strengthens the internal commitment to the concept.

The most important step at this stage have arguably been the establishment of Wonosobo’s Local Human Rights Commission, the first sub-national Human Rights Commission in Indonesia. The ambitions of launching the commission was announced during a workshop in march 2018 called “Spearheading the Wonosobo Human Rights Commission” (INFID, 2018). The commission was launched later that year with the mission to promote and monitor the implementation of the Regional Law 5/2016. The local Human Rights Commission is meant to represent the public’s interests and it consist of six members who are elected representatives from different segments in society, e.g. disability groups, religious groups, environmental rights activists and so forth. The Regent additionally appoints two members, namely the

head and secretary of the commission. The division of labour between the commission and the local task force is clearly identified but is yet to be effectuated because the commission is still in the starting phase. Another activity that is being initiated by the task force is the continuing efforts to engage the village governments through human rights capacity building. With support from international development agencies, the hope is that campaigns and education, targeting the local populations, will facilitate a mobilisation from below to pressure for more human rights friendly developments at the very local level.

## **6.2. Special focus areas of Wonosobo human rights city**

Generally, from the perspective of the task force, representing local government, there is a strong overall focus on poverty alleviation and the issues of unequal distribution and access of social- and public services. In this sense, there is a strong focus on the challenges of securing infrastructure to reach the more remote communities in the mountains, and the emphasis is on social- and economic rights such as rights to housing or sanitation and water issues. According to members of the task force, these rights are naturally linked to issues of sustainable development and environmental rights. This is for example true when considering the issues of rural farming methods and overexploitation of land resources and the use of pesticides. These have a massive negative impact of the quality of water and create severe risks of landslides in the mountains, something which affect and threatens the sustainability of the local communities in several of the surrounding districts. However, a challenge faced by local government, in this regard, is that often these issues are not seen as great concerns for the local communities themselves, but rather as a condition of life. When asked why a HRC approach is considered a relevant tool to tackle these issues, the task force all agrees that it is a way to create a new narrative around the challenges. That it is about framing the challenges in a new rights-based approach, which will hopefully gain local support because it breaks with the business as usual approach. Another important factor about framing the issues as a matter of human rights is that it pressures local governments to prioritise certain issues and see them as obligations that they have to fulfil:

“Without the HRC initiative, things will just be business as usual. So we need a new affirmative policy – the HRC program enables us to develop new affirmative policies. At least 30 % of the budget needs to be distributed to housing for those living below the poverty line. Before it was difficult for us, because regional government had to discuss, and we would have a very very tough debate with local legislatives on how to use budgets. So using the new framework of HRCs is a new chance for us to strengthen and press the public opinion on that these very little money should be distributed to A,B and C, not D, E and F. for example” (Appendix 4, Excerpt 1, Task Force Member 1)



While the task force is concerned with framing the local government's current initiatives within a HRC approach, the commission's work is currently centred around five selected areas of engagement that also represent the mandates of its members:

1. Cultural and religious tolerance
2. Environment
3. People with disabilities
4. Elderly rights
5. Maternal health and rights of children

The continuous efforts to promote cultural and religious tolerance is seen as a key feature of Wonosobo's HRC narrative, and there are already several initiatives taking place in the city to celebrate the historical heritage of cultural and religious diversity, e.g. a monthly market with different tradition dances, music and crafts. There is also an active inter-religious community. The work of the commission in this regard is to support these efforts and strengthen the intellectual conversation on the benefits of tolerance and diversity as fundamental traits in a time where religious extremism is threatening these values in many other places in Indonesia – and Java in particular. In the future, the commission hopes also to be able to work more openly with LGBT issues, something that is still a controversial issue all over Indonesia. For now, however, they focus on gaining support from the general public and therefore the strategy adopted is to focus on less controversial issues such as rights of the elderly, children's rights, rights related to maternal health and for example rights of people with disabilities. The latter is highlighted several times as a great priority for both the commission and the task force. Two of the members of the commission represent this segment in society and there are strong civil society groups in Wonosobo of disability activists. For them, it is particularly infrastructure and accessibility that are of concerns, but also issues of tolerance, acceptance and attitudes from family members and the general public towards people with disabilities that is important (Group interview 3). Finally, it is a priority to normalise the notion of living with disabilities and to secure full inclusion of people with disabilities, for example, in the education system or at the labour market (Appendix 4, Except 3). The issue of environmental rights and the question of rights to public spaces is particularly important for one of the members of the commission who is an urban planner by training. She emphasises that framing these issues as human rights can be a way to reclaim public green spaces and make sure that businesses do not take over and limit the access

for the public enjoyment of these spaces. It can also be a way to ensure more sustainable urban developments if human rights are considered in the planning of urban and rural strategies<sup>7</sup>.

### **6.3. Strengths and weaknesses of the initiative in Wonosobo**

The approach taken in Wonosobo relies on a strong emphasis on developing an institutional and structural foundation for the HRC initiative. The notion of creating an organisational skeleton that has two legs to walk on has already proven itself resilient. In 2014, a new regent was elected in Wonosobo and from experience, election cycles and changes in local governments can be a crucial breaking point from which to either make or break a HRC. This is especially the case in those cities where the Mayor or Regent has been the initial driver behind the initiative. In Wonosobo, the new Regent, Eko Purnomo, was initially very critical towards the initiative because he was uncertain what the concept entailed. According to one task force member, he was even concerned if it was an initiative that was set up so he would fail. However, because of the initial work throughout stage 1, the task force was able to sit down with the Regent in 2015 to show the draft of the new legal regulation and go through the background and intentions behind the initiative. They finally convinced him that taking a HRC approach was not meant to be a challenging burden, but a way to frame and develop better policies. Since then, the Regent have been a great supporter of the continuing efforts of the initiative. One element that has been fundamental for the process of gaining internal support in the new local government has, according to the task force members, been the focus on reforming, translating and simplifying human rights into something that is meaningful in the local context. Many do not initially see the direct relevance of human rights to their everyday life, and local government officials often consider human rights as an additional task or a burden that comes on top of their regular assignments. However, according to the task force, the concept of a HRC provides them with a new narrative from which to frame social- and economic issues on the ground as human rights issues. This means that it is possible to apply pressure on the public and local government to prioritise issues such as housing or sanitation, things that before were difficult to gain support for as individual problems (See Appendix 4, Excerpt 1). This is clearly possible because the strategy has been to take departure in some of the concerns that speaks to the broad majorities in the communities and the local government. However, adopting this strategy could mean that the most marginalised or vulnerable people or certain minority groups might not feel represented or that their concerns are not sufficiently addressed. Still, the fact that the commission is aware of some of these minority groups already – and have the ambition to include them later on – speaks to a sustainable

---

<sup>7</sup> Personal encounter after group interview.

strategy that will also make sure to leave no one behind, a key principle of the SDG's and human rights alike. In general, the strong emphasis on linking the HRC concept with relevant SDGs is another feature of the Wonosobo initiative. To strengthen the link between the two frameworks, the task force has recently begun to use a new tool developed by the Danish Institute for Human Rights, which makes it easy to link SDGs with human rights issues and learn from other contexts. This way, the task force shows that they are well connected and are able to utilise and adopt opportunities that are out there for their own gain. Their strong network to INGOs and the WHRCF in Gwangju further strengthens the diffusion of the initiative, as Wonosobo is also able to share their best and promising practises with others.

Clearly, it is too early to estimate the performance of the newly established Human Rights Commission in Wonosobo, but it has the potential to become a leading example in Indonesia and in the Asia-Pacific region. A challenge moving ahead will be to clarify the mandate of the commission and its members and develop an inclusive model of communication that reaches even the most remote communities. According to its members, it is important that the commission becomes a trusted organ in the communities. This is why they have not yet announced themselves publicly, as they want to have something to offer first and make sure that when citizens come to them with issues, they can do something about it. For now, the members are still in a process of organising themselves and brainstorming about how best to utilise their new mandate. Being the first of its kind in Indonesia, they have to come up with much of their ideas on their own, though they have the full support of the task force, Komnas HAM and INFID who argue that the initiative aspires to be “an exemplary model for other districts/cities wishing to create their own human rights commission” (INFID, 2018). In the future, the ambition is that the commission is fully separate from the task force as the voice of the citizens, and in this sense, it will be the organ that holds the task force and local government accountable for its human rights commitments and responsibilities. This vision is voiced by the task force members, though members of the commission itself stress that they do not have a mandate to hold anyone legally accountable, but that they rather see themselves as being the bridging link between the communities and the local government currently (Group interview 2). The question therefore is if the commission manages to distinguish itself clearly as an independent entity and whether they manage to develop tools and mechanisms to deal with and follow up on citizens' concerns. For this purpose, it is the ambition to set up communication platforms where citizens can report to the commission and to develop campaigns and educational material for the villages and local communities. The commission have also voiced a hope to work with INGOs on developing a manual for local human rights commissions, something that could be of great use as it could serve as inspiration for others as well. If they do not manage to develop in

such way and merely act as an extended ear of the government or as a bridge between dissatisfied citizens and the local government, without being able to hold the later accountable, there is a risk that the initiative will become nothing but a balloon full of hot air. The work to support and strengthen the mandate of the commission is therefore part of the continuous effort for the HRC initiative, which also includes the need to secure a continuation of the commitment from local government after the upcoming election in 2019. This will once again be a vital point for the HRC to test the resilience and sustainability of the initiative in Wonosobo.

## 7. Case II: Bandung City, Java

Bandung is the capital city in the province of West Java. It is home to more than 2.5 million people, however, in the greater Bandung metropolitan area there is a population of more than 8 million inhabitants making it the country's third largest metropolitan area. The city is an important centre for political, economic and social activities in Indonesia (Tarigan *et al.*, 2016) and it has played a historic role in international relations, being the host of the first South-to-South conference after the end of the colonial era in 1955. The Asia-Africa conference, was the beginning of the Non-Aligned Movement and is of great importance for the city's narrative as a HRC as it "laid the political, economic, cultural, and legal foundations for the so-called Spirit of Bandung" (Fakhri and Reynolds, 2017). Twenty-nine countries participated in the conference, of which most of them were newly independent. At the conference, a 10-point declaration for the promotion of world peace and cooperation was signed. This declaration acknowledged and incorporated as its first principles "Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations" (Timossi, 2015). The principles are featured at the Museum of the Asia-Africa Conference, which is one of the major tourist sites in Bandung today. In 2015 the city hosted an Asia-Africa Conference Commemoration to further South-to-South cooperation. During this conference, the Mayor of the time, Ridwan Kamil, also officially declared the city of Bandung a HRC.

### 7.1. Step-by-step: Becoming a human rights city

The process of developing the HRC initiative in Bandung has followed a completely different path than that in Wonosobo or in many other cities in Indonesia. This is first and foremost due to the initiating actors. The initiative was taken initially by a prominent human rights figure with an early political career from Bandung, Marzuki Darusman. Darusman has a long career as member of Indonesia's People's

Representative Council, and as the chairman of Indonesia's National Commission on Human Rights (later Komnas HAM). Today, Darusman is the chair and one of the co-founders of The Association for International Human Rights Reporting Standards (FIHRRST). FIHRRST is an association that works to develop accredited human rights standards and models, and it is known for its work on developing a model for businesses and human rights. FIHRRST is registered in Brussels but has its operational office in Jakarta.

During his time as the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in North Korea in 2015, Darusman met one of the leading figures of the HRC movement in South Korea, Seonghoon LEE, Senior Advisor at the Asia Development Alliance. At the time, the United Nations Human Rights Council was drafting their first report on the role of local government in the promotion and protection of human rights, and Darusman sent the draft report to his team in FIHRRST<sup>8</sup>. In FIHRRST, there was already a recognition of the need for a new approach to human rights and according to co-founder James Kallman, an accountant and long-time human rights activist, the idea of refocusing efforts towards new sectors of society such as business and cities 'just made sense' (Appendix 4, Excerpt 4). In the UN report, several cities were listed as so-called HRCs, amongst those where one city in Indonesia, Bandung. With this in mind, FIHRRST set up a meeting with Mayor Kamil. However, the Mayor did not seem to know about Bandung's status as a so-called HRC or even its mentioning in the UN report (Appendix 4, Excerpt 4). Finding this peculiar, FIHRRST took it upon themselves to develop a model for how they could turn Bandung into an accredited HRC, creating a model that could be scalable and possibly used in a wide range of cities in the future (Appendix 4, Excerpt 4). The Mayor supported the initiative and a team from FIHRRST worked with a group of academics from the Indonesian Community for Human Rights (PAHAM), a centre at the Faculty of Law, Padjadjaran University in Bandung to develop their initial approach, which was completely isolated from other HRC initiatives in Indonesia. According to FIHRRST's operations director, Bahtiar Manurung (workshop 2), and the current director of PAHAM, Susi Harijanti (group interview 3), the work took place over a confined period of a few months in 2015 and could be described through three steps:

#### Step 1, April 2015: Declaring Bandung a human rights city

On the second of April 2015 Mayor Kamil announced, that he was proud to initiate the task of turning Bandung into a HRC. He further emphasised that signing the declaration was only the first initial stage of "an historic and unprecedented process to produce a participatory and auditable Charter of a HRC"

---

<sup>8</sup> The final report was published 27th of July 2015.

(FIHRRST, 2015). As such, he claimed, “it is not just a momentous undertaking for the people of Bandung, or even Indonesians in general, but for all citizens of the world.” (FIHRRST, 2015). The Mayor later officially declared Bandung city the first HRC in Indonesia to an international audience and the press during the Asia-Africa Conference Commemoration, which took place the 24<sup>th</sup> of April, and commemorated the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the conference. The declaration was the official beginning of the project and it got a lot of attention from the media.

### Step 2 May-November 2015: Local consultations and participation

After the official signing of the declaration, the team from FIHRSST and PAHAM initiated the process of developing the charter. This was done through local consultations with stakeholders such as academics, local government representatives, civil society activists and NGOs as well as senior leaders from society. The consultations took the form of three focus group discussions taking place in the city hall, facilitated officially by the local governments department for law and human rights. The first focus group was targeted civil society, the second one consisted of government representatives and the last one was open for everyone and was also where the draft charter was presented and discussed. Within each focus group several smaller groups were created that discussed a list of prepared questions focusing on three different issues: 1) What kind of rights that were the most important for people in Bandung, 2) How those rights were best implemented and finally 3) What ought to happen if these rights were violated, so a discussion about remedies and so forth. From the focus groups, a long list of priorities was gathered, and in the end, these framed the content of the charter.

### Step 3, December 2015: The launch of the Bandung Charter

The charter was developed by PAHAM with consideration to the UN Human Rights Council report, which emphasises the need to focus on social services. Secondly, they took into consideration the uniqueness of the Bandung people and their needs. Thirdly, they specifically choose not to limit their focus to the first generation of human rights but rather focus on the interdependency and interrelatedness of rights, departing from the point of public services and those rights that were identified as important during the three focus groups (Group interview 3). As such the charter ended up consisting of five chapters:

- I. Participation and Public Services Rights
- II. Cultural and Creativity Rights
- III. Environmental and Development Rights
- IV. Equality and Welfare Rights

## V. Implementation of the Charter

Within the chapters, a total of 21 articles is described, each with a number of sections, which specify a long list of rights and obligations that local government is meant to fulfil. Several articles specifically target rights of women, children, elderly and people with disabilities. According to Harijanti, one of the sections they are particularly proud of is section V, which focuses on the procedural aspects of implementing the charter, and for example elaborates on the overall responsibilities of local government (Article 19), as well as more specifically the mechanisms of rights fulfilment and remediation (Article 20). The charter was officially adopted on the International Human Rights Day, 10<sup>th</sup> of December 2015 and was the culmination of the initiative – and thus far – the end of the HRC project in Bandung.

### **7.2. Special focus areas of FIHRRST human rights city initiative**

Subsequent to assisting Bandung in developing its HRC Charter, FIHRRST developed a HRC model, which in its final form looks quite different from the steps taken in Bandung. This is because the development of a charter in fact is only supposed to be the very first step towards becoming a HRC. The model is developed “to assist interested local governments (Candidate Cities) in undergoing a multiphase process, in order to become, a HRC, in which a HRC charter is effectively implemented and certified.” (HRC Center, 2017a). Their model is available on an online platform and is partly based on the experience from Bandung. The ambition of the HRC Centre platform is “to uplift the conception [of HRCs] to the cities globally” (HRC Center, 2017a). Manurung, from FIHRRST explains how local government authorities are meant to register to initiate the process of becoming accountable HRCs by going through three stages:

Stage 1: Building and adopting a HRC charter

Stage 2: Establish governance and procedures for implementation of the HRC charter

Stage 3: Audit the implementation of HRC charter

Unfortunately, Bandung only managed to successfully complete the first step and FIHRRST have not tested the final model on other cities. Instead, the inspiration for the second stage comes from amongst others Gwangju in South Korea and their approach to mainstream human rights policies. During this stage, local governments that have registered are meant to develop a plan for how to engage the public, which needs to be followed up and approved by FIHRRST through the website by uploading different

kinds of evidence of their activities. The third step is build based on experiences from FIHRRST's business and human rights audit model, which they have adapted and initially tested in two sub-districts in Bandung as part of the initial stage of the Bandung project. An Indonesian certification body audited these sub-districts in 2015, but the long-term ambition is to have a number of accredited certification bodies who could secure the auditing of cities all across the world.

### **7.3. Strengths and Weaknesses of FIHRRST's initiative**

A strength of FIHRRST's approach speaks to their unique institutional capacity bridging accreditation models and human rights and the ambition to develop a standardised, systematic and scalable approach to strengthening local accountability to human rights through the HRC concept. This need is something, which is discussed continuously in other international forums. In addition, the idea of gathering it all on a platform, accessible from anywhere, gives the project a great outreach. However, because the tool has never been tested it is yet to be proven if cities and local governments find it useful. It is also unclear what kind of specific support FIHRRST is able to provide during the process. Manurung emphasises in a follow up correspondence that "FIHRRST will review the process of developing the Charter and its implementation" and if requested they can also assist the city with implementing activities. A clear limitation, in this regard, is that the website does not provide any training material about human rights or tools that enable the users to develop these participatory and inclusive approaches. After several questions on the matter, Manurung claims that such material is still to be developed, but it means that currently there is an expectation that the users have a strong sense of knowledge about these issues in advance, something that most evidence points to is not the case. A key challenge, which has been voiced at several occasions during the WHRCFs from local government representatives and is explicitly identified as a limitation in the UN report is exactly the need for human rights education targeted local government officials and models on how to work with the concept. Another important limitation is simply the lack of political will from many local governments to adopt a language of human rights, since it is not considered relevant for their day-to-day work. Moving back to the initial project in Bandung, this becomes a crucial point when trying to understand why the project did not progress. Evidently, the initiative initially had the support of Mayor Kamil. However, according to Harijanti from PANHAM it was continuously difficult to engage other representatives from local government in the process of developing the charter, e.g. in the focus group discussions, they seemed to see the charter as additional work and a burden (Appendix4: Excerpt 5). It later turned out that the project was also never fully backed up by the local legislative bodies, which includes strong representation from conservative, religious and



nationalist parties. For these conservative segments of local government, human rights are considered a *liberal* or *Western* phenomenon that is not necessarily compatible with their religious or cultural identities. According to Harijanti it was difficult to talk about human rights with the local government because they have a limited and more narrow understanding of these rights (Appendix 4: Excerpt 5). This issue speaks to the importance of translating human rights into a language that resonates with the local context. Without such translation, it is difficult to see how an initiative that relies so heavily on local governments could be successful. In the end, the lack of support meant that it was not possible to move forward with adopting regulations and policies in line with the stipulations of the charter. As such the initiative have been standing still since the adoption of the charter. However, according to FIHRRST, even if the project in Bandung did not succeed, both Kallman and Manurung emphasise that this does not mean that their initiative has failed and the adoption of the charter in its own rights is considered a success (Group Interview 4). They also claim that positive effects have been visible in Bandung since 2015, however, Harijanti from PAHAM doubt whether this progress can be traced back to the HRC initiative or the Mayors overall political program (Appendix 4, Excerpt 5). Darusman emphasised during our interview that they were hoping to pick up the conversation with the new Bandung Mayor Oded Muhammad Danial, who took office after Mayor Kamil was appointed Governor of the West Java Province in September 2018, despite continuous campaigns against him, which argued he was not conservative enough (Wargadiredja, 2018). Darusman believes the new mayor will be positive towards the project if approached, but according to Harijanti, the new Mayor does not take a particular interest in questions of human rights and both her and her colleague in PANHAM seemed doubtful about the prospects but would like to see a re-engagement (Group interview 3).

## 8. Diffusions of human rights cities in Wonosobo and Bandung

The study of the two cases provide insights into the diffusion of HRCs as a new idea, and the analysis indicates some important conditions for institutionalisation of the idea as a practice. While the approaches taken in Wonosobo and Bandung are clearly very different, the analysis of the two cases does suggest a few commonalities as well that could indicate something about what it takes to successfully diffuse HRCs.

### 8.1. The Narrative of Human Rights Cities

The narrative of human rights appears to play an important role in the perceived relevance of the concept and the motivation behind becoming HRCs in both Wonosobo and Bandung. The self-perception and

discursive identity as being a place of tolerance or an important international cradle for human rights has influenced the initial decision to become HRCs. However, to what extent this narrative is rooted in local perceptions of the people or a narrow liberal elite seems to be important for the compatibility of the concept of HRCs to local norms and values, which inevitably also speaks into the successful realisation of the concept on the ground in the two cases. It is clear that in Bandung for example, conservative powers from within the local government do not necessarily find the language of human rights particularly compatible with their norms and values. Thus, the relative advantage of adopting the concept is limited. An issue in this regard is that the model developed by FIHRRST assumes a strong preconditioned understanding of the immediate benefits of adopting a HRC approach. As such, the model also assumes a high level of initial commitment from local government, a precondition that turned out not to be correct in the case of Bandung. Here local government officials in fact did not perceive the project to be important, and the charter was not perceived as having a particular relative advantage to the priorities set out in the RANHAM, which they are already obliged to implement through local action plans. Instead, the charter was perceived as an additional burden for the bureaucrats and public officials (Expert Interview 3). In this way, the function of the charter ended up becoming more symbolic and a way to position the city to an external audience, e.g. at the Asia-Africa Conference Commemoration, rather than a tool for local commitment building.

In Wonosobo, on the other hand, the relative advantage of the HRC initiative is considered high. Business-as-usual is not perceived as sufficiently effective by local government and the HRC initiative is explicitly adopted as a useful way to create momentum for change through a new narrative of human rights that is in line with the local populations self-perception, and initiatives that are already taking place e.g. on religious tolerance and work on disability rights. The compatibility between the HRC and the SDGs is also vocalised, which seems to increase the perceived advantage of the initiative as well, as they are seen to be mutually reinforcing frameworks that can bring positive change to the communities. The task force in Wonosobo is deliberately using the concept of HRCs as a way to adapt a less complex human rights-language to strengthen the compatibility between issues faced by the local communities and the suggested solution being based in a human rights-oriented approach to sustainable development. Because human rights are often perceived as an abstract legal phenomenon, it is important with this form of local translation as it also helps convince local governments of the importance of institutionalising human rights into policy as it is directly linked to finding better solutions to local problems. Another way Wonosobo makes the concept more understandable is to engage the public for example during the human rights festival and by working at the very local level in the villages, linking human rights to the

everyday challenges the communities are facing for example by lobbying for more human rights friendly budgeting. According to Beka Ulung Hapsara, Commissioner for Education & Outreach in Komnas HAM, the language of human rights is especially important in a country like Indonesia where human rights language can sometimes spark fear:

“Wonosobo has become the host for the human rights festival. We call it the human rights festival because, we used to have an annual conference, but we rephrased it to make the human rights festival as popular as we can. Because sometimes in Indonesia we discuss about human rights and it makes people, maybe, think about that they are afraid to come, so we were thinking how to put human rights as a popular issue so we call it a festival, not a conference” (Appendix 5, Excerpt 6)

The new institutional mechanisms are also able to establish strong communication channels to the rest of society through the new local Human Rights Commission, which can lead to even better synergies and a stronger narrative and commitment to human rights. Creating a strong local narrative of human rights takes time, and it is important to know the local context well and secure a high level of local commitment. An argument against relying too heavily on a discursive form of new institutionalism as a basis for change is the fact that if the changed narrative is not followed up by visible results and observable improvements, but simply reframes current activities, the initiative might be deemed ineffective and the commitment and support might be short-sighted. However, in the case of Wonosobo, having developed the legal foundations in the regulation from 2016 shows that the change has diffused into action and a strong commitment from the local government has been established through a deliberative approach amongst the task force and the new mayor who seem to be willing to walk the talk. Supporting the creation of the new local human rights commission is a strong new initiative that shows that there are more actions to be taken in the future.

## **8.2. Adopting a long-term multi-stakeholder approach**

In both cases, the initiatives were initiated with support from what is considered progressive political leaders. However, the cases show that if the initiative is not institutionalised more broadly in the local governance system it becomes vulnerable and unsustainable. Adopting local regulations and developing a legal foundation for the work with HRCs appears to be instrumental for the progress of such institutionalisation. However, for this to happen there is an initial need for human capital to be able to lobby for such legislation to be adopted. In the case of Bandung, where the initiative was largely managed

by external forces with financial support from the EU, such human capital was simply not sufficiently available. Another limitation for FIHRRST is their lack of network within the regional- and international HRC community, something that became evident while attempting to create a network analysis and investigate relationships amongst stakeholders. Here, FIHRRST was continuously placed as an outsider without any clear professional ties to other relevant actors. It was not before identifying the personal connection between co-founder Darusman and LEE from South Korea that there was finally established a link to the HRC movement somehow. Their lack of awareness, or connection to other HRC initiatives within the ranges of where they work does point to a limited level of commitment of working locally with these issues. Darusman does mention in this regards that FIHRRST would like to try and engage more actively with the other actors in Indonesia and in the region, such as INFID and Komnas HAM, and participate in the WHRCF, but that they simply had not gotten around to it yet (Group Interview 4). Instead, they are identifying possible opportunities at the national and international levels when it comes to diffusing their HRC model.

Adopting a multi-stakeholder approach and engaging actively in networks such as the WHRCF seems important for the success of the HRC initiative in Wonosobo. Here the initiative was also to some extent initiated by external forces (INFID and Komnas HAM), but the first stage was to secure a high level of local commitment and the priority was to assist and support local actors in the development of local institutional mechanisms. Komnas HAM and INFID are both strong human rights- and development agencies, and their staff have in-depth knowledge of the local context in Wonosobo. Leading members of the two organisations also have personal affiliations and professional networks in the city and the way they expand their HRC initiatives is by relying on these affiliations, mapping interest from local authorities and building local capacity through partnerships with civil society organisations and local governments (Expert Interview 1 and 2).

### **8.3. Taking departure in local need assessments**

The initiative in Wonosobo is clearly designed to make concrete sustainable improvements in the regency, by adopting a contextualised understanding of the human rights challenges on the ground. From this, a model has been built that intends to tackle these challenges through close cooperation amongst multiple relevant stakeholders in society and by institutionalising the notion of human rights into local governance structures, through new mechanisms and a changed narrative. The work is continuous and has been going on for more than five years, signalling a long-term commitment. In Bandung, the initiative takes a

more explorative form, designed by an external agency whose leaders define themselves as human rights idealists. However, FIHRRST seems to treat the project in Bandung almost as a business venture, with the ambitious intention to develop a scalable and standardised model, a product, that can attract attention from a global audience, and be adapted to a variety of different contexts. In this sense, Bandung city is treated as a confined and time-limited pilot project, with limited attention to empirical triability and observability of concrete results. This means that outcomes and lessons learned are not necessarily related to observable changes on the ground, but rather procedural in nature as they serve to develop a more general audible model. From a critical point of view, the fact that the final model was never fully tested because Bandung only managed to conclude the initial step, inevitably points to a lack of understanding of the context within which the initiative was meant to diffuse and the reliance on false assumptions about the commitment of local government. Unfortunately, the lessons which could have been learned from the pilot project, regarding the importance of local commitment building and the need for continuous support does not seem to be incorporated into the final model, which does seem to highlight the Bandung experience as a success, pointing to the fact that the charter was inevitably, at least officially, adopted. Another reason why the work might not have progressed with FIHRRST's HRC model is that they seem to rely too heavily on idealistic assumptions of a high level of commitment and motivation from cities to actively seek their services, when in fact they have not had the chance to test their product on other cities up until this point. From a European example with a similar idea about developing an online platform, initial research conducted by engaging within networks of local governments pointed to the fact that cities did not want to commit to “yet another log-in platform” like the one in question<sup>9</sup>. For this reason, the European website, the Human Rights City Network, was redesigned and recently launched as an open knowledge platform for inspiration and networking amongst cities, instead of a place where they needed to register and commit to certain procedures.

#### **8.4. A bottom-up and participatory approach**

Another important element that is emphasised by the implementing actors in both cases is the ambition to build an initiative that is bottom-up and inclusive. According to FIHRRST and PAHAM, their participatory approach is exactly what makes their project in Bandung so unique, however, their approach of conducting focus groups is in fact far from unique, but a popular strategy in many HRCs and is also featured as part of the process in Wonosobo. Both models include a second stage of consultation and

---

<sup>9</sup> <https://humanrightscities.net/> - knowledge about procedures comes from personal encounters and strategic discussions with the founder and representatives from European cities during WHRCF 2018

outreach in the communities, but consultation is not enough to truly build a bottoms-up and participatory approach. In Wonosobo they have taken the step further by engaging the new village government level. The 2014 village law established this new government level with the aim to strengthen democratic participation and decision power at the very local level in rural areas. One of the aspects of the new law is the distribution of an annual lump sum of 1 billion rupiah<sup>10</sup> to the village governments from which they are meant to make local development projects according to the needs of the local communities. The task force in Wonosobo utilises this new opportunity by facilitating workshops and creating awareness around human rights issues, and by promoting ways in which the villages could adopt human rights friendly budgeting. The human rights commission in itself is also a way to enhance partnerships with various segments and groups in society as well as a means to delegate power. However, for full citizen control, there needs to be developed more concrete mechanisms for citizen engagement and the mandate of the commission needs to be negotiated in place to make sure the commission in the long run is independent and will not only act as a bridge for information sharing.

## 9. Conclusion

Conceptually, HRCs are largely understood in similar manners in the two cases within this study. They both base their initiatives on ideals of creating a bottom-up alternative to the current paradigm of human rights in Indonesia which is deemed insufficient and ineffective and too top-down. However, the way the implementing actors in the two cases go about diffusing the concept differentiates greatly and it seems the overall aim and ambitions with the project in Bandung and the initiative in Wonosobo also differentiate a lot based on the ways they attempt to institutionalise the concept into practice. FIHRRST attempts to develop a standardised mechanism, a model – or a product – that can be replicated easily by following a list of steps via an online platform. The benefit of this approach is the intention to create an audible model that can be used to set and monitor human rights standards. However as discussed throughout the study, the project is far from being operational in its current form. In Wonosobo, the aim is to establish more effective human rights protection at the local level and their model is meant to compliment the work which central government have already set out in the national RANHAM and local action plans. The focus here is to institutionalise practices that are locally adapted and broadly accepted by the local communities. For this purpose, the initial step was to secure local ownership via the task force and develop a legal foundation from which to progress. This has, so far, led to the establishment of Indonesia's first local human rights commission. From these local experiences, lessons are then drawn

---

<sup>10</sup> Approximately 71.000 USD

and Wonosobo is used as a promising example for other Indonesian cities to adopt their own approach to developing a HRC model. The stakeholders engaged in the diffusion of HRCs in the two cases are important for the successful institutionalisation of their initiatives. A general lack of network and lack of a multi-stakeholder approach makes FIHRRST initiative in Bandung unsustainable and short-sited, whereas strong national- and international organisations that are able to engaging civil society and create a discursive momentum to convince local government of the positive effects of adopting a HRC approach back up Wonosobo's initiative. Overall, the study has identified four key elements that, in both cases, seem to act as important considerations in the diffusion and institutionalisation of HRCs: 1) Having a strong narrative of human rights and adopting a local language of human rights; 2) Adopting a strategy which relies on a long term multi-stakeholder approach; 3) taking departure in local need assessments; and finally 4) utilizing and facilitating bottom-up procedures that enable active partnerships and delegations of power.

## 10. Future research

One limitation that the thesis has not been able to include is the broader reflections on FIHRRST's motivations for choosing to adopt an approach that, rather than focusing on the local level, almost intentionally speaks to a different audience. There is no doubt that, with the very public declaration of the project, a signed charter and the development of an online platform, they manage to position themselves in a positive light to an outsider audience, even if there is little to show on the ground in terms of progress. This could enable them to gain success in a different sphere as they might in fact be able to rely and tap into the success of some of Bandung's many other positive efforts for which the municipality have been awarded the title as a human-rights friendly city several times. It would have been interesting to analyse in greater depth their overall theory of change and links to international agencies, which would also possibly enable a critical discussion of the diffusion of local initiatives at a global governance level where it might not always be results on the ground that gets the most attention.

Future research could also focus in greater detail on the analysis and comparison of the HRC model in Wonosobo and its relation to initiatives taken by central government, how they complement each other and differentiate. A limitation in order to do this as part of the current study is language barriers as it would take more detailed analysis of texts and documents only available in various Indonesian languages. Another interesting perspective could be to focus solely on cities which identify as HRCs within INFIDs

programmatic work, and thus draw greater comparative conclusions on how the HRC narrative shapes local governance in these cases where it would be possible to trace similarities more easily. For such study it would be ideal to look more closely at the collaboration between local government agencies and emphasise the link between the SDGs and a HRC approach.



## Bibliography

- Arnstein, S. R. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 35(4), pp. 216–224.
- Berg, E. van den and Oomen, B. (eds) (2013) *Human Rights Cities : Motivations , Mechanisms , Implications*. University College Roosevelt.
- Blatter, J. (2013) 'Glocalization', *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/glocalization> (Accessed: 30 March 2018).
- Castellino, J. and Bradshaw, S. (2015) 'Sustainable development and social inclusion: Why a changed approach is central to combating vulnerability', *Washington International Law Journal*, 24(3).
- Central Intelligence Agency (2019) *East Asia/Southeast Asia: Indonesia, The World Factbook*. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/id.html> (Accessed: 7 April 2019).
- Chueca, E. G. (2016) 'Human rights in the city and the right to the city: two different paradigms confronting urbanisation', in Oomen, B., Davis, M. F., and Grigolo, M. (eds) *Global Urban Justice - The Rise of Human Rights Cities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 103–120.
- Davis, M. F., Gammeltoft-Hansen, T. and Hanna, E. (2017) *Human Rights Cities and Regions Swedish and International Perspectives*. Lund. Available at: <http://rwi.lu.se/app/uploads/2017/03/Human-Rights-Cities-web.pdf> (Accessed: 1 August 2018).
- Denscombe, M. (2010) *The Good Research Guide for Small-Scale Research Projects*. Fourth. New York: Mc Graw Hill.
- Fakhri, M. and Reynolds, K. (2017) *The Bandung Conference, Oxford Bibliographies*. Available at: <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199796953/obo-9780199796953-0150.xml> (Accessed: 16 April 2019).
- FIHRRST (2015) *Making the Right start – Bandung begins its journey as our Human Rights City, FIHRRST*. Available at: <http://www.fihrrst.org/making-the-right-start-bandung-begins-its-journey-as-our-human-rights-city.html> (Accessed: 17 April 2019).
- Firman, T. (2009) 'Decentralization reform and local-government proliferation in indonesia: Towards a fragmentation of regional development', *Review of Urban and Regional Development Studies*, 21(2–3), pp. 143–157.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2011) 'Case Study', in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 4th edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, pp. 301–316.
- Frezzo, M. (2015) *The Sociology of Human Rights*. Polity.
- Grigolo, M. (2010) 'Human rights and cities: The barcelona office for non-discrimination and its work for migrants', *International Journal of Human Rights*, 14(6), pp. 896–914.

Grigolo, M. (2019) *The Human Rights City - New York, San Francisco, Barcelona*. Routledge.

Human Rights City Center (2017) *About Human Rights City Center, Human Rights City Center/FIHRRST*. Available at: <http://www.hrcitycenter.org/page/view/138> (Accessed: 24 April 2019).

INFID (2018) *Wonosobo to have the First Human Rights Commission in Indonesia, INFID Website*. Available at: <https://www.infid.org/wonosobo-akan-memiliki-komisi-ham-pertama-di-indonesia/?lang=en> (Accessed: 23 April 2019).

Kusumawati, A. (2018) 'Wonosobo Human Rights City Integrating Human Rights City Perspective with SDGs Framework', in *Busan Democracy Forum Power Point Presentation*.

Marks, S. P., Modrowski, K. A. and Lichem, W. (2008) *Human Rights Cities: Civic Engagement for Societal Development*. New York: People's Movement for Human Rights Learning and UN Habitat.

OHCHR (no date) *Sustainable Development Goals Related human rights*. Available at: [https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/MDGs/Post2015/SDG\\_HR\\_Table.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/MDGs/Post2015/SDG_HR_Table.pdf) (Accessed: 11 May 2019).

Oomen, B., Davis, M. F. and Grigolo, M. (eds) (2016) *Global Urban Justice - The Rise of Human Rights Cities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

PDHRE (2007) *Human Rights Learning and Human Rights Cities - Achievements Report*. Available at: <https://www.pdhre.org/achievements-HR-cities-mar-07.pdf> (Accessed: 2 July 2018).

Qurtuby, S. Al (2014) *Sectarian Conflict and Grassroots Peacebuilding in Central Java, Middle East Institute*. Available at: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/sectarian-conflict-and-grassroots-peacebuilding-central-java> (Accessed: 10 April 2019).

Rogers, E. M. (1995) *Diffusion of Innovations*. Fourth Edi. New York: The Free Press.

RWI (2018) *Human rights cities and SDGs (Unpublished working paper)*. Lund.

Schmidt, V. A. (2010) 'Taking ideas and discourse seriously: explaining change through discursive institutionalism as the fourth "new institutionalism"', *European Political Science Review*, 2(1), pp. 1–25.

Sen, A. (2004) 'Elements of a Theory of Human Rights', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 32(4), pp. 315–356.

Tarigan, A. K. M. *et al.* (2016) 'City profile Bandung City, Indonesia', *Cities*, 50, pp. 100–110.

The World Bank (no date) *Social Inclusion, Understanding Poverty*. Available at: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/social-inclusion> (Accessed: 5 May 2019).

Timossi, A. J. (2015) *Revisiting the 1955 Bandung Asian-African Conference and its legacy, The South Centre*. Available at: <https://www.southcentre.int/question/revisiting-the-1955-bandung-asian-african-conference-and-its-legacy/> (Accessed: 5 May 2019).

UCLG (2016) 'A Seat at the Global Table: Local Governments as Decision-Makers in World Affairs', in *Habitat III Conference*. Quito: UCLG. Available at: <http://www.cib-uclg.org/news/seat-global-table>

local-governments-decision-makers-world-affairs.

UCLG (no date) *Local Governance, UCLG in action*. Available at:

<https://www.uclg.org/en/action/decentralisation-governance> (Accessed: 23 January 2019).

United Nations Country Team in Indonesia (2017) *Report for the Universal Periodic Review*.

United Nations General Assembly (2015) 'Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development', <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/7891Transforming%20Our%20World.pdf>, (1), pp. 1–5.

United Nations Human Rights Council (2015) 'Role of local government in the promotion and protection of human rights – Final report of the Human Rights Council Advisory Committee', 13369(August). Available at: <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G15/174/88/PDF/G1517488.pdf?OpenElement>.

Viborg, S. (2018) *Human Rights Cities: Local Governance or a Way of Life? - A study of the historical conception of human rights cities and their progressive potential in promoting a more inclusive and participatory human rights paradigm today*. Lund University. Available at: <https://lup.lub.lu.se/student-papers/search/publication/8958379> (Accessed: 5 November 2018).

Wargadiredja, A. T. (2018) *Ridwan Kamil Wins West Java Governor's Race, Vice*.

Woodiwiss, A. (2016) *The Law Cannot Be Enough: Human Rights and the Limits of Legalism* |, *Law Explorer*. Available at: <https://lawexplores.com/the-law-cannot-be-enough-human-rights-and-the-limits-of-legalism/> (Accessed: 13 May 2018).

World Urban Forum (2005) *World Charter for the Right to the City*. Available at:

[http://www.righttothecityplatform.org.br/download/publicacoes/World Charter for the Right to the City.pdf](http://www.righttothecityplatform.org.br/download/publicacoes/World%20Charter%20for%20the%20Right%20to%20the%20City.pdf) (Accessed: 5 July 2018).

# List of Appendix

## Appendix 1: Example of interview guide

### Expert interview 2: Beka Ulung Hapsara, Commissioner at Komnas HAM

#### Wonosobo as a HRC

Before getting into your work here at Komnas HAM, I meet with Mugi from INFID yesterday, and he actually informed me that you were the one to initiate the collaboration with Wonosobo to become a human rights city. So I thought to start by asking you a few questions about how this got started.

1. *Would you tell me who got the inspiration to make Wonosobo a HRC?*
2. *Where did the inspiration come from?*
3. *How was the initiative started?*

#### Komnas HAMs work with HRCs

How actively do you work here in Komnas HAM with the HRC agenda?

4. *When you work with localisation of human rights, what level of local government do you then work with? (Provincial, city/regency or village government?)*
5. *And is local government your primary partner or do you also work with civil society org or NGOs?*
6. *What are some of the challenges you see in your work with human rights at the local level?*

According to your presentation at the WHRCF, one of the objectives of the human rights city framework is to improve the participation of civil society.

7. *Could you elaborate in what way the framework can improve participation and why that is important?*

#### Komnas HAMs link to Central gov. initiatives

Is your office involved in the development of the national action plans for human rights that the local governments have to implement follow?

8. *How much does local government have a say over the priorities set in the agenda?*

Would you say that the Human rights City framework is a separate mechanism from the legal mechanisms and work the central government and the municipalities does with the annual action plans for human rights?

9. *How do they differ/compare?*
10. *What is the usefulness of a separate HRCF?*

## Appendix 2: Images from fieldwork

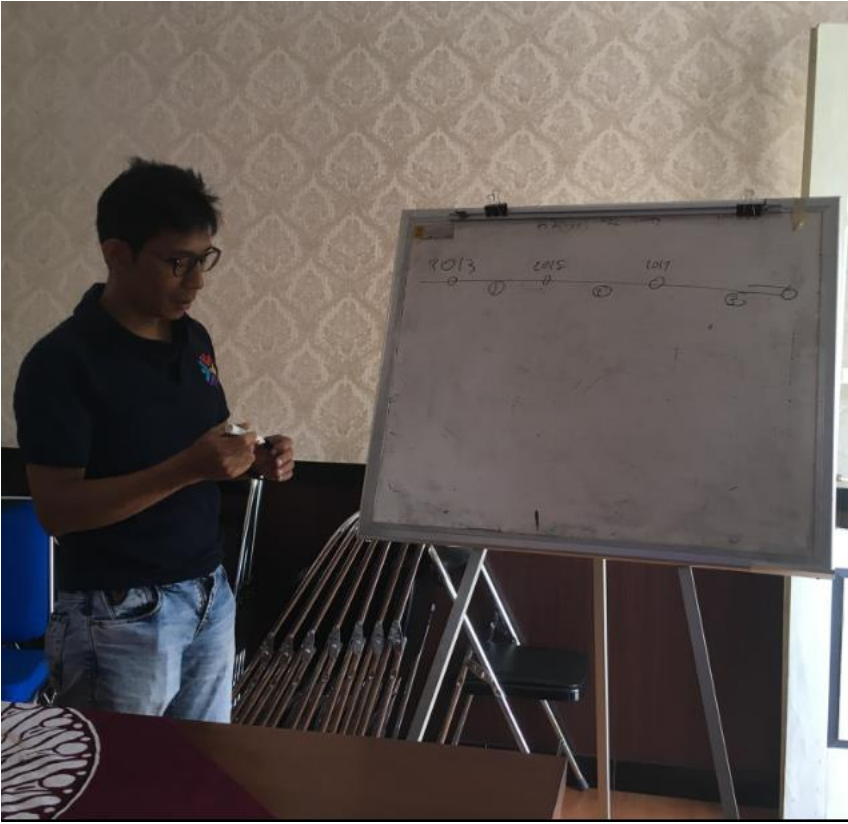


Image 1: Fahmi from the Wonosobo HRC Task Force initiating the work with constructing a timeline of the steps taken to turn Wonosobo into a HRC during our workshop





Image 2 and 3: Group interview with Wonosobo HRC task force

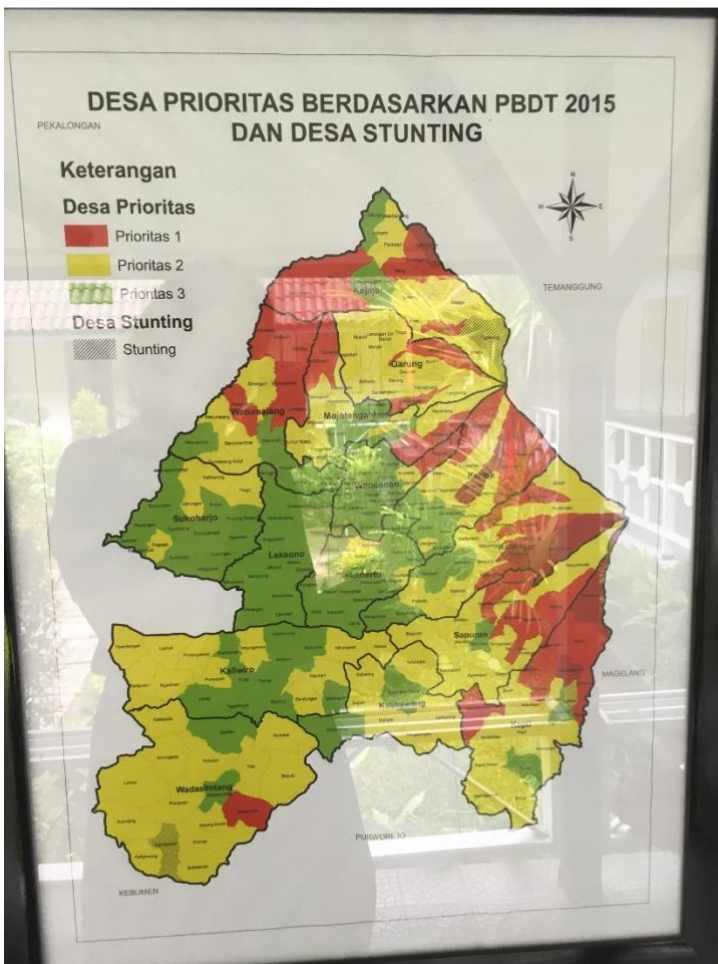


Image 4: Map of the distribution of poverty in Wonosobo regency, from a poster at the planning agency





Image 5: The golden sunrise over Wonosobo Regency







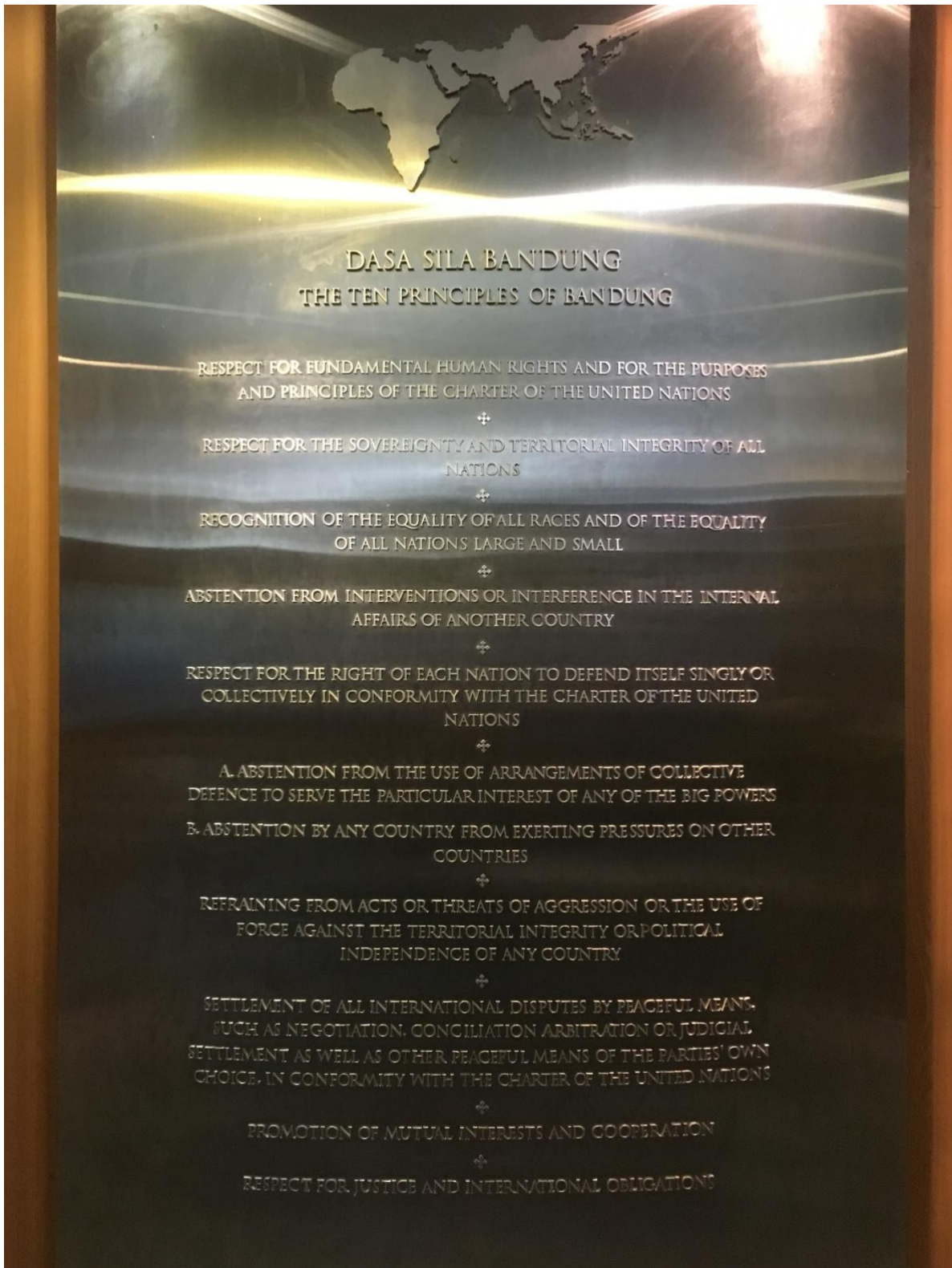


Image 6, 7, 8 and 9: Visit to the Museum of the Asia-Africa Conference. Here the 10 principles of Bandung from the Asia-Africa Conference

### **Appendix 3: Empirical data and interview participants**

**Initial meeting 1: Senior Programme Officer from RWI Sabastian Saragih, approximately 1 hour**

Not recorded

**Initial meeting 2: Representatives from UCLG-ASPAC, approximately 1 hour**

Not recorded

**Initial meeting 3: Bagus Takwin, Academic from University of Indonesia, approximately 45 minutes**

Not recorded

**Expert interview 1: MUGIYANTO from INFID, 00:50:00 minutes**

Recorded

**Expert interview 2: Beka ULUNG HAPSARA, Commissioner for Education & Outreach in Komnas HAM and in charge of Promotion of the Human Rights Sub-Committee Coordinator, 00:45:00 minutes**

Recorded

**Expert interview 3: Local Government Representative from Legal Division in Bandung, 00:45:00 minutes**

Recorded

**Workshop 1: Head of Wonosobo HRC Task Force, 01:46:00 hour**

Recorded

#### Participants:

1: Fahmi Hidayat, Regional planning agency (Bappeda)

2: Sofie Viborg

**Group Interview 1: HRC Task Force in Wonosobo, 01:56:00 minutes**

Recorded

Participants:

- 1: Fahmi Hidayat, Regional planning agency (Bappeda)
- 2: Aldhaiana Kusumwati, Division specially on rural/village government issues
- 3: Dani Ardiansyah, Public service agency
- 4: Tono Prihatono, governance division
- 5: Iwan Widayanto, Head of sub-district Watumalang

Arrived later, from HRC commission:

- (6: Maryam Ramadhani, Dissability rights activist)
- (7: Saifur Rohman, Dissability rights activist)

**Group interview 2: HRC Commission, 01:40:00 minutes**

Recorded

Participants:

Translator: Afif Setyawan Disparbud, Wonosobo Human Rights Task Force

- 1: Maryam Ramadhani, Dissability rights activist
- 2: Saifur Rohman, Dissability rights activist
- 3: Dr. H. Zaenal Sukawi, Head of Inter-religious Communication Forum
- 4: Astuti Farida, Green Enviornment Activist
- 5: Dra. Hj. Amiroh Zaitun, Women and Children organisation

**Group interview 3: PAHAM, 01:25:00 minutes**

Recorded

Participants:

- 1: Susi Harijanti, Director of PAHAM
- 2: Bilal Dewansyah, Researcher at PAHAM

**Group interview 4: FIHRRST, 00:01:40 minutes**

Recorded

Participants:

- 1: Marzuki Darusman, Chair and Co-founder of FIHRRST
- 2: James Steven Kallman, Co-founder of FIHRRST
- 3: Bahtiar Manurung, Operations Director

**Workshop 2: Director of FIHRRST, 00:1:00:00 minutes**  
Recorded

Participants:

- 1: Bahtiar Manurung, Operations Director
- 2: Sofie Viborg

## Appendix 4: Transcribed Excerpts from Interviews

### Excerpt 1: Group Interview 1: HRC Task Force (00:06:30-00:15:50)

(After discussing some of the challenges of Wonosobo, e.g. with rural development, clean water and sanitation and unequal access to social services)

#### Key dimensions derived from section:

- HRC as a new idea, a narrative and discursive to break with business-as-usual attitudes that does not work
- Focus on second generation rights (housing, education, affirmative action)
- HRC as commitment building in communities
- HRC as a tool to shift power from local government to communities
- Community approach risks cherry picking issues of common interest as opposed to more challenging issues related to e.g. sexual minorities
- Contextualise HR into language that resonates with local experience, *Vernacularization*
- Expectation: HR discourse will lead to more humane and affirmative policies

Interview transcript	Notes
<p><b>Interviewer:</b>            “Okay, so maybe I could ask, just to provocative a little bit, why do you think that human rights is the best approach? Someone might say that the sustainability or the SDGs could be enough, why are human rights important for these issues?”</p> <p><b>Member 3 (Translated by member 2):</b>            “It is like, it is not water or the sanitation that is important enough when we see the regional budgets, so not many people see that sanitation or water are important things that we need to focus on.”</p> <p><b>Member 2:</b></p>	<p>Lack of sense of urgency and importance of specific issues</p>

<p>“So maybe it is the same as with my comment, that in my opinion it’s just, we need something new. We need something brand new. To make all people in this city uhmm... feel that we will do something new. But actually what we do will be the same. Because we actually have a big problem with poverty and its included about housing and water and what else, education, but if we always say that ‘we need more money’, ‘we need more activities’ or ‘we need more from the community to do something about this’, then not many people will listen. But if we declare that we will go or use the term of HRC when we will fulfil all the rights of the people, then we define some of the priorities, five issues, somehow uhmm... somehow <u>this thing is more interesting</u>. Actually it is just the same, but when we... So it is for me, we need the new narrative”</p>	<p>Need a new approach Discursive change more than action based</p> <p>Create interest and new commitment through discursive change</p>
<p><b>Member 1+3</b></p>	
<p>“Yes, a new narrative”</p>	<p>Narrative and discourse</p>
<p><b>Member 3:</b></p> <p>“Yes we need a new narrative for sanitation and water”</p>	<p>Narrative and discourse</p>
<p><b>Member 2:</b></p> <p>“Well for everything really”</p>	
<p><b>Member 3:</b></p> <p>“but like, people don't feel like this is a problem. Like when you talk to the people in the village, they don't think that this is a problem. They are used to the situation.”</p>	<p>Lack a sense of urgency from community of current specific issues</p>
<p><b>Member 1:</b></p> <p>“Without the HRC initiative, things will just be business as usual. So we need a new affirmative policy – HRC program enables us to develop new affirmative policies. At least 30 % of the budget needs to be distributed to housing for those living below the poverty line. Before it was difficult for us, because regional government had to discuss and we would have a very very</p>	<p>Contribution of HRC narrative: break with business-as-usual Affirmative policies</p>

<p>tough debate with local legislatives on how to use budgets. So using the new framework of HRC is a new chance for us to strengthen and press the public opinion on that these very little money should be distributed to A,B and C, not D, E, F. for example”</p> <p><b>Member 2:</b> “And somehow Sofie, when we talk about the problems with the water or the problems with the housing, then people will see it as a need, like a problem and a need. But when we talk about HR then the government should be thinking about the fulfilment of the rights. It is an obligation for us.”</p> <p><b>Member 1:</b> “It’s already been mandated in our constitution for us”</p> <p><b>Member 2:</b> “For us it helps much, I mean, the term of the human rights it help much. Not only to gain the power of a lot of the sectors of the government, but also to gain a lot of strength from the local communities. Because one of the uhmm... one of the strengths of this region is that we have more and more community, local community.”</p> <p><b>Member 3 + 1</b> (Agreeing simultaneously) “Yes community”</p> <p><b>Member 2:</b> “Local communities and they are doing, actually a lot, on human rights issues, like disabilities...”</p> <p>Member x (difficult to hear): “Like zero waist community, dealing with the management or something like that, yeah”</p>	<p>Commitment building through discourse and deliberation.</p> <p>Rights based approach as opposed to needs based approach</p> <p>Legal dimensions of human rights</p> <p>HR help to shifts the power from government to community</p> <p>Strengthen and utilise community</p> <p>Commitment from communities</p> <p>Gather communities within an umbrella of rights-based approaches</p>
---	---

<p><b>Interviewer:</b> So like a very active civil society?</p>	<p>LEADING</p>
<p><b>Member 2:</b> “Yes. So when we have this it is like it clicks and everyone looks back like, okay, we look to the HRC concept.”</p>	<p>The concept matters for framing the actions</p>
<p><b>Interviewer:</b> “It is very interesting because when I have talked with e.g. the UCLG here, they say that it is difficult for them to talk about HR with their members with local governments because HR can be perceived as very provocative or there can be you know a lot of resistance. And I also heard that some – like from a Scandinavian perspective I always think that civil society is very progressive – but then I heard in Bandung for example that there are some members of civil society are really against the idea of HRC. So its interesting to hear that you think it is useful.</p>	<p>Question demanding reflexivity</p> <p>Sharing experiences</p>
<p><b>Member 2:</b> “You know, because maybe the difference from us and with the others, is the focus on the issues we choose, you know so we start with the issues from you know so we start the HRC with the common issues like pregnant women, the child and then about the environment you know. We don't ”</p>	<p>Majority issues</p>
<p><b>Member x (difficult to depict):</b> “So not the very tough human rights issues”</p>	<p>Majority issues (cherry picking?)</p>
<p><b>Member 2:</b> “We just start with the easy issues you know not the very political issues”</p>	<p>Majority issues</p>
<p><b>Member 1:</b> “you know so the issues that comes up every day, so we are trying to work with reforming and to make the HR perspective reformed to make it an easy perspective for the public. So they think like, oh I would live in the concept</p>	<p>Framing HR to local context of everyday life</p>



<p>of HR because by campaigning for HRCs I can access more easily or something like that. This is like the simple logic that we in the task force have been trying to discuss already now. So developing, meeting and strengthening the affirmative policies so we will induce more, more, more <i>human</i> policies, yeah. Like in the areas of the public like housing, education, health.”</p>	<p>Narrative and discourse of HR, vernacularization – make HR less complex</p> <p>Discursive change will lead to policy change</p> <p>Second generation HR</p>
--	--

**Excerpt 2: Workshop with Fahmi Hidayat, Head of Wonosobo HRC Task Force (00:00:00-00:08:25)**

Key dimensions derived from section:

- Foundation and precondition is tolerance – HRC does not create it.

Interview transcript	Notes
<p><b>Interviewer:</b></p> <p>I would like to ask you first about the task force. For me it's like, I have studied HRC in other, mostly, European contexts and there are so many different models and ways of doing I and so what I am really interested in is to understand how Wonosobo understand HRC's and how to work with it and in that sense also to know about what the role of the task force is.</p> <p><b>Fahmi:</b></p> <p>Okay, so the first step of engaging Wonosobo with the HRC began in 2013, so it started by the former Regent, from 2013-2019, you can divide it into three steps. In the first phase you can call it idea development or embryo or something like that. The milestone of this is the study of HR that local government and other people from other governments did from Komnas HAM and others, second uhhh, we engaged in public campaign and research. In the middle of 2013 the Regent went to Gwangju for the WHRCF and we collaborated more actively with Komnas HAM, INFID and with journalists and with some social activists and with various other local leaders, including the Mayor of Bandung, who were considered as rights city leaders. So I can still remember that in around 2013 and 2014 Wonosobo uhm, were invited to seminars, to forums and other meetings in Sumatra and Jakarta hold by Komnas HAM and other institutions.</p> <p>Then so I would like to tell about how or why others, scholars and experts think that Wonosobo is considered compatible with the HR, that is also an important question to your study I think.</p>	<p>Study and initial research</p> <p>Public campaigns</p> <p>International networking</p> <p>(Link to Bandung?)</p> <p>Compatability</p>

<p>Okay, the last 10 years we have witnessed a very dynamic social and political development in terms of political parties residential campaigns and recent developments social, cultural issues. One of the phenomenon's was the strengthening of the nationality, we call it, uhmm, we call it.. Uhmm... I will tell you in another way. Wonosobo has never had the riots or something like that in the theme of ethnicity or ethnic origins, you get it? While other cities or districts in provinces from 2010 they have conflicts amongst uhm religious groups. We can see that in Wonosobo everything is okay. Here we have Shia, Amadiyah and some other local religious. While other cities demonstrates conflicts between for example Shia and Sunni, or Amadiyah and more mainstream Muslims, but here in Wonosobo, thanks to the Regent and thanks to the consciousness of the majority of Muslims here in Wonosobo we have a very tolerant city. That is a very important thing why scholars or experts consider Wonosobo has potential to be a HRC, because we don't have any conflict.</p>	<p>Nationalistic sentiment</p> <p>Peaceful regency</p> <p>City of tolerance</p>
--	---

**Excerpt 3: Group interview 2: HRC Commission (00:18:44-32:10.00)**

Translator: Afif Setyawan Disparbud, Wonosobo Human Rights Task Force

Key dimensions derived from section:

- Facilitating a change in attitudes by members of society is important. It is not enough that local government commits
- HR language can help build confidence
- Accountability

Interview transcript	Notes
<p><b>Interviewer:</b></p> <p>I am very interested in hearing your opinions, your reflections and your ideas about what the commission- and the idea of a HRC means to you. The idea is to have an open conversation and discussion, which I will try to steer based on a few key questions. So you are welcome to</p> <p><b>Translator for Member 1:</b></p> <p>Okay, so he wants to emphasise the need to hold the local government responsible in giving decent services to the people with disability. It is not optimal. Its already, we already build, developed some facilities, such as like we made the pedestrians pavement accessible, but because of the lack of understanding from other members of society, they even use the pedestrians area as places for their shops and so they have really limited accessibility, even if the government have build such things, they have quite low accessibility to that infrastructure.</p> <p>And also the second point that he wants to say is that the level of education amongst groups of people with disability is still low. It is because of costs. For example their family members think that to give them a good education is not important, that create really a</p>	<p>Local accountability</p> <p>(unclear who “we” is and if this is translators opinion or not)</p> <p>Change local perceptions by members of society</p> <p>Service delivery is not enough, changes in attitudes is needed</p> <p>Education</p> <p>Change attitude is important</p>

problem for us to move forward because their family think it is useless to give them good education.

**Interviewer:**

So maybe I can start by asking what some of the priorities within the commission is, to do something about these issues are that part of the priorities for the commission. I know the commission is quite new, but maybe for you this particular question or for all the members of the commission actually, I want to ask what you think are the most important priorities for you to begin with?

**Translator for Member 1 and 2 mixed:**

Since the formation of this commission they [the commission member 1 and 2] just go directly to the members of these communities and give them enlightenment and also they ask these members of society about their aspirations and what they really need and require to live. Because of the commission they have the right channel to give these aspirations to the government. Because in the past when we didn't have this commission, all we heard was just a glance, but we didn't really know exactly what was happening, but because of this commission now we know really what they need. For example she [Member 2] just opened free training for every people with disability on how to cope, it really help them when they feel trauma when they see these two new members of the commission. Some of the problems is really the personal trauma from the family. So what they really have to face now is how to build confidence and how to change their mind set that disability doesn't have to mean that they have to be dependent on their family, but that you can be independent enough just like others. And all you have to do is to change their [family members and the community] mind-set and they also want to seek the solutions together.

Bridging link between vulnerable groups and local government.

Government did not know about the problems on the ground, only a superficial idea. HRC Commission enlighten local gov. and help community.

HRCs can help with changing the mind-set and build confidence because of the language of rights

Working together, community

**Excerpt 4: Group interview 4: FIHRRST (00:00:00-00:10:45)**

Key dimensions derived from section:

- HRC derive from a need to break with the politisation of HR as seen at the national level
- Initiative was spontaneous and based on a ‘wrong’ identification of Bandung as a HRC initially
- HRC initiative based on idealism and ambitions of spreading a standardised model of auditing globally

Interview transcript	Notes
<p><b>Member 2:</b></p> <p>So just in the way of background, we are the FIHRRST and we actually established this organisation because of the guiding principles on business and human rights. What we saw is that standards are needed so that companies can know what to do and how to do it and how to demonstrate that they have done it and how to integrate these business processes, so I guess we are the only standard setting organisation that was set up purely for this purpose, and our chairman is Marzuki Darusman. So one day he asked us to have a look at this UN white paper or whatever its called on HRC – and that's not what it's called but you know what its called. Role of local government something something.. And so Marizuki gave it to us and said, what do you think about this? And frankly it was at the same time I was reading a book called 2047, and first of all it was an inspiration this HRC you know it just make sense, HR at the national government level, it's just SO political you know. China makes a HR report on America and America makes a HR report on China and it's just very very political.</p> <p>And so I happen to read this book, and you know, you should read it, and it's about a wiki project in University of California Berkeley, and the idea behind the project is that the UN declaration of HR started during the war, franklin Rosewell came out with his four</p>	<p>HRC as a source of inspiration to make HR less political</p> <p>Source of inspiration</p> <p>Inspired by American notions of first generation HR</p>

<p>freedoms speech and he really had this vision that HR could be something that could be enforceable in every corner of the world, any place, that there were certain unalienable rights, these four freedoms that should be protected anywhere in the world. And of course after the second world war everything got very political again you had the soviet fear of influence and the Chinese and the rest, so it was not possible to do that and as you know Eleanora Rosewell chaired the committee in San Francisco, and what ultimately came out is the UN declaration which is very aspirational but was not enforceable. And that's not, and she wrote in her diary apparently that Franklin, would he approve that we go through with this or should we not. And the idea with this 2047 project is that it will have been a 100 years in 2047 and that should be enough time to get it right. So that's the idea with this 2047, and it's apparently so that you can go online, I haven't tried it I don't know if you have, but that you can go online and everyone can make their contribution to what they feel is the rights that are important.</p>	<p>HR as enforceable idea as opposed to utopian</p> <p>Current HR paradigm is not enforceable</p> <p>Participatory process</p>
<p>And so when Marzuki gave us this document on the UN HRCs, let's call it that, we said, why can we not do that, here in Indonesia? And you know in that document there is one city mentioned, I don't know if you noticed, but in that document, in a footnote the city of Bandung was there.</p>	<p>Source of inspiration: International UN report was inspiration</p> <p>Bandung was pre-defined</p>
<p>And so we said 'Lets go see the mayor', and we did, and we said 'so mister mayor, we can understand that you're a HRC' and he said 'Am I?'</p>	<p>Bandung was preselected, but why and by whom?</p>
<p>*laughing*</p> <p>And he didn't know, it was his predecessor or something like that that had done something, and so we explained to him what that means and then he said 'I like that, let's do that. I want to do that for</p>	<p>Commitment from Mayor</p>

<p>our city'. And what we said was, then let's get it right, let's do it like Franklin Roswell would have wanted and like this wiki project. Let's go to the citizens of Bandung and find out what they felt were the rights that should be protected and lets go to all the marginalised groups and lets have focus groups discussions and lets you know build this from the bottoms-up'.</p>	<p>Participation</p>
<p>And he said 'yes, this is great because I have a million twitter followers and I'm gonna tweet out and all of them are going to make contributions'.</p>	<p>Commitment from Mayor? Social media and online tool for communication</p>
<p>And then we worked together with the government university in that area and they have a human rights centre which happened to be chaired at the time – maybe still – by the former Chief justice of the supreme court in Indonesia. And so we worked together with them and they said like 'we will put this on our website and we will make sure that we get all the citizens and all the vulnerable groups and everyone involved' and that was the beginning of the charter.</p>	<p>Social media and online tool for communication</p>
<p>That's how the charter was developed, it was developed from the bottoms up, and it was amazing Sofie, I tell you. We had these focus groups, and you know we had LGBT issues discussed. You had religions that are not recognised in this country that was invited to join and make their contribution, you had people rolling in on wheelchairs, and you had military and non-military, and you had all these different groups together at these focus groups and we sat at these small tables and we tried to have the richness of these groups come together, and then we developed this charter and you know.</p>	<p>First step Bottoms up process? Sales pitch! Participation of minorities</p>
<p>The one last part of it, was that we developed an audit methodology. Because we are a standards organisation, so we developed, from the charter, a means with which to audit these cities on a yearly basis and each, not only the cities, but even at the very, very local level, to audit</p>	<p>Second step</p>



<p>and to make sure that they know what the charter say and that they build in processes to enforce the charter and to protect local citizens rights.</p> <p>And its just, its just an amazing product, it really is, and you know without sounding too proud or anything I think, your right, it is a very different product than in Wonosobo or what they are doing in Korea or in other places or what the government have even been looking at. This is so much more detailed and, and rich in every sense.</p> <p>And you know, we are all idealists and we believe that these should be developed internationally in cities. (...) and you know a colleague have done some teaching in a school in north Carolina at a school you know in the US and we are in talks with a mayor there to develop a project like the one in Bandung, in that city.</p> <p>And you know, we really are idealists we would love to see something like this in every city in the world. We believe that it should be like that. And so going back to my initial comment on business and HR, that's how we got started. We believe that action in the world today is with businesses and cities. They are powerful. And national governments you know, we believe are weak.</p>	<p>HRC as a product</p> <p>Ambition</p> <p>International scale</p> <p>Power</p>
--	---

**Excerpt 5: Group interview 3: PAHAM (00:50:20-01:14:00)**

Key dimensions derived from section:

- General lack of commitment from local government who sees HRC charter as a burden
- No implementation have taken place after the adoption of the charter
- A stronger need for translating HR to broaden the paradigm and perceived advantage
- Local government is the key to change.

Interview transcript	Notes
<p><b>Member 1:</b> (...) And then it was officially declared by the mayor during the conference in april and then the 10<sup>th</sup> of December the charter.</p> <p><b>Member 2:</b> But you know, there was no approval from the participants, it was only signed by the mayor</p> <p><b>Member 1:</b> That's right, only directly signed by the mayor. That's right. There was no time.</p> <p><b>Interviewer:</b> So if I may ask, how actively involved was the mayor in this process?</p> <p><b>Member 1:</b> So... ehmm.. I think that the mayor was not quite active, because, it seems to me that he gave his mandate to... uhmm.. to the committee.. but also sadly I have to say that the local government was not quite active in this making of the declaration as well as the bandung charter. Not quite active. PAHAM is at the forefront with FIHRRST. PAHAM and FIHRRST was at the forefront of the making of both the declaration and the charter.</p>	<p>Lack of commitment</p> <p>Time constraint</p> <p>Involvement of Mayor</p> <p>Lack of commitment form local government</p> <p>Managed by FIHRRST and PAHAM</p>

<p><b>Member 2:</b> Also I remember that for the second focus group discussion where we invited the local government apparatus. Things did not turn out well with the discussion.</p> <p><b>Member 1:</b> Yeah they did not show their enthusiasm dealing with human rights.</p> <p><b>Member 2:</b> It was like they were seeing it like a burden for them to give more and better services and if they cannot deliver this services they can be charged so the response was not much.</p> <p><b>Interviewer:</b> But the mayor signed it right, and because there are quite a lot of responsibilities and commitment by local government in the charter. So I wonder what kind of commitment it is when the mayor signs it, does he then commit that local government will fulfil what is in the charter?</p> <p><b>Member 1:</b> Yes, but what we also realised is that the charter cannot be fulfilled before there is a local government regulation. To make a good implementation so from a legal perspective the active implementation undoubtable needs uhmm... the role of local government regulations. But here we propose the form rather than another form of regulation. Because according to the Indonesian legislation system there is a number of regulations that can propagate it by government both in the central as in the local level. So at the local level there are like local government regulations that is made by the head of the local government for province and the municipality or regent. In order to make a local regulation there should be a mayor</p>	<p>Lack of commitment from local government</p> <p>HRC as additional burden</p> <p>Need for additional commitment to implement the charter</p>
---	--

<p>as well as local representatives from the house of local representatives.</p> <p><b>Interviewer:</b></p> <p>So what you are saying if I understand you right, what is needed is for additional regulations to be installed for the charter to be implemented – and has this process been taking place or initiated?</p> <p><b>Member 1:</b></p> <p>Sadly no! Up until now. So once I meet the mayor in a short discussion and I asked about his commitment to make an initiative to implement the charter and at the time he said that yeah. We tried but there are some members of the house of local representatives that has not yet agreed to the initiative. So yeah this is a political issue right.</p> <p><b>Interviewer:</b></p> <p>Okay, so what would you say have been the development. What have happened with this HRC of Bandung?</p> <p><b>Member 2:</b></p> <p>Nothing, I would say. Maybe sort of a rights ability to creativity it has made a difference – this was implemented as the Bandung creative hub and freedom of religion on some issues, but not as a result. For example when dealing with the slum areas, we are a bit disappointed with the response.</p> <p><b>Interviewer:</b></p> <p>And this was the old mayor. So what about the new mayor? Is he interested?</p> <p><b>Member 2:</b></p> <p>*Laughs*</p>	<p>No further commitment or progress after the charter</p> <p>No results or activities that could be directly linked back to the adoption of the charter.</p>
--	---

<p><b>Member 1 and 2:</b></p> <p>No!</p> <p><b>Member 1:</b></p> <p>No, so I think that even that there is no local regulation on HR or the implementation of the charter, but at least the mayor of the time showed his commitment, to show his respect for HR and his eagerness to implement the content of the charter. But to some extend he tried to create gardens everywhere [one of the things mentioned during the focus discussions] to make people more happy, to enjoy living in Bandung. That is a positive effect. But actually I am not quite sure whether that is something which was a result of the charter, but maybe more jsut if that is the development of dealing with his program as a mayor, rather than having a connection to the charter. His program in terms of the development of the thematic garden and then what else, the creative hub. And that's good. and that makes people happy. That thet mayor claimed. He claim that people living in Bandung is happy. But on the other hand there is also forced removals of people to slums and suffering.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>You know, I think that the most important thing is that from the process, that there is not enough participation from the local government or the bureaucrats. That is something that we realised. That it is very difficult to invite the local government officers to be involved with human rights projects. They know about HR but maybe with a different paradigm than those of us from the university. Like sometimes we heard that ‘Oh HR comes from the West’. So that reflect that they have a very limited paradigm on HR, oaky. So we think that it is very important in Indonesia to invite, or not only to invite, but to make an effective active involvement of the</p>	<p>No apparent commitment from the new mayor</p> <p>Commitment was there from the former mayor and positive developments have taken place as a result of his work. Not the Charter though.</p> <p>Lessons learned</p> <p>Different languages and paradigms around HR</p> <p>Need to change the discourse around HR</p>
---	--

<p>bureaucrats. Rather than okay, yes people is important, but bureaucrats are much more important because trough their obligations then the local government can fulfil HR through policy, through regulation.</p>	<p>Local government is important stakeholder for change.</p>
---	--

**Excerpt 6: Expert interview 2: Beka ULUNG HAPSARA from Komnas HAM (00:08:30)**

Key dimensions derived from section:

- Network matters
- Discourse of HR matters

Interview transcript	Notes
<p><b>Beka:</b></p> <p>Beside Wonosobo we started also expanding to other regencies for example XXX [unclear], who were invited in 2016 to Gwangju as well. The regent came to Gwangju as well and spoke about the developments from Wonosobo and how to put the HR issue in the governance issue.</p> <p>And then also Wonosobo has become the host for the human rights festival. We call it the human rights festival because, we used to have an annual conference but we rephrased to make the human rights festival as popular as we can. Because sometimes in Indonesia we discuss about human rights and it makes people, maybe, think about that they are afraid to come, so we were thinking how to put human rights as a popular issue so we call it a festival, not a conference or something like that.</p>	<p>Wonosobo sharing experiences to other cities</p> <p>Discourse of HR matters</p>

## **Appendix 5: 10 basic rights in Regional Law 5/2016**

1. Right to life
2. Right to personal liberty
3. Right to self development
4. Right to family
5. Right to security
6. Right to justice
7. Right to prosperity
8. Right to participation in the government
9. Women rights
10. Children rights



## Appendix 6: SWOT analysis

### Wonosobo

	<b>Helpful</b> (to achieve the objective)	<b>Harmful</b> (to achieve the objective)
<b>Internal Origins</b> (Attributes of the implementing actor)	<p><b>STRENGTHS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strong institutional foundation</li> <li>• Legitimacy in the local communities</li> <li>• Integrated approach of seeing the interlinkages between the different focus areas</li> <li>• SDGs and HR are naturally interlinked – strong relative compatibility and compatability</li> <li>• Low complexity</li> </ul>	<p><b>WEAKNESSES</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cherry picking the “easy” rights that has support from the public – what about minority rights?</li> <li>• Rely on major investment in human capital to sustain the initiative</li> </ul>
<b>External Origins</b> (Attributes of the environment)	<p><b>OPPORTUNITIES</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Involvement of village governance level</li> <li>• City is famous for its tolerance and respect for minorities</li> <li>• Strong and active local communities</li> <li>• Learning from more advanced HRCs e.g. reg. online platforms for reporting and setting up complaint mechanisms.</li> <li>• Develop handbook for sub-national HR commission and becoming a first mover and leading example for other cities</li> <li>• Triability</li> </ul>	<p><b>THREATS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Accessibility to remote communities could threaten coherency</li> <li>• New elections in 2019</li> <li>• No model for best practice for the commission to lean on</li> <li>• Observability</li> </ul>

## Bandung

	<b>Helpful</b> (to achieve the objective)	<b>Harmful</b> (to achieve the objective)
<b>Internal Origins</b> (Attributes of the implementing actor)	<p><b>STRENGTHS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scalable systematic approach</li> <li>• Online platform for better outreach</li> <li>• Involvement of academics</li> <li>• Charter focus on second and third generation human rights</li> </ul>	<p><b>WEAKNESSES</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of civil society involvement</li> <li>• Lack of local stakeholder ownership</li> <li>• Lack of broader collaborations or networks</li> <li>• Rely on false assumptions</li> <li>• External funding and no local budget allocations from local gov.</li> <li>• Lack of triability</li> </ul>
<b>External Origins</b> (Attributes of the environment)	<p><b>OPPORTUNITIES</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• City is famous for its creative spirit</li> <li>• Highly profiled initiative – Branding</li> <li>• Resources in local government</li> <li>• Observability → charter</li> </ul>	<p><b>THREATS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of support from legislative bodies in local government</li> <li>• Conservative society with a negative perception of human rights</li> <li>• New Mayor not interested</li> </ul>