



PANCUR KASIH EMPOWERMENT MOVEMENT

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Francis X. Wahono

Acronyms

A

ABRI	<i>Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia</i> (The Armed Force of the Republic of Indonesia)
AGR	<i>Aktifis Gerakan Rakyat</i> (People's/Civil Movement Activist)
AIPP	Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact
AJI	<i>Aliansi Jurnalis Independen</i> (The Alliance of Independent Journalists)
AMA Kalbar	<i>Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Kalimantan Barat</i> (West Kalimantan Alliance of Indigenous Peoples)
AMA-BN	<i>Aliansi Masyarakat Adat – Benua Ninkau</i> (Indigenous Peoples Alliance of Benua Ninkau)
AMA-JK	<i>Aliansi Masyarakat Adat-Jalai Kendawangan</i> (The Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of Jalai Kendawangan)
AMAN	<i>Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara</i> (The Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago)
AMAN Kalbar	<i>Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara Kalimantan Barat</i> (West Kalimantan Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago)
ANPRI	<i>Aliansi NGO untuk Perdamaian dan Rekonsiliasi</i> (Alliance of NGO's for Peace and Reconciliation)
APBD	<i>Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah</i> (Regional Budget)
APBN	<i>Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara</i> (State Budget)
ASG	<i>Ajaran Sosial Gereja</i> (Catholic Church's Social Doctrines/teachings)
ASTEKI	<i>Asosiasi Televisi Kerakyatan Indonesia</i> (Association of Indonesian People's Television)

B

Babinsa	<i>Bintara Pembina Desa</i> (Non Commissioned Officer for Developing Villages)
BAPPEDA	<i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah</i> (Agency for Regional Planning and Development)
BIPNP	<i>Borneo Indigenous People Network Programme</i>
BK3DK	<i>Badan Koordinasi Koperasi Kredit Daerah Kalimantan</i> (Credit Union Coordinating Body of Kalimantan Region)
BKCUK	<i>Badan Koordinasi Credit Union Kalimantan</i> (Kalimantan Credit Union Coordinating Body)
BLT	<i>Bantuan Langsung Tunai</i> (Financial Welfare Aid)
BPB	<i>Badan Pertanahan Nasional</i> (National Agency for Agrarian Affairs)
BPR-Pan Bank	<i>Bank Perkreditan Rakyat</i> (Rural Bank)
BPS	<i>Badan Pusat Statistik</i> (Central Statistic Agency/Central Bureau of Statistics)
BPS Kalbar	<i>Badan Pusat Statistik Kalimantan Barat</i> (Central Statistic Agency of West Kalimantan)
BSP	The Biodiversity Support Program

C

CBFsM	Community-Based Fishing System Management
CEBEMO	<i>Centrale Bemiddeling bij Medefinanciering</i>
	<i>Ontwikkelingsprogramma's</i> (a Dutch NGO)
CEJI	The Canadian Ecumenical Jubilee Initiative
CM	Community Mapper
CO	Community Organizers
CPO	Crude Palm Oil
CSIS	Centre for Strategic and International Studies
CU	Credit Union
CU FPPK	<i>Credit Union Filosofi Petani Pancur Kasih</i> (Pancur Kasih Peasants Philosophy Credit Union)
CU PK	<i>Credit Union Pancur Kasih</i> (Pancur Kasih Credit Union)
CUCA	<i>Credit Union Canaga Antunt</i>
CUGK	<i>Credit Union Gemalaq Kemisiq</i>
CUTV	<i>Citra Utama</i> Television

D

Demos	<i>Lembaga Kajian Demokrasi dan Hak Asasi</i> (Institute for Democracy and Human Rights Studies)
DO	District Office
DPD	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Daerah</i> (Regional Representatives Council)
DPRD	<i>Regional House of Representatives</i>
DSMD	<i>Dana Solidaritas Masyarakat Dayak</i> (Dayak Community Solidarity Fund)
Dte	Down to Earth

E

EAF	Ethno Agro Forest
EDP	<i>Evaluasi Dengar Pendapat</i> (Evaluation of Public Hearing)
ELSAM	<i>Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat</i> (Institute for Policy Research and Advocacy)
EUCS	<i>Evaluasi Uji Coba Siaran</i> (The Evaluation of Broadcasting Trial)

F

FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FPIC	Free, Prior and Informed Consent
FPMP3ES-PKH	<i>Forum Pemuda dan Mahasiswa Pendukung Pernyataan Presiden Soeharto tentang Penyebab Kebakaran Hutan</i> (Forum of Youth and Students supporting President Soeharto's statement on the cause of the forest fires)
FRB	<i>Forum Rapat Bersama</i> (Joint Meeting Forum)
FWI	Forest Watch Indonesia

G

Gapki	<i>Gabungan Pengusaha Sawit Indonesia</i> (the Indonesian Palm Oil Organization)
GCOC	Global Community of Change

GebraK	Dayak Empowerment Movement of Central Kalimantan
Gema-kami	<i>Gerakan Masyarakat Adat Kabupaten Melawi</i> (Melawi Regency Indigenous People Movement)
Gemas	<i>Gerakan Masyarakat Adat Serawai</i> (Serawai Indigenous Community Movement)
GIS	<i>Geographic Information System</i>
GPPK	<i>Gerakan Pemberdayaan Pancur Kasih</i> (Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement)
GPS	Global Positioning System
GRPK	<i>Gerakan Rakyat Pemberdayaan Kampung</i> (Village Empowerment Civil Movement)

H

Ha	Hectare
HAM	<i>Hak Asasi Manusia</i> (Human Rights)
HGU	<i>Hak Guna Usaha</i> (Rights for Business Use)
HPH	<i>Hak Pengusahaan Hutan</i> (Forest Business License)
HPHH	<i>Hak Pemungutan Hasil Hutan</i> (Forest Product Exploitation Licenses)
HR	Human Resources
HTI	<i>Hutan Tanaman Industri</i> (Industrial Forest Plantation)
HuMa	<i>Perkumpulan Untuk Pembaharuan Hukum Berbasis Masyarakat dan Ekologis</i> (Association for Community and Ecology-Based Law Reform)

I

ICRAF	International Centre for Research on Agroforestry
ICW	Indonesian Corruption Watch
ID	Institut Dayakologi
IDRD	Institute of Dayakology Research and Development
IDT	<i>Instruksi Presiden untuk Desa Tertinggal</i> (Presidential Instruction for Under-Developed Villages)
IKDI	<i>Ikatan Keluarga Dayak Islam</i> (Islamic Association of Dayak Families)
ILO	International Labor Organization
INFID	International NGO Forum on Indonesia Development
IPPS	<i>Izin Penyelenggaraan Penyiaran Sementara</i> (Temporary Broadcasting License)
ISAI	<i>Institut Studi Arus Informasi</i> (Information Flow Study Institute)
ISSN	International Standard Series Number
IUP	<i>Izin Usaha Perkebunan</i> (Plantation Business Permit)
IUPHHK	<i>Izin Usaha Pengelolaan Hasil Hutan Kayu</i> (Timber Forest Production Utilization Permit)
IWGIA	The International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs

J

JAGAT	<i>Jaringan Gerakan Masyarakat Adat Nusa Tenggara Timur</i> (Network Movement of Indigenous Peoples of East Nusa Tenggara)
--------------	--

JAHAMKA	<i>Jaringan Hak Asasi Manusia Kalimantan</i> (Kalimantan Human Rights Network)
JAKA	<i>Jaringan Antar Kampung</i> (Inter-Village/Kampong Network)
JAPHAMA	<i>Jaringan Pendukung Hak Masyarakat Adat</i> (Network for Supporting the Rights of Indigenous Peoples)
Jaring PELA	<i>Jaringan Pesisir dan Laut</i> (Coastal and Marine Network)
JATAM	<i>Jaringan Advokasi Tambang</i> (Mining Advocacy Network)
JDD	<i>Jaringan Dinamika Dayak</i> (Dayak Dynamics Network)
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JKPP	<i>Jaringan Kerja Pemetaan Partisipatif</i> (Network for Participatory Mapping)
JMM	<i>Jaringan Muda Manteare</i> (Manteare Youth Network)
JUMARA	<i>Jumpa Akrab Aktivis RAMA</i> (Meeting Among RAMA Activists)

K

Kadin	<i>Kamar Dagang Indonesia</i> (Indonesia Chamber of Commerce)
Kalbar	<i>Kalimantan Barat</i> (West Kalimantan)
Kapolsek	<i>Kepala Kepolisian Sektor</i> (Chief of Sector Police)
KB-TEKI	<i>Kantor Berita Televisi Kerakyatan Indonesia</i> (Office of Indonesian People's News Television)
Kehati	<i>Keanekaragaman Hayati Indonesia</i> (Biodiversity of Indonesia Organization)
Ketetapan MPRS	Decree of Interim People's Consultative Assembly
KFC	<i>Komunitas Fasilitator Credit Union</i> (Community of Credit Union Facilitator)
KITLV	The Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies
KMAN I	<i>Kongres Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara ke-1</i> (Congress of Indigenous Peoples Alliance of Archipelago the first)
KOMNAS HAM	<i>Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia</i> (National Commission of Human Rights)
KONPENMA	<i>Konsorsium Penguatan Masyarakat Adat</i> (Consortium for Strengthening Indigenous Peoples)
Koramil	<i>Komando Rayon Militer</i> (Command of Military Area)
KPA	<i>Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria</i> (Agrarian Reform Consortium)
KPD	<i>Koperasi Persekutuan Dayak</i> (Dayak Union Cooperative)
KPI	<i>Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission)
KPID	<i>Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia Daerah</i> (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission of West Kalimantan Region)
KPKK	<i>Koalisi Pembaruan Kebijakan Kehutanan</i> (Coalition for Forest Policy Reform)
KPMD	<i>Konsorsium Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Dayak</i> (Consortium for Dayak Community Empowerment)
KPSHK	<i>Konsorsium Pendukung Sistem Hutan Kerakyatan</i> (Consortium Forest System Supporting Democracy)
KPUD	<i>Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah</i> (Regional General Election Commission)
KR	<i>Kalimantan Review</i>

KSU-KPD	<i>Koperasi Serba Usaha-Pancur Dengeri</i> (Multipurpose Cooperative - Pancur Dengeri)
KUD	<i>Koperasi Unit Desa</i> (Village Unit Cooperative)
KWI	<i>Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Bishops Conference)

L

LATIN	<i>Lembaga Alam Tropika Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Tropical Institute)
LBB	<i>Lembaga Betang Berimai</i> (Institute of Betang Berimai)
LBBPJ	<i>Lembaga Bela Benua Puti Jaji</i>
LBBT	<i>Lembaga Bela Banua Talino</i>
LBH	<i>Lembaga Bantuan Hukum</i> (Institution for Legal Aid)
LDP	<i>Lembaga Dayak Panarung</i> (Panarung Dayak Institution)
Litbang	<i>Penelitian dan Pengembangan</i> (Research and Development)
LKBM	<i>Lembaga Ketemengungan Benua Mayao</i> (Institution of Indigenous Territory of Benua Mayao)
LP3S-IDRD	<i>Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengembangan Ekonomi Sosial-Institute of Dayakology Research and Development</i> (Institute for Training and Supporting Social Development – Institute Dayakology Research and Development)
LPMA	<i>Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Adat</i> (Institute for Empowerment of Indigenous Peoples)
LPP RRI	<i>Lembaga Penyiaran Publik Radio Republik Indonesia</i> (Public Broadcasting Institute of Radio of the Republic of Indonesia)
LPPS	<i>Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengembangan Sosial</i> (Institute for Social Research and Development)
LRC	Legal Rights and Natural Resources Center

M

MENHUT	<i>Menteri Perhutanan</i> (Ministry of Forestry)
MH	<i>Master Humaniora</i> (Master of Humanities)
MIKA	<i>Percetakan Mitra Kasih</i> (Mitra Kasih Printing House)
MiSeM	<i>Mitra Sekolah Masyarakat</i> (Partner of Community's School)
MPR	<i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</i> (People's Consultative Assembly)
MSi.	<i>Magister Sains</i> (Master of Science)
MTB	<i>Maria Tak Bernoda - salah satu ordo di institusi Gereja Katolik</i> (Virgin Mary – one of the orders of Catholic Church Institution)
MTs	<i>Madrasah Tsanawiyah</i> (Islamic Junior High School)
Mulok	<i>Muatan Lokal</i> (Local Content/Local supplementary program)
Muspika	<i>Musyawarah pemimpin kecamatan</i> (The Assembly of Sub-district Heads)

N

NGO	Non Government Organization
------------	-----------------------------

O

OCB	Organizational Citizenship Behavior
OFM Cap.	The Order of Friars Minor Capuchin
OMA	<i>Organisasi Masyarakat Adat</i> (Indigenous Peoples' Organization)
OT	Oral Tradition

P

P2D-PK	<i>Pemberdayaan Perempuan Dayak – Pancur Kasih (Dayak Women Empowerment - Pancur Kasih)</i>
P3D	<i>Program Pemberdayaan Perempuan Dayak (Dayak Women Empowerment Programme)</i>
PAD	<i>Pendapatan Asli Daerah (Local Revenue)</i>
PAR	<i>Participatory Action Research</i>
PBB	<i>Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa (United Nations)</i>
PD	<i>Partai Dayak (Dayak Party)</i>
PDKB	<i>Partai Persatuan Demokrasi Kasih Bangsa (Nation's Love Democratic Unity Party)</i>
PEARLS	<i>Protection, Effective Financial Structure, Asset Quality, Rates of Return and Cost, Liquidity, Signs of Growth</i>
PEK-PK	<i>Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Kerakyatan-Pancur Kasih (Peoples Economic Empowerment - Pancur Kasih)</i>
Pemda	<i>Pemerintah Daerah (Regional Government)</i>
Pemkab	<i>Pemerintah Kabupaten (District/Regency Government)</i>
PENTIS-PK	<i>Pendidikan Kritis-Pancur Kasih (Critical Education-Pancur Kasih)</i>
PERDA	<i>Peraturan Daerah (Local/Regional Regulation)</i>
Permadali	<i>Persatuan Masyarakat Dayak Ransa (Dayak Ransa Community Union)</i>
Permadar	<i>Persatuan Masyarakat Dayak Ransa (Dayak Ransa Community Union)</i>
PGR	<i>Plants Genetic Resources</i>
PGRS-PARAKU	<i>Pasukan Gerilya Rakyat Serawak dan Pasukan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara (Guerilla Troop of Serawak People and Peoples Troop of North Kalimantan)</i>
PHK	<i>Pendidikan Hukum Kritis (Critical Legal Education)</i>
PHR	<i>People's Legal Assistant</i>
PIR-BUN	<i>Perkebunan Inti Rakyat-Perkebunan (Nucleus Estate and Smallholder Scheme)</i>
PIR-TRANS	<i>Perkebunan Inti Rakyat-Transmigrasi (Nucleus Estate and Transmigration Program)</i>
PK	<i>Penggerak Kampung (Village Mobilizer)</i>
PK CU	<i>Pancur Kasih Credit Union</i>
POR-PK	<i>Pemberdayaan Otonomi Rakyat-Pancur Kasih (Civil/People's Autonomy Empowerment - Pancur Kasih)</i>
PPD	<i>Partai Persatuan Dayak (Dayak Unity Party)</i>
PPSDAK-PK	<i>Program Pemberdayaan Sumber Daya Alam Kerakyatan-Pancur Kasih (Pancur Kasih People's/Civil Natural Resources Management Empowerment Programme)</i>
PPSHK-PK	<i>Program Pemberdayaan Sistem Hutan Kerakyatan-Pancur Kasih (Community-Based Forest Systems Management Program - Pancur Kasih)</i>
PRA	<i>Participatory Rural Appraisal</i>
PT.	<i>Perseroan Terbatas (Limited Corporation)</i>
PT.GSP	<i>Perseroan Terbatas Gas Sakti Prima (Gas Sakti Prima Limited Corporation)</i>

PT.MKK	<i>Perseroan Terbatas Maju Karya Kita</i> (Maju Karya Kita Limited Corporation)
PTE LTD	Private Limited
PTPN	<i>Perseroan Terbatas Perkebunan Nusantara</i> (State-Owned Plantation Company)
Pusaka	<i>Pusat Advokasi Kampung</i> (Village Advocacy Center)
Puskodit	<i>Pusat Koperasi Kredit</i> (Credit Cooperative Center)

R

RACA Institute	An Institute for struggling and maintaining the sustainability of land, water and other natural resources and for facilitating farmers, indigenous peoples, fishermen and urban-needy in struggling for fulfillment of their economic, social and cultural rights.
Rakom	<i>Radio Komunitas</i> (Community Radio)
RAMA	<i>Radio Komunitas Suara Masyarakat Adat</i> (Community Radio for the Voice of Indigenous Community)
RAT BK3D	<i>Rapat Anggota Tahunan Badan Koordinasi Koperasi Kredit Daerah</i> (Annual Member Meeting/Assembly of Regional Credit Union Coordinating Body)
REDD	Reducing Emission from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
REMDEC	Resource Management and Development Consultant
RKMT	<i>Radio Komunitas Manjing Tarah</i> (Manjing Tarah Community Radio)
Rp	<i>Rupiah</i> (Indonesian Currency)
RSP0	Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil
RTM	<i>Forum Masyarakat Adat Wilayah Rawak Taman Mahap</i> (Forum of Indigenous Peoples of Rawak Taman Mahap Territory)
Ruai TV	<i>Ruai Televisi</i> (Ruai Television)
RUPO	Roundtable on Unsustainable Palm Oil

S

SAFE	Society for Accident Free Environment
SARA	<i>Suku, Agama, Ras dan Antar-golongan</i> (Ethnic group, Religion, and Race)
SD	<i>Sekolah Dasar</i> (Primary School)
SDA	<i>Sumber Daya Alam</i> (Natural Resources)
SEA-PCP	South East Asia Popular Communication Programs
SegeraK-PK	<i>Serikat Gerakan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Dayak-Pancur Kasih</i> (Union for Dayak Peoples Empowerment Movement – Pancur Kasih)
SH	<i>Sarjana Hukum</i> (Bachelor of Law)
SHK	<i>Sistem Hutan Kerakyatan</i> (People's Forest System/Forest System Management)
SIUP	<i>Surat Izin Usaha Perdagangan</i> (Trade Business License)
Skakmad-KH	<i>Sekretariat Masyarakat Adat Dayak Kapuas Hulu</i> (Secretariat of Kapuas Hulu Dayak Indigenous Community)
SLADA	<i>Senandung Lagu Daerah</i> (Show of Local Songs)
SMP	<i>Sekolah Menengah Pertama</i> (Junior High School)

SMU/SMA	<i>Sekolah Menengah Umum/Sekolah Menengah Atas</i> (Senior High School)
SP	Strategic Planning
St.	Saint
Stades	<i>Serikat Tani Dayak Desa</i> (Farmer Union of Dayak Desa)

T

TAMBAI	<i>Tanah Adat Menua Bansa Iban</i> (Ancestral Territory of Menua Bansa Iban)
TAP MPR	<i>Ketetapan Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</i> (Decree of People's Consultative Assembly)
TH.	<i>Tahun</i> (Year)
TKW	<i>Tenaga Kerja Wanita</i> (Female Labor Migrants)
TP	<i>Tempat Pelayanan</i> (Service Point)

U

UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UU	<i>Undang-undang</i> (Law)
UUD 1945	<i>Undang-Undang Dasar tahun 1945</i> (Constitution of Year 1945)
UUPPLH	<i>Undang-Undang Perlindungan dan Pengelolaan Lingkungan Hidup</i> (Law on Protection and Management of Environment)

W

WALHI	<i>Wahana Lingkungan Hidup</i> (Friends of the Earth)
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

Y

Y333	<i>Yeremia Pasal 33, Ayat 3</i> (Jeremiah Chapter 33, Paragraph 3)
YBUL	<i>Yayasan Bina Usaha Lingkungan</i> (Community-Based Environmental Conservation and Micro Finance Development)
YKSPK	<i>Yayasan Karya Sosial Pancur Kasih</i> (Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation)
YLBHI	<i>Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia</i> (Indonesia Legal Aid Center Foundation)

Foreword

John Bamba, the Executive Director of Institut Dayakologi (ID), was the first person who told me about the Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement (Gerakan Pemberdayaan Pancur Kasih/GPPK) and the Pancur Kasih Credit Union (PK CU) in Indonesia. We invited him to be a member of a Project Steering Committee for a global consultation and dialogue of indigenous development workers, funders and advocates of indigenous peoples' rights and development. We received funding from The Christensen Fund (TCF) to support our work in pursuing "Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined Development." This project was meant to design and implement a plan on how to ensure the proper implementation of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was just adopted by the UN General Assembly on 13 September 2007.

This meeting, which was held in November 2007, was for us to share our concept paper on the project and to brainstorm on how to organize the dialogue. One of the ideas, which emerged, was for those of us who have been working on indigenous peoples' rights and development for many years to share in the dialogue, the best practices on indigenous peoples' development which we, ourselves, did or knew of. John Bamba said that he can talk about their experience in building the Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement of the Dayak of Kalimantan, and the Pancur Kasih Credit Union. We asked him to talk more about this at the meeting.

I was very impressed with his story and asked him if this was ever written down. He said there were some students and

researchers who wrote about this as case studies or for their masteral thesis. But they, themselves, have not written the whole story. So I begged him to write about it because this is one great story, which should be shared more widely and passed on to the next generations. I promised him that we, in Tebtebba, will help him and his colleagues to work on this and will help look for resources to enable them to carry this out.

In December of 2007, we were invited by John to grace the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PK Credit Union. This gave us the opportunity to meet again with John and Pak A.R. Mecer and the other founders of the GPPK and PK CU. It was here where we firmed up the agreement that the research on their story be done and a book written from out of this research. We also agreed that the researchers and writers will be all of them and the colleagues in the Institut Dayakologi and other related institutions.

A key principle, which has been the foundation of our work in Tebtebba, is that we, indigenous peoples, should be able to do our own research and write about own stories. For so long, others have written about us and interpreted our world views, our experiences and stories from their own lens. For so long we have been objects of research. It is high time to change this picture.

We believe that part of the process of empowering ourselves is being able to collectively examine and analyze our own situations, understand our own histories, know more about what our ancestors did to fight for their lands, and learn from our struggles to regain our dignity and assert our rights. We, ourselves, should then write about these.

I am sure that this experience of doing their own research and writing their story has further empowered and increased the pride of the Dayak leaders and activists who took up the challenge to undertake this endeavor. For us in Tebtebba who accompanied them in this work, we have been equally inspired and energized to know that we have colleagues in Asia who have this kind of achievement.

Despite the many hurdles we had to deal with, what we see now in these two books has been worth all the efforts,

resources and time spent. It was not easy to work in two languages, Bahasa Indonesia and English. All of those who got involved in this work were simultaneously doing other pieces of work in their own organizations. Thus, our idea of finishing the book project in two years did not happen. It was not fair for us to demand that they drop what they were doing and do the research and writing on a full-time basis. Since we wanted that those who were involved in founding and establishing the movement and the credit union would also write, we had to work with their busy schedules.

Pak Mercer and John Bamba also ensured that their younger colleagues in ID and other institutions got involved in the research and writing work. This was a very good move as the younger ones who were not yet born when GPPK and the PK CU were established will now be able to learn more deeply about the histories of these. This is what transferring knowledge and wisdom to the younger generation is all about. All these collective efforts and the desire to get it done came up with these remarkable two volumes.

The story of the Dayak in empowering themselves politically and economically is a very inspiring story, not only for other indigenous peoples, but also for other sectors of society who continue to suffer from oppression and exploitation and are struggling to overcome these. Many indigenous peoples from all parts of the world, from the Arctic, Russia and Eastern Europe, North America and Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, to Asia and the Pacific, can all learn from this story.

Experience tells us that it is not easy to do community organizing, mass campaigns and economic work at the same time. Many indigenous peoples' movements are great in doing political mass campaigns and have some success stories to tell. These are usually in campaigns to expose and stop human rights violations, to claim their land rights or to stop unsustainable state or corporate projects such as mining, logging or dam building. But there are not many success stories in doing successful economic and development work. One reason is that doing organizing and mass campaign work, alone, is already very demanding in terms of people, time and resources.

If there are not many committed indigenous activists who can spare time to develop sustainable economic projects or livelihoods, then this aspect of the work is neglected.

Yet, many of us are very much aware that building peoples' movements only through organizing and campaign work is inadequate to meet the needs and demands of indigenous peoples.

The stories of the Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement and the PK CU actually show that indigenous peoples can achieve many of these goals, even in the face of tremendous challenges. It took them almost 30 years to reach the state where they are now. No doubt, much more work needs to be done to protect and enhance the gains they have achieved and for further expansion. But the fact that they managed to reach this state, especially considering that they were doing much of these during the authoritarian rule of then President Soeharto, is remarkable. Their movement helped give birth to many provincial and regional formations and support institutions. Most significantly, this also contributed to the birth of AMAN (Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara), the national federation of indigenous peoples' communities in the Indonesian Archipelago.

Their credit union movement and the way it has grown to reach other provinces of Indonesia and serve, not only the Dayak and other indigenous peoples, but also those from the dominant society, is so impressive. It has succeeded so well in the face of failures of similar credit unions set up by the government or the church.

What made this possible? How can a people who have been so oppressed, exploited and discriminated against by a string of colonizers and the postcolonial nation-state and the dominant society rise up to reach this state? These questions are what the researchers and writers attempted to answer.

It is my hope that the readers will be equally inspired as many of us in Tebtebba have been. This is one story we always share in our training workshops on "The Integrated and Holistic Approach to Indigenous Peoples' Sustainable, Self-Determined Development."

Even if indigenous nations, peoples and communities have their own distinct histories and characteristics, I believe this story can be an inspiration and many lessons can be learned from this Dayak experience.

I would like to thank, from the bottom of my heart, John Bamba, Pak A.R. Mercer, Francis Wahono and all the authors and translators mentioned in the cover page for all the work they have done to get these books written. Without your passion and unwavering commitment to work for the empowerment of your own people, this great story will not come about. I also would like to thank the following persons from Tebtebba: Professor Leah Enkiwe-Abayao, our Research Consultant, who took charge of coordinating this book project. Raymond De Chavez and his team for copy editing, proof-reading, doing the layout and press work. Bong Corpuz, for administering this whole project. I thank Ann Loreto Tamayo and Francis Wahono for the editing work with the support of John Bamba, A.R. Mercer and Elias Ngiuk. Julianto Makmur and Astri Waluyo for translating texts from Bahasa Indonesia to English and vice versa.

Finally, I would like to thank The Christensen Fund for providing the financial and moral support for us to be able to come up with these books. To Ken Wilson and Jeffrey Campbell of the TCF for being so patient with us, in spite of all the delays in reporting and finally publishing these.

Victoria Tauli-Corpuz
Executive Director, Tebtebba

Preface

The Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement (GPPK) had at least four objectives in coming out with *Pancur Kasih Credit Union Movement*.

With this book, we did not intend to put forward our pride but to humbly give gratitude to God the Almighty and all the social activists, people, and local and international partners who made it possible for Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement to undertake a safe journey in the last 30 years. We are thankful since this long, continuing journey, which had many difficulties, sacrifices and challenges to overcome, has brought joy and success. Without God's divine help and others' sincere contributions, the journey and struggle would have been too heavy to bear. Thus, the joy and success must be enjoyed by all. This book is an expression of this appreciation, as a book is the easiest, least expensive and most open way to share the fruits of all the work that has been done.

Bearing in mind the maxim "*l'histoire se repete*" (History repeats itself) and what should be repeated are not the mistakes but accomplishments, this book, we hope, provides learning for future generations. To learn means to set right past shortcomings so as to improve on the achievements of our predecessors and to discard the propensity to keep ill will and disappointment in our hearts. These unconstructive attitudes only produce resentment that in turn adds to the pile of social sin. Therefore, following in the steps of Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, we believe that "forgiveness or reconciliation are almost impossible to happen if not based on the effort of bringing the truth to the table." That is what this

book attempts to do: to start rendering the truth of history in letter and ink. Future generations must learn not to stop the truth that history holds from coming out into the open to be discussed and acted on.

Furthermore, publishing this book is intended to keep us from forgetting. Many people easily forget, losing the explanations of their origin. One who knows nothing about his origin loses his identity and is thus easy to dislodge. To reclaim and to reaffirm identity is the struggle of the Dayak people's empowerment movement. A people with no identity are people with no existence, and this means having no sovereignty and no contribution to the human race at all.

Finally, with this book we introduce ourselves to the public, both inside and outside the country. We, people of the Dayak world in Kalimantan, participate in the great celebration and effort of the global community to gain recognition for the existence and dignity of the indigenous peoples who have long been marginalized by governments, corporations and the culturally dominant. Through this struggle for empowerment, we do not mean to take retribution or dominance. We merely want to achieve a collectively equal position with the rest of society. It is in a socially equal world that we, who were marginalized, can take part to work with other people to raise the civilization (*tamaddun*) of humankind.

This book was a collective reflection and participation by men and women among the pioneering social activists, development workers and young generation who contributed in writing the different chapters. National and international social activists involved in our struggle in Kalimantan also contributed their thoughts and expertise. A collaborative process among generations and people, this book chronicles the struggle for empowerment of the Dayak people initiated by GPPK in West Kalimantan, without belittling the role of other organizations and movements with similar aims.

To all who were involved in the writing of this book, to all involved in the Movement, and to all who will read this work, we humbly thank you. We apologize that we cannot mention all who have been or are still involved in the Movement, both

institutionally and by heart, since this book is intended for all people with good will in their hearts and minds.

We hope this book can become a means to share goodness and generate motivation in working for human dignity through the example of our own successes and failures in our struggle in Kalimantan, in particular West Kalimantan. *Dayak* is the term ethnologists use to refer to many ethnic groups who have different customs and languages. That is simplification. In writing this book, we, though narrating about the Dayak “ethnic groups” in West Kalimantan, have a scope that places GPPK as part of humankind’s struggle in claiming identity and dignity.

A.R. Mecer
John Bamba
Pontianak
September 29, 2009

Chapter

1

Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement: Moving while Learning¹

Richardus Giring



An understanding of the history and development of Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement (*Gerakan Pemberdayaan Pancur Kasih/GPPK*) can be gleaned from its major achievements, which serve as milestones in its growth and expansion since it was founded in 1981 (see Diagram 1). These milestones show how social, economic, political and cultural problems the Dayaks faced during various periods in the last 30 years spurred GPPK to establish program institutions and develop a vision and mission that responded directly to these realities. The spirit of “Pancur Kasih” guided these institutions to sustain and expand GPPK’s scope of work, particularly in uplifting the condition of Dayaks and other oppressed people. Translated literally as fountain of love, Pancur Kasih reflects the spirit, values and historical character of the movement established by GPPK founders, among them A.R. Mecer, Milon Somak and Maran Marcellinus Aseng. It also reflects the movement of *ahimsa* pioneered by the Indian philosopher of anti-violence, Mahatma Gandhi.

With the spirit of Pancur Kasih, GPPK institutions have carried out the GPPK mission, enhanced through the years, to remedy the harsh impacts of the political order on the indigenous Dayak and marginalized communities. They have remained committed and steadfast in the vision to achieve community empowerment through a holistic and contextual manner.

Diagram 1. Chronology of Establishment of GPPK Programs in Education, Economic and Socio-cultural Development, Environment and Politics

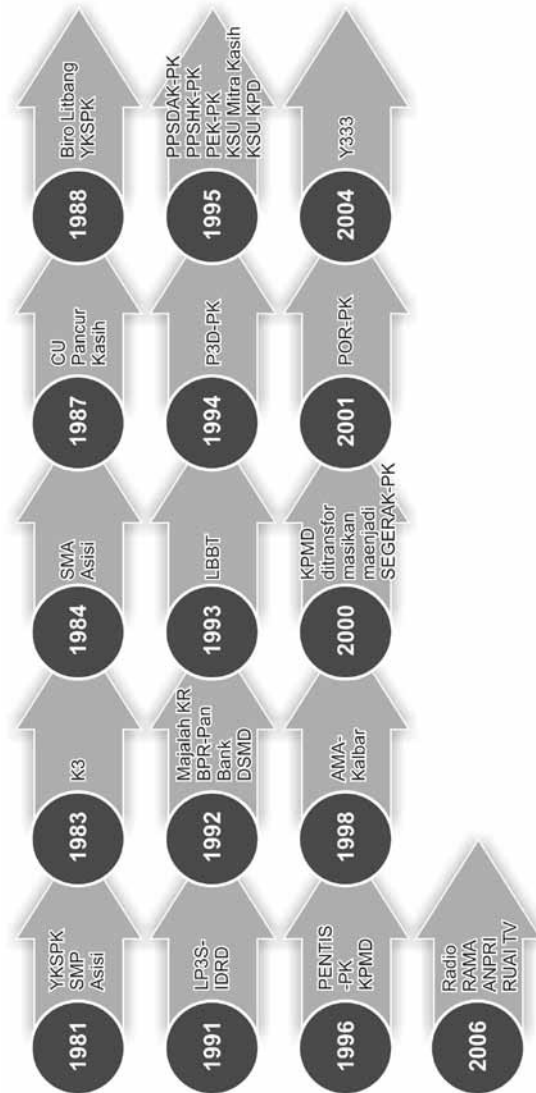


Table 1. Milestones in GPPK Work in Response to Problems of Dayak Community (1981-2011)

Year	Problem	GPPK Response (field and scope)
[1981]	Significant marginalization of Dayaks' social, economic and cultural life	Organization and formal education by establishing: 1. Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation (YKSPK) 2. Saint Francis of Assisi Junior High School GPPK-stated vision and mission: Vision: The Dayaks are able to determine and manage their political, economic, cultural development independently and their social compact in the framework of recognition, appreciation and protection guaranteed by the Pancasila and 1945 Constitution. Mission: Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation to build community through: formal education (school); non-formal education (skills courses, workshops); provision of student dormitories; scholarships; socio-economic development (CU, family welfare projects, cooperatives, productive business groups); charity and social assistance.
[1983] *	Structural poverty experienced by YKSPK staff and teachers of Assisi Junior High School	Social and economic development by establishing: 3. Cooperative for Employees (K3)
[1984] *	Structural ignorance	Formal education by establishing: 4. Saint Francis of Assisi Senior High School
[1987] *	Structural poverty	Developing the economy by establishing: 5. Pancur Kasih Credit Union (CU PK)

[1988] *	Social, economic and cultural control by New Order regime, with central power located in Jakarta	Saving Dayak cultural diversity by establishing: 6. Bureau of Research and Development of Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation (R & D Bureau, YKSPK)
[1991] *	Social, economic and cultural control by New Order regime, with central power located in Jakarta	Saving Dayak cultural diversity as legacy of knowledge and wisdom of Dayak ancestors through GPPK's founding of: 7. Institute for Training and Supporting Social Development – Institute Dayakologi Research and Development (LP3S-IDRD)
[1992] *	Access to information and communications dominated by political elite and interests; lack of access to financial services by community at grassroots level Threat from foreign cultural values on Dayak community solidarity	Dissemination of pro-people information and news through publication of: 8. Kalimantan Review Bulletin (KR) Taking opportunities presented by banking deregulation or PACTO 88 to expand community access to financial services by utilizing: 9. BPR-Pan Bank 10. Dayak Community Solidarity Fund (DSMD)
[1993] *	Deprivation of customary rights over land in the name of national development	Awareness and critical legal education to save the indigenous Dayak community by establishing: 11. Bela Institution Banua Talino (LBBT)
[1994] *	Social and gender injustice	Education for justice and gender equality in GPPK institutions by launching: 12. Dayak Women Empowerment-Pancur Kasih (P2D-Pancur Kasih)

[1995] *	Massive marginalization and deprivation of traditional rights over land Influence of capitalist economy and market liberalism	Advocacy for land rights and promotion of indigenous Dayak farming systems through: 13. Civil Natural Resources Management Empowerment Programme-Pancur Kasih (PPSDAK-Pancur Kasih) 14. Forest Systems Management Program-Pancur Kasih (PPSHK-Pancur Kasih) Facilitation of community economic development movement and advocacy for rubber farmers 15. Civil Economic Empowerment-Pancur Kasih (PEK-Pancur Kasih) 16. Multipurpose Cooperative-Pancur Dangeri (KSU-KPD) 17. Mitra Kasih Printing (MIKA)
[1996] 15 years later	Social, economic and cultural control by New Order regime, with central power located in Jakarta	Development of critical education through: 18. Critical Education-Pancur Kasih (Pentis-Pancur Kasih) Coordination and internal synergy; servicing of requests for CU facilitation in different areas in West Kalimantan by establishing: 19. Consortium for Dayak Community Empowerment (KPMMD) Changes in GPPK vision and mission: Vision: Indigenous peoples especially the Dayak are able to determine and manage social, cultural, economic and political unity, a spirit of love to reclaim dignity and sovereignty. Mission: Fighting for the liberation of the "Dayak people" from social, cultural, economic domination and oppression.

[1998] **	Cooptation of some Dayak leaders by New Order regime and formation of Council for Dayak Custom that led to commercialization of customary law and sale of ancestral lands to business corporations	Establishing indigenous organizations, namely: 20. West Kalimantan Alliance of Indigenous Community (AMA Kalbar)
[1999] **	Agricultural liberalism	Advocacy and promotion of indigenous farming systems through integrated Dayak techniques: 21. Ethno-Agro Forest Program (EAF)
[2000] **	Increasing frequency of service requests from civilian agencies outside of West Kalimantan	Institutional strengthening of internal synergy with the principle of one goal, one struggle for empowerment and liberation 22. KPMD transformed into The Union for Community Empowerment Movement-Pancur Kasih (Segerak-Pancur Kasih)
[2001] **	Democratization and opening of political space on national scale	Active work for enforcement of people's political sovereignty and a just order 23. Civil Autonomy Empowerment-Pancur Kasih (POR-Pancur Kasih)
[2005] **	Promotion by globalization of competition between and among groups and individuals	A consultant who served to enhance GPPK's image through capacity building for its activists, institutions and partners is inspired by biblical values of Jeremiah Chapter 33 verse 3, leading to the organization of: 24. Y333 (Jeremiah Chapter 33, Paragraph 3)
[2006] **	Significant influence of foreign culture in mainstream media, increasing discourse on cultural diversity of indigenous peoples Failure of post-conflict reconciliation process in Madurese-Malay conflict in Sambas (1999) due to lack of government participation in reconciliation process	Dissemination of pro-people news and information through: 25. Community Radio for the Voice of Indigenous Community (Radio RAMA) Extending general welfare politics with peace building and reconciliation program: 26. Alliance of NGO for Peace and Reconciliation (ANPRI)
[2007] **	Political and economic elite's dominance of mainstream media, lack of news and information that support and reflect the people's conditions	Expansion of pro-people information and communication through: 27. RUAI Television (RUAI TV)

[2009] 13 years later	For more than 25 years GPPK operates with different dynamics (both internal and external)	Publication of GPPK's 25-year common experience cultivated by GPPK Team Transformation Commission: 28. Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement Manifesto At this point GPPK changes its vision and mission statement: Vision: Dayak society and oppressed people in general able to define and manage life in a spirit of togetherness with love to become economically independent, socially dignified, culturally and politically sovereign. Mission: Saving the oppressed, especially the "Dayak people," from socio-cultural domination and economic and political oppression.
[2011]**	GPPK worried about credit union movement's future due to strong influence of economic liberalization on CU as had happened with other dominant financial institutions. For 30 years GPPK exists and is able to respond to various challenges to the development of all its component programs/institutions.	Revitalizing conception of credit union movement as strategy for community empowerment 29. Pancur Kasih Peasants Philosophy Credit Union (CU FPPK) Aware of the historical value of documentation, GPPK records the experiences of its 30-year work to serve as learning for present and future generations of GPPK as well as activists and organizations of indigenous peoples elsewhere 30. GPPK, through cooperation between Institut Dayakologi and Tebtebba, Philippines, writes a book on the history of GPPK and another book on credit unions

Source: With adjustments in some parts, data in the diagram were adopted from the paper by Mecer and Bamba 2008.

Legend:

* Entire GPPK work during the period refers to the vision and mission formulated in 1981.

** Entire work of GPPK refers to the vision and mission formulated in 1996.

*** Entire work of GPPK refers to the vision and mission formulated in 2009.

GPPK as New Social Movement

The Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement cannot be separated from the conception of new social movements and the philosophies that became the foundation for the empowerment movement itself. But what is a social movement? Some fine examples can be found in the great revolutions of various countries, such as the English Revolution (1649), French Revolution (1789) and Russian Revolution (1917). The first two were launched by the middle class and the last emanated as a grassroots movement.² While it is difficult to draw similarities between GPPK and the experience of revolution in these three countries, a common link can be located, and that is change. The three revolutions were staged to gain freedom from the government's arbitrary exercise of power and the resulting oppression. While surely not a revolutionary movement in the same mold, GPPK similarly pursues change as its primary goal. It seeks to change inequitable and oppressive structures but through ways of peace rather than through violent upheaval. It strives to achieve this through a process of empowerment and liberation for Dayak and oppressed people, inspired by the noble values rooted in Dayak cultural identity and philosophy and strengthened by the spirit of love. This is what distinguishes the revolutionary movement of GPPK.

Today, other distinctive characteristics define the new social movement that are described by Mulyadi (2002) as:

First, new social movements do not explicitly have a structural relationship with its followers. Second, these often lead to identity dimensions that were previously very weak... Third, new social movement actors usually use different tactics with a working class movement. New social movements avoid violence in their movements and usually protest against the regulations in a country and give priority to non-violent diplomacy like the movement by Mahatma Gandhi and Koroptkin. Fourth, the new social movement is usually of local nature, but it struggles for national and international

*issues. Fifth, in running a movement, it requires organization and supporting resources.*³

The new social movement is organized from, for and by people or groups who are structurally oppressed, marginalized and unfairly treated and aims to make a comprehensive change. The condition of oppression is due not to people's laziness or lack of morals but to the inequity of the social and political order. It is structural change that social movements work for, and many are choosing the populist way to attain it. Decision-making bodies frequently take a top-down approach to development that often ignores the role of community potentials and development especially of marginalized and vulnerable groups. This leaves communities victims of development's negative impacts. New social movements have emerged as a response to such injustice and the social and economic costs of development.

Philosophy of Empowerment

While struggling to change the oppressive and unjust system, Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement began to look at alternative structures that emphasize empowerment and affirmative efforts. GPPK found these in three sources: the indigenous Dayak philosophy (discussed in Chapter 2), the Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church, and science and modern technology. Synthesizing the main elements of these three philosophies, GPPK formed the foundation of its philosophy of empowerment.

The Dayak philosophy, according to GPPK founder A.R. Mecer, embodies the good values that shape the Dayak's indigenous way of life and cultural identity. This philosophy is manifested in the way they live and manage their daily existence and environment. As sentient beings, they have to fulfill four needs not only to survive physically but to live a meaningful life. These requirements are food and drink (physical needs) in order to live, seeds (sustainability) to transform the earth for survival, and harmonious relations with their fellow human beings (social needs) and with God (spiritual needs).⁴

All these needs are of equal importance in the life and vision of the Dayak and cannot be separated if life has to have true meaning. Fulfilling all of them is a vital objective in their life.⁵

GPPK also promotes the spirit of love as a force of empowerment in its work for human liberation of the oppressed. Wahono (1987) declared, "It is not only liberation from the constraints of the social, economic and political world [that is needed] but the release of a full and complete man as loved by God to participate in his image."⁶ The efforts to establish social justice and peace, prioritize the interests of the most needy (victims of ignorance and structural inequity) and respect human dignity are an expression of Christ's law of love as mandated by *Ajaran Sosial Gereja* (ASG) or the Catholic Church's Social Doctrines. ASG is a collection of official documents on the Catholic Church's social commitment, especially to the neglected and oppressed, and how it implements the law of love in everyday life in the community and in the world.⁷

To support continued empowerment in society, GPPK further utilizes the resources of modern science and technology, especially in the internalization process of its philosophy, critical education methods and content, development models including financial management, advanced learning and expansion of the empowerment movement to other areas. Reflection on experience as drawn by the *brain* (scientific) and by the *heart* (spirituality) finds a meeting point in critical perspectives of the negative impacts of neo-liberalism on Dayak and other oppressed communities while proposing other alternatives such as the empowerment movement (discussed in following chapters). In the adoption of modern science and technology, however, GPPK always considers the Dayak's noble values and the spirit of love.

The fusion of Dayak philosophy, the Catholic Church's social teachings and modern science and technology and how it applies in the GPPK empowerment movement are illustrated in the following diagram.

Diagram 2. Synthesis of Dayak Philosophy, Church Social Teachings and Modern Science and Technology as Foundation of GPPK



Within the framework of these three foundations, the concept and practice of development as espoused by W.W. Rostow and adopted by the New Order⁸ is perceived more as a process that marginalized and impoverished Dayak and other local communities. As a result, nongovernment organizations and civil society in Kalimantan, particularly in West Kalimantan, have generally favored the term empowerment over development. An alternative terminology to development, empowerment encompasses a spirit of critical consciousness, liberation and ability to actualize local potentials.

J.J. Kusni (2001) in his book, *Negara Etnik: Beberapa Gagasan Pemberdayaan Suku Dayak* (Ethnic State: Some Ideas for Empowerment of Dayak Peoples), also proposed the term empowerment. According to him, empowerment entails planned change on the basis of a critical culture and critical education. Change is mainly carried out by local communities based on their culture and local human and material

resources, with outside contribution being only secondary in the effort for change. Empowered, the people lift themselves out of a marginalized to a better life, and their improvement becomes a continuing process.⁹

Within the perspective of Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement, the move for social change thus starts from a process of self-empowerment, which is self-reinforcing as one struggles for affirmative action to attain a better alternative social order. And learning continues as one serves a broader community through a path of peace that is inclusive of all classes and ethnicities.

The history of GPPK clearly shows that the movement was started by individuals who established local networks that simultaneously developed in a process of self-empowerment and strengthening. These form the main characteristics of GPPK. The entire discussion in this book thus uses the concept of “Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement” as a new social movement that continues to carry out empowerment in various spheres of life through its programs.¹⁰ Within this context, empowerment is the reverse of the development concept and practice imposed on the Dayak people. GPPK¹¹ is an empowerment movement that aims to change the oppressive and inequitable social and political structure.

Civil Society and Indigenous Peoples

The Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement has historical links with the development of social movements in Indonesia. GPPK began in the early 1980s in the West Kalimantan capital of Pontianak when young Dayak intellectuals of the Bureau of Research and Development of Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation (YKSPK, as GPPK was then known) began to conduct informal discussions on the problems and fate of the Dayak people. This was at a time when social movements were building up and transforming in Indonesia. In a study on the origins and development of social movements in Indonesia, Bob S. Hadiwinata (1999) noted, “In the early 1980s, recognizing the difficulty of co-optation and mobilization against

the state, several members of the community started to build an indirect strategy of confrontation against the government. Within reach, the community held a variety of activities that included critical writings, theatrical performances, and informal meetings.”¹²

Civil society groups chose ways to protest against the state that were still considered acceptable. As Ernest Gellner (Hadiwinata 1999) observed, civil society with its diverse institutions and nongovernment groups can be strong enough to give balance to the state and prevent it from dominating and downplaying the role of the community, while at the same time not precluding the state’s role as peacekeeper and arbitrator between major interests.¹³

In the context of civil society relations with the state, the writer and political theorist Antonio Gramsci maintained that the state uses its power to tame the people to perpetuate capitalism, resulting in a marginalized populace. Thus, the people and civil society are the party that “loses” in the relationship with the state. Furthermore, Gramsci argued that this defeat is due not to oppression and physical violence but to the state’s cultural and ideological hegemony. Extending Gramsci’s ideas and observing the development of the civil society movement in Indonesia, Mansour Fakih (1999) proposed that a subsequent development is the resistance movement by indigenous civil society to demand their rights to natural resources and cultural pluralism.¹⁴

Thus, the concept of civil society here is sometimes used interchangeably with the concept of indigenous peoples as a critical discourse in explaining a broader popular movement such as GPPK that empowers and strengthens people to counter the hegemony of a state that no longer serves them and has turned into a tool of capitalism.

In Indonesia the concept of indigenous peoples has become more widely known, particularly among advocacy NGOs, since the published translation in 1994 of ILO Convention 169 by the nongovernment organizations, LBBT and ELSAM.¹⁵ In the introduction to the Bahasa translation, the term “indigenous and tribal peoples” is rendered as “na-

tives and indigenous peoples.” The concept and issues of indigenous peoples, however, started being discussed back in the early 1980s by young YKSPK Dayak activists in informal study groups.¹⁶



Motivations for Empowerment Movement: Overview of GPPK Work

GPPK’s practice of empowerment, which uses a holistic approach, covers all major aspects of life: educational, economic, social, cultural, environmental, and political. This is in response to the problems of structural ignorance, structural poverty, cultural erosion and discrimination, and environmental degradation faced by the Dayak community. These problems are addressed by specific GPPK program units, which work consistently to understand and articulate the Dayak philosophy in carrying out GPPK’s overall program of empowerment and liberation.

Upholding Dayak Identity and Dignity

The government’s cultural policy strongly influences the dynamics of local culture including the Dayak’s. It puts the so-called national culture in a position of dominance, creating a condition of insecurity and attendant problems in regional cultures. Shortly after the proclamation of independence in 1945, the Sukarno administration established the Ministry of Education, Teaching and Culture, which allowed the state to intervene in the fields of education and culture supposedly to strengthen the spirit of Indonesian nationalism.

Under the New Order government, cultural policy became more restrictive and systematic, curbing the spirit of regionalism in ethnic communities or regions that threatened national integration. During this time, discussion of cultural differences and diversity was prohibited, and individuals, groups or institutions that defied this ruling were accused of

undermining ethnic, religious and racial relations. The state controlled local cultural expressions and content to fit what it defined as national decency.

On the pretext of modernization, the state also changed traditional and social institutions and local beliefs, resulting in the marginalization of all local potentials. Widjono (1998) described how the state, through its political and agrarian policies such as transmigration and Right for Forest Use, dismantled Dayak longhouses in the 1970s. As a result, the *Rumah Panjang* or longhouse, a cultural tradition of the Borneo Dayak, has almost disappeared. The government ordered and mobilized Dayaks to take down their longhouses and to build and move into single houses. It carried this out on the grounds that the traditional longhouse abetted communism and was a health and fire hazard.¹⁷ Josef Herman van Hulsten (1992), a Catholic missionary who lived with the Dayak people for approximately 30 years (1938-1968), wrote that in the rural areas, Dayak leaders were forced to dismantle the longhouses and replace them with single-family dwelling units.¹⁸

In West Kalimantan, the longhouse, which is inherited and usually inhabited by 30 to 100 families, is central to the values of solidarity and togetherness of the Dayak. As van Hulsten (1992) observed, it is the heart of the life of the Dayak people, it builds solidarity and kinship, and it serves as a place for imbibing cultural values.¹⁹ Today, unfortunately, there are few longhouses left, and these are mostly found in rural and border areas.

The destruction of such traditional institutions and cultural symbols could lead to the Dayak's displacement from their cultural roots. It threatens their beliefs and confidence, as it weakens the hold of noble values that stem from the wisdom of Dayak culture. GPPK responded to this condition through a revitalization of Dayak culture through critical education and by transforming its symbols. This is especially important, as the Dayak community is exposed to diverse foreign influences and cultural values. One of the strategies in GPPK's cultural revival is the adoption of local terminology from everyday Dayak peasant wisdom or philosophy. GPPK's use of local terms does not merely demonstrate the existence of Dayak

cultural identity but also their values and spirit of solidarity and togetherness as a community.

GPPK extended the use of local terminology to the credit union movement as part of the initiative to keep the Dayak culture alive. The Pancur Kasih Credit Union (PK CU) has utilized *pangari*, *saale'atn*, *panabas*, and *betang*,²⁰ among other words, to name its product services. PK CU's adoption of the motto, *Barage Malangkah CU Repo*, which means "United Credit Unions towards Prosperity," is in essence also a cultural strategy. These initiatives aim to create a sense of belonging and an experience of cultural wisdom to close the gap between Dayak activists and credit union members. As a liberating movement, GPPK constantly tries to understand the inner feelings and attitudes of the Dayak who are peasants and indigenous peoples.

GPPK actualizes the spirit and values of solidarity and sustainability inherent in Dayak culture. As a process of empowerment, it encourages its constituents to understand and know more about the Dayak community and their environment and to be critical of things outside of the community itself. Self-awareness makes Dayaks see their own unique characteristics within the bigger society. It enables them to always know where they are in any situation and condition at any time, culture being an integral part of social, economic and political life and ecology. Presenting the Dayak cultural context is characteristic of the holistic empowerment strategies GPPK employs in its various programs. Moreover, culture is addressed and appreciated from the aspects of humanist values, ethics, morals and spirituality.

GPPK also uses critical education to raise awareness and understanding of Dayak culture. It does this through publication of seminar papers (on gender, justice, human rights, democracy and critical education) in *Kalimantan Review*, books on oral tradition that serve as local curricular content in elementary, junior high and secondary levels in eight schools in West Kalimantan, as well as through community radio and TV. Through these activities GPPK upholds cultural identity and dignity, especially of the Dayak people.

Cultural Resistance

The Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement has striven to respond not only to adverse impacts of development suffered by the Dayak but also to prejudices and discrimination inflicted on them by outside parties and by Dayak individuals themselves. So strong was the resulting stigma that it often led to self-denial and shame to claim oneself as Dayak.

While many acknowledge today that Dayak is the ethnic, social and cultural identity of the indigenous peoples of Borneo Island, various derogatory terms were used to call them in the past (see next chapter). They have been described as “legendary wild man of Borneo” and “the people of the weaving forest” in Djuweng’s book (1996) quoting Jenkins and Guy Sacerdoty (1978) and Jan Ave and Victor King (1985), respectively.²¹

Djuweng (1996)²² noted that before the 1980s, the Dayak people were defined by their religion. Dayak who adhered to the indigenous religion (*agama adat*) or became Christians were distinguished from the Moslem Dayaks. Those who were not Muslim were considered the indigenous Dayak people of Borneo,²³ as Dayaks who converted to Islam claimed to be Malay.

The Islamic religion arrived and spread in Borneo in the 16th to 18th centuries and allowed its followers to establish centers of power in the estuaries that were previously occupied by Dayak tribes and clans. Some of them were later conquered, but those who resisted the new religion and other outside influences withdrew to the hinterlands. Dayaks who embraced Islam in several sub-ethnic groups (Dayak Bakati’, Ba’ahe, Salako and Banyadu) are known as *Masok Laut* or *Jadi Senganan* (becoming Senganan) among Dayak people in Sanggau, Ketapang, Sekadau, and those living upstream of Kapuas river. Thus, Dayak denoted more a unity of social, cultural and religious aspects in an earlier time.²⁴

The Dayak’s search for cultural identity and dignity reached a turning point in 1992 during the Dayak Culture National Seminar and Exhibition organized by GPPK’s Institut Dayakologi (ID) in Pontianak. Attended by hundreds of Dayak

community leaders and representatives from Kalimantan, Sabah and Sarawak as well as scholars, experts and researchers, the cultural conference agreed on the writing of Dayak with the letter “k” to denote the collective identity of all indigenous people on the island of Borneo.

For the Dayak people, this historic event was a form of cultural resistance to internal and external discrimination. It provided a process of cultural self-reflection to resolve the doubt and uncertainty to recognize and identify themselves as an ethnic group that has dignity and an identity. Through this process, they realized the importance and essence of their existence as an ethnic and cultural group within a nation-state. It also strengthened their awareness and motivation as actors for change, especially in the cultural development of the next generation of Dayaks. The agreement on the new term was important to uphold the authority, dignity and culture of the Dayak tribes as well as the reality of their existence in the archipelago. Taking into account their basic cultural similarity, the term marks their ethnicity and cultural identity as well as their social, economic, religious and political life as the indigenous peoples of Kalimantan.²⁵

GPPK and its institutions, such as Institut Dayakologi Research and Development (LP3S-IDRD) and Bela Institution Banua Talino (LBBT), realized that in addition to critical education and economic empowerment (initiated in 1983 and 1987 respectively), Dayak culture, history and roots must be revitalized and restored. The Dayak identity establishes the existence of the Dayak people who should be the subject and actor in the effort for change in their own communities. That is why Dayak culture is the starting point of empowerment under the GPPK movement. GPPK institutions like Institut Dayakologi examine Dayak culture from the Dayak’s perspective and use the results of studies to change and benefit their society.

Pioneering Community-Based Economic Movement

Another motivation for the Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement is the economic empowerment and liberation of Dayak and other marginalized communities and it pursues this through the credit union (CU) movement. What distinguishes its credit union movement is its cultural approach. GPPK pioneered and expanded the credit union movement in various regions in Indonesia using the local cultural approach, which emphasizes the importance of members and their local cultures and identities.²⁶

This strategy entails empowerment from below or bottom up that strengthens the sense of belonging and community among credit union members in a local area. In a socio-cultural sense, it reinforces the institutional CU as a group of people who trust one another, making it more than just a savings and credit cooperative.

This model of empowerment from below explains why the GPPK CU movement, especially during its early growth, did not deem it important to acquire the status of a corporation. This differentiates it from other kinds of cooperative institutions, such as the Village Unit Cooperatives (*KUD/Koperasi Unit Desa*) and multipurpose cooperatives (*Koperasi Serba Usaha/KSU*), which are formed formally through a corporation to legalize their existence. This allows the government to often intervene, control and curb the initiatives, performance and practices of the credit union itself.

The GPPK CU has a unique philosophy. It is a community-based economic institution that practices a populist philosophy rooted in the social and cultural values and spirit of local communities. It uses local values and terminology in its products and services that is a distinct mark from other credit unions. At the same time it adopts universally recognized and developed financial accounting and bookkeeping systems. To sustain its growth, the credit union undergoes a program of education that is the most important element in its establish-

ment, development and even management. As with cultural practices that are inherited, preserved and transformed from generation to generation, the GPPK credit union movement is also expected to be preserved and transformed for future generations and the wider community.

Expanding CU Movement Across Kalimantan and Archipelago

GPPK has a very clear contribution in the expansion of the people's movement through credit unions in West Kalimantan and other regions of Indonesia. In the early 1990s, the public trauma caused by the collapse of both government and private Village Unit Cooperatives began to be felt, prompting people to call KUD a cooperative where the "Chairman gets the profit first." Funds for government assistance programs, such as the Presidential Instruction for Underdeveloped Villages (IDT/*Instruksi Presiden untuk Desa Tertinggal*) were channelled through KUDs. The IDT was a national development program that used a top-down approach for village development, and was thus not for and from the people. The KUD's performance aimed mainly at meeting the work program without much concern on whether its implementation benefitted the people or not. It also lacked transparency, gradually reducing its popularity especially among farmers.

The failure of KUDs led community groups to request GPPK to disseminate information and facilitate the setting up of credit unions. From 1993 to 1994, GPPK began actively circulating information on CUs through joint activities of its various institutions, such as LP3S-IDRD's oral tradition research, LBBT's legal critical awareness and participatory mapping.²⁷ The demand for facilitation also came from different districts, such as Sanggau (including Sekadau now), Ketapang, Sintang (including Melawi), Pontianak (including Landak now), Kapuas Hulu, Sambas, Bengkayang, and the entire region of West Kalimantan.

To respond to the numerous requests, the GPPK Board decided to set up a special program that specifically focused

on assisting credit unions. In October 1995 GPPK organized the Civil Economic Empowerment-Pancur Kasih (PEK-Pancur Kasih), which began operating the following year. PEK-Pancur Kasih gives various technical and non-technical training and field assistance to communities in West Kalimantan to establish, develop and strengthen credit unions. By 1999 it had assisted 14 CUs in West Kalimantan (including Pancur Kasih CU) that had a total membership of 18,841 people and total assets of more than Rp12 billion.²⁸

As it facilitated credit unions, GPPK with the support of its institutions and its program on critical education, helped to change the image of the CU movement in the eyes of people who associated it with the Catholic Church and Dayaks. It established credit unions with non-Dayak and non-Catholic members, such as Malay, Javanese and Madurese, many of whom were Muslim, both in and outside of West Kalimantan. GPPK was able to draw out the potential of the credit union to bridge social differences among its members and to serve as a path for reconciliation and peace building in the country.

The success story of GPPK and the CU movement inspired a significant number of civil society groups in Indonesia and abroad. By 1999 no less than 60 NGO activists from all over the country interned and trained with the various institutions of GPPK.²⁹ Up to 2008, civil society groups from Bangladesh, the Philippines, Sabah, Malaysia, Myanmar, Timor Leste and Thailand, among others, also came to learn from its experience in West Kalimantan.

In early 2000 GPPK helped expand the CU movement outside of West Kalimantan and farther out across the region and the archipelago. This was done through PEK-PK, Union for Community Empowerment Movement-Pancur Kasih (PK SegeraK), Civil Autonomy Empowerment-Pancur Kasih (POR-PK), Kalimantan Credit Union Coordinating Body (BKCU Kalimantan)³⁰ and a network of local and national NGOs that actively promoted and assisted CU activities in strategic planning and internalizing of CU ideology. In 2001 with the support of A.R. Mecer³¹ as a member of the Representative Assembly for Dayak Ethnic Minorities (1999-2004), GPPK began to facilitate the development of the CU movement in

outer areas of Kalimantan through CU Star Karantika Meratus in Batu Kampar, South Kalimantan in collaboration with the Institute for Empowerment of Indigenous Peoples (LPMA). In subsequent years the CU movement reached Central and East Kalimantan.

Requests for CU facilitation continued to arrive from various regions in Indonesia from 2004 to 2005. Credit unions spread out to Papua through the establishment of CU Almendo, CU Mambuin and CU Sinar Saron. In Mentawai, West Sumatera, CU Mentawai Uma was set up. Until 2008, at the behest of community groups, the CU movement was extended to Maumere, Ende, Atambua, Tana Toraja, Makassar, Ambon, Jember, Jakarta, Jogjakarta, Surabaya, and Sumba, reaching other ethnic groups and marginalized people.

Amid the recent global multidimensional crisis that has weakened national solidarity and increased economic hardships, GPPK through the CU movement has encouraged civil society groups to continue exploring and reinforcing the values and spirit of independence, self-reliance and solidarity in local communities. Promoting social and economic welfare through these values and a model of empowerment from below, however, has to go hand in hand with a balanced ecology. It is a sustainable environment that ensures the Dayak their source of life.



Reclaiming Land Sovereignty

The GPPK movement for empowerment also encompasses reclaiming by Dayak people of their rights and sovereignty over their lands and natural resources. Since the 1960s, national laws and policies have encouraged large-scale resource exploitation to spur economic growth and development in the country. But these have had a devastating impact on Dayaks whose existence and culture revolve around their land and its resources.

The Law of Foreign Investment of 1967 and Basic Forestry Law No. 5 of 1967 formally legitimized and opened Dayak lands and forests in Borneo to capital investment and exploitation. These laws, which do not recognize the existence of indigenous forests, give government authorities greater flexibility to seize entire forest areas traditionally controlled and managed by Dayaks. In 1990, 575 concessions covered nearly 60 million hectares of production forests in Indonesia. Of these, 301 licenses operated on the island of Borneo that covered 31.5 million hectares or more than 50 percent of the country's total production forests. In West Kalimantan, 75 timber companies since 1968 have controlled 74 percent of the total forest area, which represents nearly half (47 %) of its total land area.³²

In addition to forest and logging concessions, permits for mining and monoculture plantations also wrought great destruction on Dayak and local communities. In 1994 the government of West Kalimantan reserved 3.2 million acres of land for plantation projects in line with its plan to achieve an economic growth target of 10.9 percent per year. The whole reserved area was Dayak land. Such large-scale land takeovers were done through collusion by government, companies and even some Dayak individuals themselves. Senior researcher and former LP3S-IDRD executive director Stephanus Djuweng described it thus:

*'Liberation' of land in the area of indigenous Dayak and in Indonesia is generally not familiar with the operational standards of fair and democratic procedures. In many cases, companies actually deceive the Dayaks. They co-opt the traditional leaders and village heads to give up land for the benefit of the company. The company has always been supported by Muspika (sub-district, Koramil, Kapolsek), members of the House of Representatives, and the Dayak intellectuals. They are paid according to their role and influence in society in the interest of the company.*³³

Djuweng further observed that the policy and effects of large-scale plantations are essentially a replication of the *cul-*

*tuurstelsel*³⁴ system initiated by Governor-General Daendels in Indonesia in the early 19th century. The Dutch policy forced the indigenous people to plant millions of coffee trees to fund the Netherlands' economic crisis caused by its wars.

Recognizing the grave social and ecological implications of the government's forest, mining and plantation policies, GPPK decided to take up advocacy work in ecology. As WALHI national executive director Sandra Moniaga (1994) asserted, natural resources are vital to the survival of the Dayak community; the economic function of their land and natural resources is closely related to their social values, culture, beliefs and even politics. The land connects past, present and future generations.³⁶

GPPK takes a multidimensional and multistakeholder approach in ecological advocacy, integrating various areas and activities of intervention among different parties. This involves education critical to the empowerment of people, especially on customary law, participatory mapping, community forest systems, and integrated farming systems. GPPK undertakes these activities with a growing network of NGOs with links to agencies outside of West Kalimantan. These institutions facilitate cooperation among LP3S³⁷-IDRD, YKSPK, Institution for Legal Aid (*Lembaga Bantuan Hukum*/LBH) Surabaya and WALHI.³⁸

GPPK established several programs to address specific environmental concerns of Dayak communities. In 1993 it founded LBBT, which focuses on Dayak's legal rights and their defense in land cases, as well as training and community organizing.³⁹ The following year GPPK launched⁴⁰ another program, Civil Natural Resources Management Empowerment Program-Pancur Kasih (PPSDAK-Pancur Kasih), to support the preservation, protection and management of their natural resources. This is done through participatory mapping of traditional territories of the various Dayak groups in West Kalimantan.

Participatory mapping involves documentation of indigenous lands and natural resources within them based on the knowledge and wisdom of the indigenous peoples. The

resulting map gives them the basis in asserting, in strong and clear terms, their rights over their land and resources in order that these are respected and protected. This is also to ensure the welfare and environmental sustainability of present and future generations. The map is basically a means to reinforce the Dayak community's tenure over their customary area.

In 1995 GPPK set up a related program, Forest Systems Management Program-Pancur Kasih (PPSHK-Pancur Kasih), which tackles issues concerning development of knowledge-based forest resource management and planning and promotion of alternative economic strategies based on this. GPPK's ecological initiatives are basically aimed to improve the Dayak's social and ecological awareness, as the government's development policy that allows big companies to take over their land negates their knowledge and control over their territories. They need to maintain and develop their lands to live lives with dignity and worth as human beings created by God.

Resource exploitation has continued into the 21st century, presenting even harder challenges to farmers, indigenous Dayak and GPPK. After the issuance of Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Administration, indigenous peoples were deprived even further of their natural resources as extraction occurred on lands they still occupied. During this time, the economy was dominated by big business, local officials, politicians and even a group of thugs, exacerbating the social and ecological conditions in Borneo, in particular West Kalimantan.

Oil palm plantations were expanded, further threatening community resource rights. Ironically the Chairman of the Association of Indonesian Plantations of Kalbar, Ilham Sanusi, declared that West Kalimantan's crude palm oil was excellent because of its contribution to foreign exchange.⁴¹ In 2006 palm oil was developed and planted throughout West Kalimantan province involving an area of 377,068 hectares. A year later, the government issued permits to 261 companies to develop plantations spreading over 10 districts with a total land area of 4,145,988 hectares (Plantation Office of West Kalimantan Province, 2006).

In addition to plantations, forest concessions were granted for timber estates and land acquisitions for transmigration and mining. Development projects in many indigenous forests have increasingly limited the Dayak's access to and control over their gardens and fields, sacred forests, burial areas, and clean water sources. This situation, which could soon reach a crisis level, is a systematic and structural threat to the survival of future generations of Dayak who until recently still depended on agricultural fields and resources provided by forests and rivers.

The Dayak and other oppressed groups therefore have to come together to reclaim their basic rights and unite with the broader indigenous movement and civil society.



GPPK Contribution to the Movement of Indigenous People

Ideas and awareness on the urgent need for efforts to empower and advocate the rights of indigenous peoples in West Kalimantan and in Indonesia as a whole can partly be attributed to GPPK. The people behind GPPK grew up in villages where a strong Dayak culture thrives, and these experiences strengthened GPPK's understanding and response to the problems that threaten the survival and existence of indigenous peoples.

ILO Convention 169 states there are two kinds of minority groups: indigenous peoples and tribal people. Article 1 (1.a) describes tribal people as: "peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations." Article 1 (1.b) identifies indigenous peoples as "peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time

of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural, and political institutions.”⁴²

In 1999 the first Congress of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago put forward their own formulation. The Congress defined indigenous peoples as communities that live on the ancestral, hereditary area and have sovereignty over it and the natural resources within and whose social life and culture are regulated by customary law and traditional institutions, which manage the continuity of life of the people.⁴³ This definition has legal basis and formal international recognition in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), particularly Articles 2 and 3.

Article 2 states that “Indigenous peoples and individuals are free and equal to all other peoples and individuals and have the right to be free from any kind of discrimination, in the exercise of their rights, in particular that based on their indigenous origin or identity.”

Article 3 declares that “Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.”

While the term “indigenous peoples” has increasingly become known in Indonesia, the history of the indigenous movement in the archipelago can be traced to GPPK’s early role and programs. In the 1980s a group of idealistic young activists in YKSPK, among them A.R. Mecer, began to study issues relating to indigenous peoples and environmental and human rights. The results of their discussions were published by national media. These activists also started to speak on indigenous concerns in various fora. Stephanus Djuweng, at the time a young activist who also worked as a journalist in a Pontianak weekly, started speaking, on the request of several institutes in Jakarta, on indigenous peoples and environmental and human rights. Over time, other activists were invited to attend and address conferences and forums in countries in Europe and Asia that expanded their links with other organi-

zations on these advocacies. These experiences encouraged the founders and key activists of GPPK to pursue the model and movement for indigenous peoples' empowerment as it is known today.

The indigenous movement grew as the need for a wider network arose. In 1993 LP3S-IDRD and LBBT actively engaged with WWF Kerinci Seblat, WALHI and other institutions and founded the Network for Supporting the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (JAPHAMA).⁴⁴ JAPHAMA aimed to support the interests of indigenous peoples and to help them become strong and independent. This network was the forerunner of the Congress of Indigenous Peoples of West Kalimantan.

Another formation, the West Kalimantan Indigenous Peoples' Alliance (AMA West Kalimantan), emerged in response to the haze disaster in late 1997. Dayak farmers were accused in a press conference by Ir. Karsan Sukardi, head of the Provincial Plantations of West Kalimantan, for causing the forest fires, but the smog was in fact due to the burning of forests by palm and timber plantations and transmigration projects. Because of this, 11 Dayak indigenous leaders in West Kalimantan and the West Kalimantan Forum of Youth and Students who supported President Soeharto's statement on the cause of the forest fires (FPMP3ES-PKH) imposed the customary law on Sukardi. The case was settled through Dayak Kanayatn customary law with the performance of the *capa molot* (punishment) ceremony. (Daily Akcaya 1997, 1)

Such Dayak experiences of the negative impacts of development, especially land confiscation and denial of rights, crystallized into the initiative to establish a wider organization as an avenue of struggle. In October 1998 a total of 22 indigenous communities formed the West Kalimantan Indigenous Peoples' Alliance facilitated by a number of organizations such as LBBT, PPSDAK, SHK, and GPPK-influenced credit unions. The alliance was organized through a congress held in Pontianak and attended by more than 100 indigenous peoples from seven counties: Pontianak, Ketapang, Sambas, Sanggau, Sintang, Kapuas Hulu, and Pontianak and funded by the Dayak Community Empowerment Consortium (later transformed to SegeraK-Pancur Kasih in 2000). The participants,

who included the head and representatives of Dayak communities, discussed the negative impacts of the influx of large logging and timber corporations on indigenous life. They resolved that AMA West Kalimantan would carry and fight for all the aspirations of “Dayak” people in West Kalimantan.⁴⁵

The indigenous peoples’ network further expanded on the national level. Institut Dayakologi, LBBT, POR-Pancur Kasih and AMA Kalbar linked up with national NGOs like ELSAM, Working Network of Participatory Mapping (*Jaringan Kerja Pemetaan Partisipatif/JKPP*), Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) and WALHI and regional organizations to strengthen the indigenous struggle nationwide. On March 17-22 1999 the indigenous network in collaboration with national and regional formations held the Congress of Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (KMAN I). This included AMA Kalbar, JKPP, JAPHAMA, WALHI, Consortium Forest System Supporting Democracy (KPSHK), Baileo Moluccas, the Network Movement of Indigenous Peoples of East Nusa Tenggara (JAGAT), Bioforum, International NGO Forum on Indonesia Development, Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM), Coastal and Marine Network (Jaring Pela), KPA, KPSHK, and Consortium for Strengthening Indigenous Peoples (KONPENMA) West Papua. KMAN I established the Indigenous Peoples’ Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) and declared it would file a lawsuit against the state on its position on indigenous people. AMAN asserted, “If the state does not recognize us, we will not recognize the state.”

In addition KMAN I, which was attended by at least 500 participants including 208 people from 121 indigenous groups in Indonesia, declared March 17 (AMAN was founded on March 17, 1999) as a day for the indigenous peoples of the Indonesian archipelago. The congress statement was presented to the Home Minister and the Ministers of Forestry and Estate Crops, Mines, Social Affairs, BPN (*Badan Pertanahan Nasional*-National Agency for Agrarian Affairs), Transmigration, Housing and Forest Clearing, and the different political parties.

The emergence of the movement of Dayak and other indigenous peoples in Indonesia has brought political changes in West Kalimantan. One of these is the ascendance of in-

indigenous leaders to the legislature. As a national indigenous organization, AMAN lobbied for a leader of the indigenous Dayak movement, A.R. Mecer, to represent indigenous peoples in the *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* (MPR, People's Consultative Assembly). Representatives of indigenous Dayak communities were selected to represent the five "minority" groups in MPR, i.e., *Badui* people (West Java), Dayak people (Borneo), *Kubu/Anak Dalam* people (Sumatera), *Irian* people (Papua, formerly known as Irian Jaya), and *Sangir/Miansas* people (Sulawesi).

A.R. Mecer's successful election⁴⁶ to the legislature shows that GPPK and the existence of the Dayak in West Kalimantan have begun to receive broader recognition at the local and national levels. A.R. Mecer is a widely known Dayak figure who has articulated and fought for Dayak rights in Kalimantan through participatory mapping and the credit union movement, among others. In addition AMA Kalbar (including indigenous organizations in other regions) and local NGOs affiliated with GPPK worked for the revision of Law No. 22/1999 on Regional Administration.

GPPK's engagement has reached the international arena. Its activists have served both as participants and resource persons in conferences and fora on indigenous peoples rights, human rights, environment, racial discrimination, and other issues. In 2001, for instance, Stephanus Djuweng submitted a testimonial, "The Voices That I Will Never Forget," as part of the "Voices Special Forum of the United Nations World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance" held in Durban, South Africa. In 1988 Djuweng was also one of the leaders of indigenous movements in Asia who helped to establish the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP).

These experiences have raised the motivation and commitment of GPPK activists in the broader fight for the rights of indigenous peoples. The indigenous movement appears more solid as it continues to consolidate at various levels and to exert pressure on the government to implement UNDRIP and other UN conventions that recognize indigenous peoples' rights.

External Challenges

With various issues that threaten the future survival of humanity in general and the ecology and existence of indigenous communities in West Kalimantan in particular, GPPK continues to face and work on the following challenges.

Domination of Neoliberal Economic System

Because indigenous groups in Kalimantan have long been marginalized, they welcomed the opening of political space in the era of regional autonomy, but they were admittedly not quite ready for it in terms of human resources. As a result, opportunities for political space were enjoyed by only a handful of political and economic elite and new entrants to this class. This has increased the influence of those who control political and economic power. They pursue a neoliberal ideology through a development path that promotes globalization and free trade and strengthens their dominance in the political and economic spheres. Globalization and neo-liberalism encourage the operation of corporations and increasing wealth, turning the corporation into a capital octopus that adversely impacts on local people and the environment.

Environmental Degradation

The system of global capitalism has caused various forms of destruction. Much of the natural wealth of Indonesia, such as petroleum, minerals, marine life, forest, and genetic resources, are found in indigenous territories, but their wanton exploitation, exacerbated by free trade, has caused ecological, social and cultural damage. The treasures of indigenous knowledge relating to seeds and medicinal plants are stolen by outside parties that then become the basis of new biotechnological and agro-industrial products. Excessive greenhouse gasses emitted by industrial countries pollute the atmosphere, causing depletion of the ozone layer and global warming.

This situation impacts heavily on the lives of farmers and indigenous peoples:

1. Rapid deforestation is destroying biodiversity and transforming the fertile land into a vast desert;
2. Use of fertile land for export crops is forcing peasants to migrate to urban areas;
3. Heightened use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides is causing soil infertility;
4. Shrimp farms are damaging mangrove swamps, making them more vulnerable to flooding;
5. Natural biodiversity is being replaced by monoculture plantations that lead to cutting of trees of considerable value and destroying the rest, leaving only “fields of weeds” and “rubbish.”⁴⁷

Reform and Decentralization

The politics of the New Order fostered uniformity and economic control, which caused people to lose not only sovereignty and freedom of expression but also participation in the processes of governance. Uniformity without compromise destroys identity and diversity in society, resulting in the death of local creativity and potential. Economically, the people lose the opportunity to compete for exploitation of local resources due to state monopoly in management and distribution of economic resources and finances.

In West Kalimantan, decentralization and regional autonomy in the reform era since 1998 have had a powerful influence on local politics and economic development. Regents are given the authority to grant Harvesting of Forest Rights (HPHH) that can cover vast areas in remaining forests, which are Dayak customary areas. Local elections also tend to engender political debts that winning candidates may later be obliged to repay with political favors. Based on his interviews with people who ran for regional posts, local businessman, forestry officials and local journalists, Abdur Massaki Rozaki (2006) found that local leaders were asked to help fund or support candidates for local office and consequently whoever won was indebted to them.⁴⁸

Threat of Liberal Democracy and Militarism

Civil and military conflict usually stems from the following sources: 1) prosecution by the new civilian regime of the previous regime's political crimes; 2) differences in wisdom of civilian regimes and of military organization, structure and control; and 3) issue of military budgets.⁴⁹

The country's civilian leaders have not handled these three problems well after the period of reform, including gradual transfer of power from military to civilian officials. If these cannot be resolved, then military rule could make a comeback. This is a possibility supported by the presence of a number of retired military men in strategic posts and non-interference by civilian officials in implementation of defense policies.

Thirty Years of GPPK and the Future

The work of Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement reinforces the awareness of cultural identity among the Dayak as indigenous peoples of Borneo in particular and of the wider Indonesian archipelago. This consciousness is essentially a collective identity and sense of common fate of indigenous peoples as a group marginalized socially, culturally, economically, politically and ecologically. This can also be seen as an attempt at "self-actualization" by Dayak and other communities through the spirit of solidarity, participation, self-reliance, and critical education towards liberation. As an empowerment movement, GPPK will continue to assist communities, which possess a strong sense of their potential and face internal and external challenges, to advance their role as agents for social change.

As evidenced by its early critiques of foreign researches on Dayaks, GPPK is open to ideas and thoughts outside of the Dayak community. Its main founders and leaders themselves come from various Dayak subtribes living in different regions of the province of West Kalimantan. In addition, GPPK's cooperative relations with organizations and networks at local,

regional, national and international levels have historically shaped its inclusive character in responding to conditions that are against the values of humanity, such as poverty, ignorance and structural oppression.

For now and in the future, GPPK's work and influence, directly or indirectly, will continue to cross ethnic/tribal, cultural, religious and regional boundaries, even countries. As an active member of civil society, it continues to influence the history and dynamics of social movements in Indonesia and particularly of indigenous peoples. This is necessary because the forms of change GPPK promotes are imbued with values rooted in the three foundations of Dayak philosophy, Christian teaching of love, and modern science and technology.

From the perspective of new social movements then, GPPK's achievements, influence and role as well as continuing challenges further serve as motivations to increase the quality of its individual and institutional service and network linkages at all levels. This is in keeping with its goal to be a truly holistic, inclusive and militant empowerment movement dedicated to liberation of the marginalized and to human solidarity. Its 30 years of existence and work are a manifestation of its responsibility of commitment to all its components: activists, institutions/programs and affiliated organizations.

Endnotes

¹ Chapter 1 was written by Richardus Giring who works with the GPPK secretariat.

² (Brinton 1965, 25) as quoted by Mulyadi (2002, 20). The English Revolution was undertaken in reaction to the absolutist reign of Charles I (1625-1649) that resulted in a civil war led by Oliver Cromwell (1642-1649) and hanging of King Charles. The French Revolution began on July 14, 1789 when people stormed the Bastille prison to free a "political prisoner." The democrats and the supporters of republicanism united for the abolition of the monarchy, which ruled harshly and enjoyed great privileges. King Louis XIV lived in luxury and squandered royal funds, while most of the people lived in poverty. The people demanded their rights to own land and to pay taxes only to the State. The cry of the French Revolution was "Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity." The Russian Revolution (1917) was triggered by the

rule of Tsar Nicholas II who did not give any political rights to the people. While a People's Council was formed, it did not fully represent the people, serving merely as an advisory body. The government ruled based on favoritism, a wide social gap existed between rich and poor, and agrarian reform failed. On 7 November 1917 the Russian Revolution, influenced by the socialist praxis of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, claimed victory.

³ Mulyadi 2002, 21-22.

⁴ A.R. Mecer refers to the four basic needs as the "four paths to salvation."

⁵ The transformation of Dayak philosophy in the credit union movement is presented in the book, *Pancur Kasih Credit Union Movement*.

⁶ Wahono Nitiprawira 1987. This book is often cited as reference by those who study religions and social change.

⁷ Paus Yohanes Paulus II, in the 13th ASG document, i.e., Centesimus Annus (1991) in the "Anniversary Rerum Novarum-100" in 1991, asserted that the Social Doctrine of the Church is included in the official teaching of the faith and belongs to theological anthropology—the theology of humans who have been redeemed and graced by Christ.

⁸ New Order refers to President Soeharto's reign, which replaced the Old Order or the era of the Sukarno government. The New Order lasting from 1966 to 1998 tried to correct irregularities committed by the previous administration. During this time, Indonesia's economy developed rapidly, corruption and nepotism became rampant, and the gap between rich and poor increasingly widened. See: http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sejarah_Indonesia_%281966-1998%29, retrieved on March 11, 2011. For 32 years the people of Indonesia lived under Soeharto's New Order regime until the reform movement finally succeeded in overthrowing it in May 1998. Currently, Indonesia is led by the post-reform government.

⁹ Kusni 2001, 50.

¹⁰ Further discussed in following chapters.

¹¹ Both direct and indirect organizational relationship with Pancur Kasih.

¹² See Hadiwinata 1999, 7-21.

¹³ Gellner 1995, 32. Similar to the reference on Hadiwinata 1999, 7-8.

¹⁴ See Fakih 1999, 3-4.

¹⁵ The International Labor Organization is under the United Nations' auspices. ILO Convention 169 was translated by Stephanus Djuweng and Sandra Moniaga. LBBT stands for *Lembaga Bela Banua Talino*, a nongovernmental organization based in Pontianak, West Kalimantan,

which has the same vision as the GPPK movement. ELSAM is *Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat*, a NGO based in Jakarta.

¹⁶ See Djuweng 1998. A paper presented at a seminar organized by A Partnership Action, UNESCO and UNDP Jakarta. The paper was later published under a different title, "Pembangunan dan Marjinalisasi Masyarakat Adat Dayak: Suara dari Kalimantan dalam Menuju Masyarakat Terbuka: Lacak Jejak Pembaruan Sosial di Indonesia." ("Development and Indigenous Dayak Marginalization: Voice of Kalimantan in Towards an Open Society: Track Traces of Social Reform in Indonesia) Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1999.

¹⁷ Masri Sareb Putra 1992, xvii. Evictions long associated with anti-communism were enforced by the New Order regime at the time. The effect of PGRS-PARAKU (*Pasukan Gerilya Rakyat Serawak dan Pasukan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara* [guerrilla troops of Serawak and people's troops of North Kalimantan]) in Indonesian and Sarawak Malaysian border areas in 1967 and the experience of confrontation with Malaysia reinforced the grounds for eviction, although the Dayak were not involved in it.

¹⁸ Van Hulten 1992, 164.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 161.

²⁰ *Saale'atn* in the Dayak Bukit language means the practice of cooperation or work group rotation and reciprocity in farm work. *Pangari* refers to the work practices of Saale'atn. *PanaBaS* stands for *Panamutn Bahata Saruga* where subayatn means the world of the dead; in the Dayak Bukit language, it signifies a container for lunch on the way to subayatn or saruga (heaven). *Belang* is synonymous to the longhouse (Dayak Bukit).

²¹ Djuweng 1996, 6.

²² Executive Director of LP3S-IDRD, 1996-2000.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 27.

²⁴ Today, however, not all Dayak people who converted to Islam necessarily recognize themselves as Malay. The establishment of the Islamic Association of Dayak Families (IKDI) in early 2000 was an attempt to have themselves recognized as Muslim Dayak. They expected this event to open up space for acceptance by both non-Muslim Dayak and other ethnic groups.

²⁵ On this point, see also Melabo 2007. The article was part of a writing contest in Quo Vadis-Dayak Culture during the 17th anniversary of Institut Dayakologi (in the process of publication).

²⁶ Bamba 2010. 415-430.

²⁷ This is evidence that GPPK's various units/programs play a proactive

role as "supporting institutions" in the growth and development of the CU movement in West Kalimantan. This helps explain the principles of independence in unity in the context of the Pancur Kasih empowerment movement model. While these programs were set up to address specific areas of concern in accordance with their respective core competencies, they know that GPPK had a big hand in their establishment. Thus, each program/unit has the moral responsibility to always support the programs of GPPK as a whole.

²⁸ EAF Dokumen 1999.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ BKCU Kalimantan, earlier known as BK3D Kalimantan, has brought together no less than 40 credit unions from all over Indonesia.

³¹ A.R. Mecer was one of those who founded Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation or YKSPK in 1981. Along with two other active founders, A. Somak Milon and M. Maran Aseng, he remains constant in encouraging young activists to realize the GPPK vision and mission.

³² Ibrahim Alqadrie 1994, 249.

³³ See Djuweng 1998. Working paper presented in the 9th conference International NGO Forum on Indonesia Development (INFID) in Bonn, Germany.

³⁴ Policies initiated by Governor-General Daendels in Java that forced indigenous peoples to plant 72 million coffee trees to fund the economic crisis in the Netherlands due to the Belgian War of Independence and the war with Prince Diponegoro (Java War) in 1825-1830. (*Ibid.*)

³⁵ Moniaga 1994, 69.

³⁶ See Djuweng 1992; Djuweng 1997, 7.

³⁷ LP3S is a social organization under the Indonesian Bishops Conference (KWI) based in Jakarta.

³⁸ Indro Sugianto was then Director of LBH Surabaya. Sandra Moniaga is WALHI national executive director who spent several years in Pontianak to conduct assessment, mentoring and preparation for the establishment of LBBT.

³⁹ In the same year in Samarinda, East Kalimantan, Bina Benua Puti Jaji Institute (LBBPJ) was founded with the same vision.

⁴⁰ The idea of establishing PPSDAK started as early as 1990.

⁴¹ See <http://www.pontianakpost.com/?mib=berita.detail&id=7842>. Downloaded November 23, 2009 at 16:25 WIB. Political expropriation of land owned by the people has lately seemed to have a new pattern through ownership and control over the oil palm plantations that are handed over to each family. For example, on the pretext of developing

self-determined oil palm plantations, these last five years have seen a lot of Dayak farmer families in various regions of West Kalimantan replacing their rubber crop gardens with oil palm plantations. The threat of displacement and land grabbing has been made even worse by the fact that mining companies have currently been operating in West Kalimantan Province.

⁴² See ELSAM 1995.

⁴³ Dokumen AMAN 2001.

⁴⁴ This network is comprised by NGOs like LBBT, Institut Dayakologi, WWF Kerinci Seblat, WALHI, and other voluntary organizations.

⁴⁵ See Document and Statutes of the Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of West Kalimantan.

⁴⁶ See *Kalimantan Review Magazine* 1999, no 50.

⁴⁷ The Canadian Ecumenical Jubilee Initiative (CEJI) 2002, 69.

⁴⁸ Massaki and Rozaki 2006, 134.

⁴⁹ Priyono et al. 2005.

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Chapter

2

History, Conception and Aspirations of the Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement¹

Anton Widjaya



Historical Background

Before the era of colonialism, which contributed to shaping much of the world order today, the Dayak ethnic group, as the descendants of indigenous peoples, exercised sovereignty over their land and all the natural resources within it. They were the first and prominent nation who lived and made a living on the island of Kalimantan. The development of imperialism drove European countries to conquer and rule new territories including Kalimantan island, which they considered as *terra incognita*.² Colonialism forced the indigenous peoples' descendants to give up their land and natural resources and destroyed their civilization. This resulted in the Dayak's powerlessness whose consequences are felt to this day.³

The alienation of the Dayak in Kalimantan started even before the arrival of colonialism. Numerous historical docu-

ments cite that various conflicts and battles occurred among Dayak sub-ethnic groups, which practiced the *mengayau* (headhunting) tradition, such as the Iban, Punan, Lamandau, Kenyah, and Kayaan.⁴

During the period of colonialism from early 17th to mid-20th century, the conflict among sub-ethnic groups and their headhunting tradition were used by the British colonial power to divide and rule the various ethnic groups to extend its territory to Malaysia, especially in what are now Sabah and Sarawak states. The British recruited brave men from Iban, Kenyah and Kanyah, among other Dayak sub-ethnic groups, to join other troops in quelling the Chinese and Malay who were revolting against their colonial rule in North Kalimantan.⁵

As descendants of the indigenous peoples in Kalimantan, the Dayak made and developed their living by managing and utilizing nature. Not all of the Dayak sub-ethnic groups practiced headhunting and their desire to avoid conflicts during the period when this custom prevailed made the Dayak lead nomadic lives. The arrival of Malays from Sumatera Island and Malaysia Strait to trade and to spread their religion in Kalimantan added to their nomadism as they moved deeper into the hinterland.

During the Dutch colonial rule, whole kingdoms and sultanates were conquered by the Dutch in West Kalimantan. In order to strengthen their position, the colonialists gave these small kingdoms some power as their surrogate and representative rulers in West Kalimantan.⁶ This colonial strategy widely contributed to the marginalization of Dayak communities. The revived power of the local sultanates and kingdoms caused multilayered oppression of the Dayak and made them second-class citizens in their own land. On one hand, their natural resources and lands were taken away, and their labor and resulting products exploited. On the other, considered by the local rulers as incapable of working in government administration and the sultanate's fields,⁷ they became second-rate citizens employed as servants and slaves in the sultanate's palaces and shrines.

The imperialist rule and occupation of new territories was camouflaged as salvation and development missions

purportedly to save the world from disorder and to introduce the modern and what was advanced as the superior western civilization. The development of these new values, however, eventually eroded Dayak culture and traditions. Through evangelist missions, the imperial rulers established schools, taught their language and instituted their religion as the symbol of development and salvation. Through the new ideology and modernity, *La Mission Sacree*⁸ aimed to civilize the “barbaric people” and destroy their original beliefs, portraying the culture the Dayaks lived and developed as old and backward and thus to be replaced by modern and new values.

During the Japanese occupation of Indonesia from 1942-1945, the Dayak communities once again were victims of colonization. The movement of Japanese soldiers and weapons in the battle against the British in Sarawak caused thousands of Dayaks to be captured and to suffer *romusha* (forced labor) to open road access to North Kalimantan. Forced labor and cruel treatment led to a high rate of work accidents and deaths among the Dayak workers, and others were never found. Some of those who survived decided to stay and live in Sarawak and other places.⁹ According to historical records, Japanese war cruelty claimed 21,037 lives during the three years of Japanese occupation in West Kalimantan.¹⁰ *Juugun Ianfu*¹¹ also occurred, where women, including Dayak women, were rounded up and forced to become sex slaves for Japanese soldiers.

The periods of Dutch rule, Japanese occupation and direct oppression by sultanates and religious institutions inflicted tremendous agony and trauma among the Dayak. Their subjugation became a dark period in their history that later produced numerous negative stereotypes. Various written sources from the colonial era have described the Dayak as primitive, cannibalistic, irrational, dirty, and uncivilized islanders who needed to be modernized.

The resulting stigma produced mental and psychological impacts on the younger generations of Dayak. They suffered a minority syndrome that manifested in feelings of inferiority, lack of confidence and capacity, pessimism, and denial of their tribal identity. A feeling of shame brought many of them to

change their habits and ways of life and to use new names for themselves and their families so as not to be perceived by others as Dayak. Moreover, many decided to marry outside of their tribes and embrace new religions. This situation caused succeeding Dayak generations to be more marginalized and to lose many aspects of their culture and traditional life.

The declaration of independence and establishment of the Republic of Indonesia did not bring a better life for the Dayak community. Independence merely ended conventional colonialism and brought in a new one that has targeted their land and resources in Kalimantan. The wave of neocolonialism, which permeates national development program and policy, negates the sovereign power of Dayak communities to manage their lands. It has in fact ejected the Dayaks from their territories, the very source of their existence.



Effects of Neocolonialism on Dayak Community

During the Old Order under President Soekarno, the first government set up after independence, more political space became available, enabling some Dayak leaders to assume some significant posts in the government.¹² Through *Partai Persatuan Dayak* (PPD/Dayak Unity Party)¹³ and Presidential Decree/Ketetapan Presiden No. 465 issued on 24 December 1959, J.C. Oevang Oeray, a Dayak, was appointed governor of West Kalimantan, and within the same term, four other Dayaks were appointed as mayors of regencies in West Kalimantan: M.Th. Djaman in Sanggau Regency, G.P. Djaoeng in Sintang Regency, A. Syahdan in Kapuas Hulu Regency and A. Djaelani in Pontianak Regency. Unfortunately they could exercise political power only in their administrative jurisdictions and could not provide assistance to all the Dayak communities in West Kalimantan. Moreover, issuance of Presidential Regulation No. VII of 1959 on Requirements and Simplification of Party System put an end to the golden age of Partai Persatuan Dayak.¹⁴

Under the New Order regime of President Soeharto from 1966-1998, Dayak society became more powerless.¹⁵ All of the natural wealth in the lands they owned were perceived as state possession and utilized for national development. The government's development policies, implemented ostensibly to gain economic stability and security and lasted for 32 years, brought a new phase of oppression to indigenous communities, especially the Dayaks in West Kalimantan.

Various regulations on natural resource utilization were issued by the Soeharto administration as the basis for accelerating economic growth.¹⁶ These promoted economic benefits and massive participation by the private sector, allowing big corporations and investors to control Dayak lands and resources. Along with cooperative ventures between government and foreign capital, these regulations caused an economic imbalance that widened the disparity between the rich and the poor.

The inequity extended to the cultural sphere. The government ordered the dismantling of longhouses, a crucial element of the Dayak culture that serves as a system for defense and for transferring knowledge among Dayak generations. Its termination and the transfer of Dayaks to individual houses weakened the spirit of collectivism and increased individualistic character that has led to a degradation of Dayak culture.¹⁷

Further, the government officially recognized only five religions, subduing Dayak indigenous religion and beliefs. To avoid accusations of being atheist and communist, the Dayaks were forced to embrace one of the official religions, although many truly believed in the religion itself. This oppressive regulation caused Dayaks to feel fear and shame in acknowledging and practicing their own indigenous beliefs.¹⁸

In the educational sector, formal education became a part of the colonization process in molding the people's understanding and awareness, aside from being an instrument to propagate the ruling regime's political propaganda. Schools produced new agents who spread foreign concepts and views that considered the Dayak way of life and culture as dull and backward. The mass media were similarly used by the regime

as a vehicle to introduce modernism, influence values, disrupt local culture and change opinion to support its programs.

The period of the New Order is a story of military domination in all aspects of life. From the center of power, military institutions that increasingly played a political and social role, penetrated villages and rural areas through the *Babinsa* (*Bintara Pembina Desa*–Non Commissioned Officer for Developing Villages) program, which aimed to prevent the rise of communism. The government also issued Act No. 21 of 1982 (*ABRI/Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia*–Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia Double Function), a policy on political security that curtailed the freedoms of speech and to establish organizations. Censorship was imposed including publication of books that criticized and exposed government's corruption as well as those promoting Marxism, Leninism and communism, considered latent dangers that had to be eradicated.



Birth of Gerakan Pemberdayaan Pancur Kasih

The system of national governance under the New Order regime did not provide any space for Dayaks to voice their objections or protest. But small critical groups started to surface, especially those formed from religious organizations. The Catholic church in West Kalimantan contributed significantly to the emerging awareness and struggles of the Dayak. In the repressive social and political situation, it could do little social and charitable work through establishing hospitals, dormitories and private schools. But in the 1970s, the Catholic church popularized a social and economic movement through credit unions in West Kalimantan.¹⁹

Among the groups growing critical of the regime's expanding power and Dayak oppression due to unrestrained resource exploitation were young Dayaks who worked or were in school in Pontianak City. Various heart-breaking stories of

marginalization, eviction, prosecution, and even assassination of Dayaks who refused to give up and continued to defend their lands heightened their political consciousness. In the 1970s, such issues that troubled Dayak communities started to arise in every discussion they held.²⁰

From a series of discussions and reflections, this group of young Dayaks affirmed that the Dayak people were a creation of God who had equal potential as other human beings, and thus had to be reawakened to act on the problems they faced and to fight for their freedom and a dignified autonomous life. They believed that the struggle for freedom must be grounded on the potentials they possessed, and these were collectivity, independence and the Dayak culture itself. This discussion group later established the *Yayasan Karya Sosial Pancur Kasih* literally translated as Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation. As A.R. Mecer, one of the members of this discussion group, recounted in an interview:

...initially, there was a concern about human values, especially about the Dayaks whose lives were extremely impoverished at that time. I felt that life is interdependent; without the existence of others, I felt I was unable to stay alive. Without my knowledge, my belief in the existence of God weakened, whereas if we believe that God indeed exists, the situation can possibly be different. Then I started to think that if others can do it, why can't I...²¹

Establishment of YKSPK

Mecer's personal experience in the mid-1970s became one of the inspirations for the birth and struggle of Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation. When he was teaching at the Bruder Foundation School, he met a traveler from North Sumatera who ran out of food after arriving in Pontianak where he was to stay for a week. The man begged to be allowed to stay with Mecer who was still unmarried and lived at a teacher's dormitory at the time. Mecer felt suspicious as the man was

a total stranger, so he politely declined the request. Because of mercy, however, he let the man stay on certain conditions. The traveler conducted himself well and behaved much better than had been expected, and after a week found work in a bank. Several years later, he was able to buy a house and a car and lived a comfortable life.

This experience enlightened Mercer and gave him new insights. “At our first meeting, I believed that I was richer than he,” he recalled. “At least I owned a modest bed and a mosquito net, while he did not. But why could he develop so fast in a relatively short time?” Mecer, who had many land properties in the village, thought: “Why did I not have any hope in life? What’s wrong with me? Why could others live well, while we could not?”

Mecer discussed his insights with his colleagues and other teachers.²² And the discussions developed further, probing not only the problems the Dayaks encountered but also the answers to these. The development of this “Dayak descendants’ group” was attended by the hopes and worries, optimism and pessimism of its members.²³ Such dynamics were influenced by the issues discussed and the repressive social and political condition at the time. The government could punish any action that violated SARA (any violent movement against ethnic groups, religions and races), which included political discussions, being considered a form of opposition under the principle of Indonesian nationalism.

The fact, however, that the members of the discussion group came from different areas and ethnic subgroups enriched the spirit of solidarity among them and the need to take care of one another. Those who comprised this group were:

No.	Name	Place of origin
1	A.R. Mecer	Menyumbung, Ketapang Regency
2	Bruder Dwin	Sanggau Regency
3	Bruder Yohanes, MTB	Lintang, Sanggau Regency
4	Firmus Kaderi	Sejiram, Kapuas Hulu Regency
5	Pasifikus Ahok	Sanggau Regency

6	Herkulanus Yahya	Sejiram, Sanggau Regency
7	Silvester Lawik	Kapuas Hulu Regency
8	Maran Marcellinus Aseng	Landak Regency
9	Markus Alin	Lintang, Sanggau Regency
10	Mgr. Hieronimus Bumbun, OFM Cap.	Belitang Hilir, Sekadau Regency
11	Aloysius Milon Somak	Serengkah, Ketapang Regency
12	Heliodorus, OFM Cap.	Nyarumkop, Bengkayang Regency
13	V. Sa' Anan	Landak Regency
14	Agustinus Syaikun Riady	Manyumbung, Ketapang Regency
15	Thomas Lay	Sumsupm, Sebadu Landak Regency
16	Y.C. Thamboen Anyang	Kapuas Hulu Regency

Source: Manifesto Gerakan Pemberdayaan Pancur Kasih (GPPK Manifesto 2009)

Prior to their establishment of YKSPK, the discussion group went into a long debate on their understanding of the organization's mission and vision. The socio-political situation then greatly influenced the members' attitudes, perceptions and participation in later meetings. After going through various discussions, the group reached a consensus to set up a foundation with a concrete working program and to appoint then 36-year-old A.R. Mecer, who had brought in a lot of ideas and initiatives into the discussions, as its chair.

Through the notary, Tomy Tjoa Kheng Liet, SH, the Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation was officially formed on April 24, 1981. Initially the discussion group proposed the name Yayasan Pancur Kasih,²⁴ but this was changed on the notary's advice to Yayasan Karya Sosial Pancur Kasih. Its first set of officials were: A.R. Mecer (chairman), Thomas Lay (vice chairman 1), Agustinus Syaikun Riady (vice chairman 2), Firmus Kaderi (secretary 1), Maran Marcellinus Aseng (secretary 2), Pastor Heliodorus, OFM. Cap. (treasurer 1), and Aloysius Milon Somak (Treasurer 2).

As the group had set from the very start, YKSPK aimed to achieve social and economic independence for the marginal-

ized and oppressed Dayak society and to solve all the problems they faced.²⁵ Motivated further by the goal to eliminate the stigma of the Dayak as a dependent and backward society, the organization focused on critical education, economic empowerment and culture research and studies as its main working programs. Thus, in 1981 YKSPK established Saint Fransiskus Asisi Middle School²⁶ which, until it had its own building, held classes at the Kanisius Elementary School of Bruder MTB Foundation on Selat Sumba Street in Pontianak. In 1984 it opened another school, the Saint Fransiskus Asisi High School, to accommodate graduates of the Junior School.²⁷

The Dayaks encountered disadvantages in formal education that the YKSPK organizers themselves experienced directly. Some Dayak students had to walk tens of kilometers everyday just to attend primary school. The YKSPK founders who were mostly teachers realized and believed that education was the way to generate critical awareness among Dayaks and the main foundation for changing their life.

Through YKSPK, the founders and the first generation of members started to contribute their work to society. The office complex and school sites that they managed became the center for activities of the Dayak community, especially those from the lower and middle classes who came from hinterland villages to study in Pontianak. If any Dayak fell ill or passed away, YKSPK was the first to be informed. At one time, wooden boards initially intended to build school walls and floors were almost used up to make coffins for Dayaks who died while away from their homes.²⁸ Such realities prodded the founders to initiate and develop other programs that addressed the economic, social and cultural aspects of life. These became the programs/institutions of the Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement.

Beginnings of Pancur Kasih

The use of the term Pancur Kasih has its beginnings in the reflections of A.R. Mecer during his younger days in his home village of Menyumbung in Sandai District, Ketapang Regency. In his family's garden at the edge of the wood lay a small spring that continuously flowed with water. His late father, Mr. Dura, dug out the surrounding soil and created a small pond from which he placed a bamboo tube to channel the flow to water their garden.

This memory of watching his parents make streams out of the small spring and of playing in the woods and helping in the garden became an inspiration for Mecer to establish the Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation. That a simple bamboo tube could help stream down the water from small springs became meaningful. He saw the springs, which represent small potentials, as the symbol of powerless people. When they are organized, these small potentials can transform into an immense power. The bamboo channel on the other hand symbolizes the organizing tool of these small potentials.

A.R. Mecer also drew on his religious beliefs and cultural roots in naming the organization that would bring these potentials to fruition. The word "kasih" comes from "cinta kasih" or love, which is the basic teaching of Christianity. As a Christian, A.R. Mecer believed that by God's blessing, every plan could work and succeed. "Pancur" (which means pour out) is taken from the environment that keeps the Dayaks alive. Fusing these words together for what they represent, A.R. Mecer and his colleagues called the foundation they established in 1981 Pancur Kasih.

The phrase "Pancur Kasih" portrays the need to gather and unite the Dayaks, the poor and the oppressed into a movement that will transform into an immense power of love that can benefit people and the community. This phrase also represents guidance in creating work based on the concept of "serve first, accept later," (a concept akin to give and take that gives more importance and emphasis to service). Independence is the foundation's main goal, and thus its efforts should be based on the path of salvation. This is the true spirit of Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement.

GPPK Founding Principles

“...Principally, in repairing the life quality, we must start from what we have at this moment first. It is not from what must be there or what is ideally there. This is our main principle. Initiating a goal must be started from what we have in ourselves first, that is the main condition of independence. In independence, there is a principle that we are the one who got to be the active agent and by ourselves, not by someone else. Maybe people now call it ‘being participative.’ You do not rely on others, but only in their assisting you to achieve your goal. But we cannot forget that we are part of wider world citizens, therefore we must comprehend the fact and follow the rules and values approved by the global society...”

Mecer 2008.²⁹

The above, as enunciated by A.R. Mecer, explains the fundamental principle in forming the Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement. Self-reliance and observance of universal norms are the basis of all its activities. And guiding its efforts in achieving this goal are the four ways to salvation, which are the embodiment of Dayak philosophy and values by which the Dayak people have lived and managed their existence.

Dayak Philosophy: Four Ways to Salvation

In their daily life, the Dayaks relive and practice their ancestors’ ways of production to develop their lives and manage their lands. It is these daily life practices that GPPK crystallized into the “Dayak Principles and Philosophy” on which it has based its work and struggles. According to A.R. Mecer, the Dayak Philosophy is a way to develop life in Kalimantan’s lands. The philosophy consists of four complementary principles called Four Ways to Dayak’s Salvation:

1. Assurance of Consumption Supply of Basic Life Needs

For Dayaks, daily consumption needs such as food and water, clothes, housing and health are the main requirement or the first step to survive and develop a meaningful life. Production is the key requirement to fulfill these basic needs. As the image of God blessed with reason, the Dayaks perform various forms of land cultivation, and their experiences have become the collective ancestral wisdom that has crafted the concept of sustainable resource management. Dayak farms, *tembawang* (former residential area transformed into garden of fruits and other diverse crops) and plantations, and the ways by which they harvest wood and other forest products show how the Dayak's resource management is guided by collectivism, subsistence and sustainability.

2. Assurance of Seed Supply to be Cultivated

Basic needs fulfillment, which is attained through production activities, is a sustainable effort. For Dayak farmers, reserving part of the harvest products as planting seeds is one of the pivotal activities in the farming cycle. The quality of the planting seed determines the abundance of the harvest; thus prospective seeds are separated from the rest of the harvest and kept in a special storage. Having the best qualified seeds for an abundant harvest contributes to a better life in the future.

3. Assurance of Social-Cultural Needs

Togetherness, solidarity and social relations are the third condition in developing life. As social beings and as a part of the global community, the Dayaks realize that every life activity always requires and involves other beings. Therefore, harmonious relations with fellow human beings should be maintained. Dayak communities have developed and continue to practice various traditions that promote togetherness and solidarity.

Socio-cultural practices such as *ari-bare*, *juruk-barai*, *nemburau*, *berari*, *bedurok*, *belaleq*, *batumuq*, among others, are done voluntarily to ease the burden of fellow community members.³⁰ Gratitude and joy are expressed through various harvest festivities and ceremonies such as *naik dango*, *nyapat taun*, *nyemaru*, and others. Their importance also lies in the fact that happiness and joy are celebrated together by the community.

4. Assurance of Fulfillment of Ritual/Spiritual Needs

For Dayaks, there is no life without God's love and blessings. This is a realization of being a part of God's creations. Thus, obeying the customary law as a form of self-control is required. The rites or spiritual needs function as a balance in the Dayak's relationship with the Creator, fellow beings and nature.

Rites have been performed in society for thousands of years. For the Dayak, these are a form of recognition and submission to the power of God. Rites then become the bridge that connects them to the Creator, their fellow beings and nature.

From various perspectives, rites become the Dayak's mechanism for considering choices, gaining advice and making life decisions. They conduct rites for the Creator, fellow humans and nature for every decision they make, believing that aside from God and man, the universe has a voice made known through signs in nature.

Noble Dayak Values: Seven Fortunes

The four paths of salvation are in line with the lofty social and cultural values of the Dayak's cosmic view that have been preserved for centuries. Their traditional ways of nature management serve as a model for their own development to gain dignity as a society. John Bamba describes these noble values as the "Seven Fortunes of the Dayak":³¹

1. Sustainability (Biodiversity)

For the Dayak, the management of natural resources, such as the forest, is a social, economic and cultural activity and all these dimensions are equally important. Farming, for example, aside from meeting man's physical needs also fulfills social, cultural and spiritual needs. Thus, farming involves many traditional rites and ceremonies. Initially the purpose of planting paddy was to produce rice for humans to consume in order to survive. The process of planting rice, however, is also to commemorate the first "paddy" that arrived on earth. Thus, paddy and "paddy" are equally important to be planted in the fields. The same spiritual aspect is observed with the planting of various vegetables, fruits and flowers in the fields. The belief that the rice fields had lost their "paddy" spirits was the reason why some of them were not developed by the Dayak.

In the Dayak community, monoculture farming is not practiced. It is impossible to find a fruit plantation that only contains *durian* or *rambutan*. Considering this Dayak practice, the introduction of Brazilian gum plants in their farming system ran successfully. The success was not due to the ease in planting gum plants but to the fact that gum plants can grow with other kinds of plants.

The main victim of this multicultural spirituality is productivity. Prioritizing conservation and interconnectivity, the Dayaks choose to sacrifice short-term productivity. It is no wonder that the Dayak social forestry system is considered unproductive.

2. Collectivity (Cooperation)

For the Dayaks, the universe is the home of humans, animals, plants and spirits. On the aspect of ownership, they believe that the universe should be managed together although they still consider the existence of individual rights. Animals and plants assist humans by giving natural signs, while humans provide a place for animals

and plants to live as governed by traditional rules. The invisible beings are also given the right to live, as humans take care of sacred places believed to be their dwellings and avoid land exploitation in these sites.

These principles also operate in the Dayak's farming and socialized forestry systems. They practice free cooperative labor and farm rotation in their cultivation activities.

3. Natural (Organic)

The Dayaks believe that nature has its own power and own way to keep renewing itself so long as it is managed in accordance with its capacity to support a function. Hence, humans need to avoid any excessive intervention towards nature especially when it is done through destructive methods and instruments. As distinguished from fatalism, the Dayak's principle of naturalism is rooted in the spiritual belief that nature has preconditions for its preservation. Therefore, the Dayaks do not use chemical substances, such as fertilizers or pesticides. The fertilizer they use is usually organic, for example, ashes from burnt soil. Plant diseases are usually overcome by renewing the relationship with other elements of nature through various rites.

The above methods may slow down people in achieving and augmenting their intellectual achievements, technology advancement and economic advantages but these ensure nature preservation and sustainability as well as a more humane life. While the use of inorganic fertilizer, for instance, boosts productivity, it also brings detrimental effects on the health of living beings through various types of pollution.

4. Spirituality (Rituals)

The sacred sites are a central place in the Dayak's spiritual life. Usually situated in the woods, these are an

integral part of a forest area that bears the function of the ethnic communities' *lebenstraum*—the world of lives. Woods often function as “places of worship” since the concept of special building for worshipping is not prominent in the indigenous religion.

Therefore, forest cultivation is laden with spiritual elements, which are manifested through the conduct of numerous cultural rites. For example, the process of deciding the location for agriculture (for garden, for example) is conducted based on both rational and spiritual considerations. The location is chosen based on the practical strategic considerations (position, quality, season), social (based on customary law), cultural (tradition), and spiritual (based on nature's signs).

5. Process (Effectivity)

For the Dayaks, good results need to be achieved through noble ways. In forest cultivation, the goal is not only economic but also the ability to perform a life process that exhibits the relation between humans and nature. In other words, the forest is not for fulfilling humans' exploitative aims or for ecological purposes only. Cultivating the forest is a conduct that should be performed by humans as a form of their responsibility to the Creator. As beings with reason and sensibility, humans must become leaders and be the most responsible for nature's preservation. Thus, humans need to cultivate forests fairly and sustainably. They also need to avoid being manipulative and greedy. This forest cultivation ethic is manifested in numerous customary laws and cultural rites.

Within the perspective of global productivity, the forest cultivation performed by Dayaks is considered to be inefficient (in terms of time, human resources and cost) and unproductive. For non-Dayak people, the economic benefits are what is important, while the ecological, social and cultural effects are the inevitable price to pay for them.

6. Subsistence (Domesticity)

Unlike the capitalist economy, which operates on market demand, the economy of Dayak society is based on subsistence needs. In the former, product commercialization becomes a precondition for market competition. This entails increasing product quality, formulating and promoting product image and raising product volume in order to dominate the market. This in turn leads to a race for product innovations. In order to win the competition, business enterprises have to keep on innovating. This sometimes results in scientific modifications that may have harmful effects, such as the use of chemical supplements. In the poultry industry, for instance, broilers are given chemical boosters, and in a more extreme case, their legs and beaks are cut off to escalate their growth. In comparison, native chickens breed naturally, providing healthier products than industrially raised chickens.

7. Customary Law (Locality)

Customary law is a set of rules that are developed based on certain behavioral rules agreed to by the local society. It responds to the local needs and governs the local setting. In forest cultivation, for example, the customary law is established to ensure the sustainability and preservation of nature for the sake of the society itself. The customary law generally regulates land ownership (individual, collective and group), land allotment (how it is used) and various aspects related to the interaction between humans and forests. Hence, customary law, which governs forest cultivation, should be free from any intervention and interest of external parties, including regional and local business entities.

The above social and cultural values are the spirit of the GPPK struggle in maintaining Dayak identity. And it is through the Dayak Philosophy that this identity can be revitalized and strengthened. Improving their production, consumption and investment systems and continued performance of

cultural and spiritual rites, which are based on the Dayak's Seven Fortunes, thus become the Dayak's life capital in fully embracing their submission to the Creator.

Adverse Development: Seven Calamities

This Dayak model of self-development based on a common culture and identity, however, is being suppressed and subverted by mainstream global development enforced by most governments and development agents throughout the world.³² The global development model is perceived as the "Seven Calamities" that undermine the Dayak's existence:³³

1. Productivity (Monoculture)

Large-scale monoculture plantations have become the main farming system, and their expansion into Dayak lands is destroying traditional resource management practices. The arguments promoted by government for plantation expansion is the need to cultivate unproductive land, overcome poverty, open jobs and increase national revenue. These objectives however place Dayak society in a more marginal position. Hundreds of traditional cultivation areas have already been destroyed and replaced by large plantations, and further expansion will lead to more land loss for the Dayak people. By December 2010, 359 corporations were operating plantations with a total area of up to 595,932.57 hectares.³⁴

2. Individuality (Competition)

As individualism and competition increase due to more limited access to natural resources, the tendency towards privatization of indigenous lands also rises. This situation is worsened by the government's refusal to acknowledge collective land ownership in the Dayak community. As a consequence, more community members

are declaring private ownership of indigenous land, reducing the land collectively cultivated by the community. Moreover, privatization can lead to the sale of indigenous land to external parties, which can occur in areas where the enforcement of customary law is weak.

3. Engineered (Inorganic)

The operation of large-scale plantations also generates problems of massive deforestation and chemical pollution (from pesticide, insecticide, fungicide, among others). The pollution affects the condition of surrounding forests and indigenous agricultural lands. The burning of forest areas to clear land for plantations produces thick haze that can spread to neighboring countries and turn into a calamity. In the long term, such deforestation can result in disastrous floods and river overflows. According to JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) researchers, Kapuas River, which currently has only 50 meters declivity and 1,200-km length, will be the biggest environmental threat if deforestation continues. They also note that of 3.5 million hectares reserved by the government for plantations, only 15 percent is suitable for palm oil cultivation, and large-scale pollution will occur if plantations continue to operate.

4. Rationality (Scientific)

The revolution in people's mindsets, especially as it is occurring among the young Dayak generation as a result of various external influences, has weakened the Dayaks' practice of indigenous wisdom especially in resource management. Lately, indigenous practices have been changing and being replaced by exploitative methods, including destructive logging as chainsaws become more accessible and cheaper. This shift in mindset is dominated by rationality without the balance of cultural and spiritual traits, causing people to become greedier and to think only of short term benefits.

Today, many indigenous individuals in the Dayak community are involved in logging and mining businesses without a thought for the environmental destruction and pollution resulting from their operations. Their main motive is economic gain that unfortunately replaces the indigenous community's interest.

5. Result (Efficiency)

While efficiency is not bad, using it and rationality as reasons for repudiating and replacing the Dayak's traditional ways of managing natural resources can lead to more problems. The use of chainsaws, for instance, has accelerated forest degradation and transformed the forest into a mere economic commodity. This disrupts the forest's cultural and spiritual functions, which are part of the indigenous community's identity. This is also true of the use of chemical devices and inputs in place of traditional fishing and farming methods that have increased pollution and health risks.

6. Commerciality (Market)

Another threat to Dayak traditional land cultivation is the commercialization of forests. Today forest land is considered an economic commodity that can be sold to another party for economic gain. This perspective has gained ground among many community members, often causing tension and conflicts between members. This occurs because Dayak land is generally collectively-owned, and thus the decision on its management and use is also collectively shared. Conflicts are more likely to happen whenever an economic offer is made by businessmen or investors. This divides the community, weakening its bargaining position. Commercialization has reached individual trees. For instance, in an indigenous community in Ketapang, the owner's name is posted on standing trees before these are sold to local businessmen.

7. *State Law (Global)*

Globalization is the source of economic woes suffered by indigenous communities throughout the country. This starts from legislation that disregards the interests and rights of indigenous peoples to shifts in perception. These are part of the negative excesses of globalization.



Pillars of Empowerment Movement

Many changes are occurring in the life of the Dayak today. Among these is covert colonization, which has become stronger and more widespread, influencing social, economic, political and global cultural interactions, and human values. The threat and challenges of western hegemony and globalization in virtually all spheres of life have pushed some members of indigenous and religious groups into fundamentalism. Their inability to develop ideologies and actions to overcome modernization has led them to choose other than modern ways to maintain their existence. This social frustration often manifests in destructive and abusive acts that unfortunately damage the image of their own religion or ethnic group.

Economic globalization and ideological politicization, however, should be opposed through peaceful and non-violent means. GPPK has thus formulated several principles that are the movement's guidelines in fighting misguided globalization.³⁵ Interpreting the movement from a theological perspective, GPPK reframed the paradigm for struggle. It undertook a process of re-reading and interpreting its action-reflection experiences that allowed it more room to strengthen, correct and affirm values, concepts and benefits.

As outlined in the GPPK Manifesto, one area to be considered in creating a new social order is the teachings of Abrahamic religions. In the Abrahamic religious tradition, in addition to private sin is social sin, which is defined as a transgression that forms a vicious pattern that entraps individuals,

making it difficult for them to free themselves. A concrete form is the present situation that often leads to poverty, ignorance and spiraling violence. These are manifestations of economic globalization, unrestrained ideological politics and loss of human dignity resulting from technological and cultural globalization. As these problems are institutionalized, the solution cannot be achieved merely through individual efforts but through structural change. Participation, commitment and struggle for poverty alleviation and equality are part of what is demanded of every believer or follower of any religion and tradition.³⁶

In addition to the teachings of Abrahamic religions, Nitiprawiro cites the following as other significant considerations in creating an ideal social, economic, political and cultural order:

1. Teachings of indigenous religions;
2. Traditions and customs in line with the values and conceptions followed by various indigenous communities;
3. Liberty, equality and fraternity, as was the French Revolution's cry, that are acknowledged as the starting point for awareness of universal basic human rights;
4. Pancasila as the basic principle of the Indonesian nation that was formed by its particular struggle against colonization as well as part of the international struggle to free the world from colonization.³⁷

A re-reading of GPPK action-reflection experiences also showed four paradigms and pillars of post-modern liberation that can be tested through current scientific standards and conceptions. These are:

1. Independence

Independence can be defined not only as territorial autonomy or territorial freedom but as human independence as God's highest creation.

2. Solidarity

Solidarity is not merely a brotherhood that is based on blood ties or marriage but on respect for the individual's uniqueness or group's plurality. All parties involved must put effort into making it a reality.

3. Social justice

Social justice does not entail only equality but also the fulfillment of every person's basic needs in all spheres of life.

4. Populist

Populist denotes not only love for one's nation or to uphold the principle of nationhood. It also concerns love for humanity, especially the marginalized.

5. Non-violence

Peace or non-violence is the ultimate requirement in fulfilling the four basic values above. Independence, solidarity, social justice and populism cannot be obtained if we choose a violent path.

The principle of non-violence is important to GPPK since it cannot be separated from the initial meaning of "Pancur Kasih," which inspired the movement's name.

These pillars form the values that GPPK has adopted as the basis for its programs to serve the goal of creating a more fair and just social order. Based on GPPK's various experiences, learning processes and ideas it has developed, these basic values are inseparable parts of Dayak culture. Their advancement by GPPK aims to contribute to liberating the Dayaks from their oppressed situation as well as to present their life principles to the nation and the world. In this

manner, it also intends to introduce and fight for a friendlier globalization that focuses on science, humane technology and culture promoted through non-violent ways. GPPK believes that violence will only trigger more vicious violence.

GPPK Vision and Mission

The GPPK vision and mission has undergone several refinements through various periods in response to political developments, new ideas and problems encountered by Dayak and other local communities. The initial GPPK goal was formulated after a vigorous process of discussions, as among the challenges it then faced was the repressive and politically hostile New Order regime. The GPPK founders framed the goal as a protest movement by a marginalized society against the oppressive system. In the practice of its work, however, GPPK has always been in line with Indonesia's Constitution, as can be seen in the first formulation of GPPK's vision:

*Dayak Society can determine and manage their politics, economy, culture, and social lives independently and united within the framework of acknowledgement, respect, and protection as guaranteed by Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945.*³⁸

When it could respond to the problems of injustice and inequality more openly, GPPK decided to transform from a charitable movement helping poor Dayaks when needed to one that actively works for indigenous rights, especially of the Dayak people. It created various units and institutions in order to undertake more focused work and new mechanisms to manage and synergize these institutions as they expanded.

In 1996, GPPK fused Christian teaching and Dayak ancestral wisdom, which became the foundation of its struggle. In a general meeting in Wisma Emaus Nyarumkop on 18 June 1996, the following beliefs were adopted as the moving spirit of the GPPK movement: God is Love and all humans

are the equal manifestation of God's love. In addition, GPPK integrated into its work the realization that it was not only Dayak society that was marginalized but also other indigenous communities.

These developments led to an adjustment of GPPK goals. The "Dayaks" was redefined to mean Dayak and other non-Dayak communities who were similarly oppressed and marginalized. Thus, the use of quotation marks in the word "Dayak." The reformulated goal was:

*The 'Dayak' Society can determine and manage their politics, economy, culture, and social lives independently and united within the framework of acknowledgement, respect, and protection as guaranteed by Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945.*³⁹

As GPPK began to expand its relations and networks on the local, national and international levels, various institutions outside of West Kalimantan began increasingly to request it to share its story and experiences about its work. This brought the realization that GPPK's work was basically a manifestation of the struggle to uphold the Dayak's dignity and sovereignty as an indigenous community. The growing appeals for facilitation from various networks prompted GPPK to consolidate once again and upgrade the internal management of the movement. In a reflection meeting in 2000, GPPK agreed to the formation of SegeraK Pancur Kasih to serve its members and conduct the same empowerment mission for Dayaks and other indigenous communities in other areas of Kalimantan. Thus, GPPK reformed its vision statement:⁴⁰

*The indigenous community, especially the Dayak indigenous community in Kalimantan can determine and manage their politics, economy, culture, and social lives independently and united to achieve independence in solidarity and love to regain their dignity and sovereignty.*⁴¹

Much learning was gained from GPPK's work towards attaining a social and political order that is responsive to the interests of Dayak society and other indigenous communities. Its realization of being a part of an independent, pro-peace and just global society also motivated GPPK to expand its main goal. Through the movement's transformation process conducted in 2008, GPPK drew up a future framework with three main goals: social and economic independence, cultural dignity and political sovereignty. Its new vision and mission are as follows:

Vision:

"The 'Dayak' Society and the marginalized society in general can determine and manage their lives in solidarity and love in order to achieve economic independence, be culturally dignified and politically sovereign."

Mission:

"To save the Dayaks liberation movement from social, cultural, and economic domination as well as oppressive politics"

Main Goals

Cultural and Social Autonomy

In the 20 years of its cultural movement, GPPK through various publications, researches, advocacies and forums has contributed to reviving Dayak culture and restoring the Dayak people's self-esteem. Considering this accomplishment and the social and political situation in West Kalimantan, the cultural movement has to take on a new strategic role to stay relevant. As part of the indigenous and peasant communities in a developing country, the Dayak people are in a process of transformation, and their struggle for identity and culture plays a significant role in determining the form and goal of

this change. This is so in order that they are not categorized as merely one of various ethnic groups or, worse, trapped in ethnocentrism.

The fact that Dayak people and culture have changed since the 1980s has become a key foundation for the GPPK culture movement. This is also a basis to conduct studies on non-Dayak society's cultural development. The studies serve as a material to examine the relations between Dayaks and other societies as well as to determine new directions in the cultural movement. As part of global society, the Dayaks need to relate and interact with other societies, and in this interaction, overcome the feeling of inferiority and alienation. They have to alter their view of themselves as victims to survivors who can deal with difficulties and discrimination. This condition has compelled the Dayaks to reaffirm their identity as contemporary Dayak with dignity.

Thus the GPPK mission to promote a social and cultural order where the Dayak people can live with respect and practice their ancestral traditions as equal to other cultures remains relevant. This mission aims to create a dignified social and cultural life for Dayaks and other indigenous societies. Possessing dignity means to uphold and to perform the ancestral traditions freely and without any discrimination from other groups. This entails promotion of the noble values in the indigenous traditions or the Dayaks' Seven Fortunes as the foundation for a socio-cultural system for Dayaks and indigenous communities in general. This however does not mean disruption of other people's existence and nature.

Learning from Nelson Mandela, GPPK's task to eliminate discrimination and inferiority can be done by cutting off the culture of violence and raising truth as the basis of peace and reconciliation. Maintaining the paradigm of a victim of discrimination will only spawn inferior and materialistic individuals.

Economic Autonomy

In the midst of the recent economic crisis, community-based small economic enterprises have stayed strong, showing the resilience of a people's economy. While the government favors hugely capitalized corporations, which caused the country's financial woes, community-based businesses can help millions of marginalized Indonesians.

We must, however, differentiate between the terms "people's economy" and "populist economy." People's economy is conducted by common people who are often compelled to do business because they have no choice. On the other hand, populist economy is a system of policies that give people work choices. The former without the support of the latter cannot be sustained, while populist economy, by itself, can support the running of a people's economy. Thus, it can be inferred that people's economy is the manifestation of the policies of a populist economy.

In Indonesia, the conduct of a populist economy was decided on by the founding fathers, as contained in Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution. The article states that the land, the waters and the natural resources within shall be "under the powers" of the State and "shall be used" to the greatest benefit of the people. The phrase "under the powers" of the State means the natural resources are not under the control of people, ethnic groups or big corporations, while the phrase "shall be used to the greatest benefit of the people" means these are not to be exploited for the interest of the government or the ruling regime.

As the devastation of indigenous societies shows, however, globalization and neo-liberalization have fueled the greed of elites. The technological and information revolution has resulted in even wider greed, not only on a personal but on a more expansive scale. In social change, the transformation of the individual is hampered if the economic and political system remains the same. This is because individual change entails a structural change, while the latter is triggered by individual change. An alternative solution to globalization

and neo-colonization must be founded on both structural and individual transformations.

A potential and independent economic system that carries the spirit of a populist economy is the credit union. Its sustainability will be determined by national and international legal frameworks as well as those on the local level. At the macro level, for instance, there is need to abolish the national regulation that opposes populist economy (Article 33 of 1945 Constitution) and to limit foreign investments and currency and capital liberalization. On the micro level, MK. Gandhi's concept of *Village Swaraj* (self-sufficiency) must be developed as expressed in the following practices of self-reliance:

- a. Every village must be able to plant crops, fruits and cotton for its own needs;
- b. Every village must be able to provide grass, grazing and forest areas and services for livestock, clean air, public recreation and children's playgrounds;
- c. The remaining land must be used for cash and perennial crops, such as coffee, copra, cocoa, tea and clove and so forth. But crop variety should be maintained, while monoculture crops should be avoided as they destroy the environment;
- d. Entertainment and sports centers, schools and places for worship and other public gathering must be provided for the public;
- e. The society must take care of and maintain water sources and supply for the people;
- f. Children should be provided nine years of free and quality formal education;
- g. Every village must have a good water and sanitation management system;
- h. Every house must be constructed to be earthquake-resistant and have enough access to the sun's rays and good air flow;
- i. Natural and human resources must be utilized optimally for the local people's welfare, especially service and local resource-based industries;
- j. Health facilities must be accessible to the people;

- k. Wherever possible, all economic activities must be governed, held and organized on cooperative basis.

Gandhi's ideas of self-sufficiency serve as a guideline in support of a populist economy as well as a critique of views opposing it. Various concepts have been developed in the fight against government policies that favor capital and big corporations. The concept of "no pain, no gain" as suggested by Christian and Gandhi's teachings, reproves those who become financial speculators who gain wealth not by working but by deceiving and manipulating others. Work, as formulated by Pope John Paul II in *Laborem Exercences* and by E.F. Schumacher, is about actualizing one's self to his utmost potential and is governed by moral values, respect and justice. Deception of others cannot be defined as work as the act negates justice and respect for others; it does not also entail actualization of one's self as, on the contrary, it degrades the person's dignity, no matter how noble the pursuit.⁴²

GPPK's work towards economic autonomy must face the challenges of mainstream economic development the government has adopted. And these are the earlier discussed "Seven Calamities or Curses of the Dayaks."⁴³

Political Autonomy

GPPK perceives politics as a way to liberation and equality of every individual on this earth. Without this notion, politics would merely be a battle between political groups and powers.

In the political sphere, GPPK has only two choices: accepting life within the current democracy or to risk living on the edge under authoritarianism. Of the three governments that led the country since the declaration of independence, the first two, Guided Democracy and New Order, were authoritarian regimes that adversely affected and ended up tragically for many individuals. Considering this, GPPK decided to follow the path of democracy.

Democracy is a political system that provides channels for the individual to freely express his political choice for leaders

to rule the country under the rights to gather, communicate and obtain information through non-violent and periodic elections. It also provides for decision making institutions to ensure a legitimate government. A good democracy gives the citizen enough freedom, political equality and control of public policy through legitimate lawful institutions. This is a middle way between one side of democracy that highlights empirical, descriptive, institutional and procedural conduct and the other side that emphasizes rational, utopian and idealistic approaches.⁴⁴

For GPPK, the struggle for political freedom means reforming the social, economic and cultural order to be more democratic and to advance the people's well being. To open up democratic space, GPPK believes that a political movement and struggle must be waged. And this can be achieved by creating and optimizing the space for people's daily political participation in strengthening the initiative for economic, social and cultural independence for the Dayaks and the whole indigenous community in Indonesia.

Endnotes

¹ This chapter was written by Anton P. Widjaya, a GPPK activist who worked with Institut Dayakologi from 2006 to 2011. He is currently the executive director of Walhi West Kalimantan (Friends of the Earth, West Kalimantan).

² Unoccupied land/vacant land/uninhabited land.

³ Bamba 2004. Paper presented at the National Consultation on Environment, Walhi Indonesia. Pontianak.

⁴ Patebang. 1998. Explained: "Mengayau is a rite or tribal procession that is filled with oral tradition. The essence and the purpose of 'pengayauan' can only be understood in the structural domain of the oral tradition itself. The Pengayauan tradition is full of mystery, rich with supernatural meaning which results in the rare documentation of the mentioned rite..."

Lontaan JU 1974. Wrote: "...5 (five) motives of the conduct of Pengayauan tradition are: (1) To prevent the attack of plant disease and insects in order to gain plentiful harvest in the field cultivation tradition; (2) To augment the power and soul, which is related with the supernatural power for family and self protection as well as the

sub-tribe members' safety; (3) It is correlated with the vengeance which can be manifested after conducting various tribal procession; (4) As a protective agent for the establishment of new buildings; (5) To obtain slaves or labors..."

Bamba 2001. Said "...not much of the young generation now who completely understand and own extensive knowledge on the 'mengayau' tradition, it is due to the degradation of the tradition in the late 18th century and the total loss of the practice at the middle of this century. It is now impossible for the present generation to learn about the past as the culture was not familiar with the written form of documentation. There are some books produced from the researches and observations by the foreign scholars. It is, however, difficult to access them. Besides the difficulty in understanding the foreign language, the documents were written by foreign people who own different perceptions, backgrounds and motivations..."

⁵ Mark Cleary and Peter Eaton in Bamba 2001, 71.

⁶ Usep Ranawidjaja in: *Swapradja: Sekarang dan Dinihari Kemudian* (Jakarta: Djembatan, 1955) gave four reasons why the colonial Dutch maintained those kingdoms: limitation of resources, unwillingness to provide welfare to the colonized area, people were easily governed by their kings and to avoid people's revolt.

⁷ Tasanaldy 2007.

⁸ La Mission Sacree is a term used by J.J. Kusni, PhD in describing the impact of imperialism in Dayak land. *Kalimantan Review Majalah* (English version) Vol I, 1999. See also Fridolin Ukur, Tantang-Djawab Suku Dajak: Suatu Penjelidikan tentang Unsur-unsur Jang Menjekitiri Penolakan dan Penerimaan Indjil di Kalangan Suku Dajak dalam rangka Sedjarah Gereja di Kalimantan. (Djakarta, BPK Gunung Mulia, 1971).

⁹ See Isnaeni and Ombak 2008. Which notes that *Romusha* means slave or worker. The Romusha were Indonesians who suffered forced labor during the Japanese occupation in Indonesia in 1942-1945. They were sent to work in South Asia and other countries, such as Burma, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, and Solomon Islands.

¹⁰ http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peristiwa_mandor.

¹¹ *Juugun Ianfu* is a name associated with local women who were gathered and forced to be sex slaves for Japanese soldiers in Indonesia and in other countries within the period 1942-1945.

¹² Old Order is the Soekarno administration era in 1945-1965. This regime is Indonesia's first administration after colonialism. The term, Old Order, was introduced by Soeharto who led the next administration. This second period is called the New Order regime (1966-1998).

¹³ Partai Persatuan Dayak (PPD) was a local political party established in 1945 in Pontianak, West Kalimantan. In the 1955 general election, PPD fielded 21 candidates of 29 available positions. It gained one seat in the House of Representatives, 3 seats in the Constituent Council and 12 seats in the Provincial House of Representatives in West Kalimantan.

¹⁴ Presidential Regulation No. VII of 1959 on Requirements of Party Simplification obliged every political party to have branches in at least seven provinces in Indonesia. This condition led to the deactivation of PPD. The members then joined other parties with different ideologies such as Partindo, Partai Katolik or Partai Demokrasi Indonesia. In the New Order era, all the Dayak political figures were considered pro-Soekarno, and their political careers were destroyed by the new regime.

¹⁵ The New Order or President Soeharto's administration lasted from 1966-1998. It was characterized by fast economic development, immense corruption and huge disparity between the have and the have-nots. In May 1998, the Reformation Movement toppled this government. At present, Indonesia is led by the post-reformation government. (lihat:http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sejarah_Indonesia_%281966-1998%29).

¹⁶ Under the New Order, development and finance were regulated through Ketetapan MPRS No. XXIII/MPRS 1966. This regulation was followed by the issuance of Act No. 1 of 1967 on Foreign Investment, Act No. 5 of 1967 on Forestry Affairs and Act No. 11 of 1967 on Mining Affairs and Act No. 6 of 1968 on Domestic Investment.

¹⁷ John Bamba, *Op.cit.* p. 94.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 95.

¹⁹ GPPK Transformation Team. *Op.cit.* p.32.

²⁰ From 1975-1978, the social and economic condition of the Dayak people who were helpless in inland West Kalimantan was the key topic of nonformal discussions of A.R. Mecer, Fedastus, and their friends who at that time were students of universities in Bandung. Upon returning to Pontianak, their spirit to understand, discover and resolve the issues the Dayaks faced increasingly strengthened and so was their intention to establish an organization. These two things were their main discourse in a series of discussions in Pontianak.

²¹ Widjaya and cs. 2008.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ The number of participants who attended the discussions was not always the same because of differences in views and thinking, with some in favor and others against the ideas being discussed.

²⁴ The notary officer advised that as Pancur Kasih was a social work organi-

zation, it needed the words “social work” in its name. Thus, the organization’s name was changed to “Yayasan Karya Sosial Pancur Kasih.” (From an interview with the founder, A.R. Mecer, in Pontianak, 2008).

²⁵ The first vision statement of Yayasan Karya Sosial Pancur Kasih was: “Dayak society can determine and manage their politics, economy, culture and social life independently and with solidarity within the framework of acknowledgement, respect, and protection as ensured by Pancasila and 1945 Indonesia Constitution.”

²⁶ The first school name proposed in its application for a permit with the Education Bureau was SMP Pancur Kasih. The administrator considered the name strange and proposed the word Saint to show the Catholic character of the school. The founders, A.R. Mecer and Firmus Kaderi, initially thought of St Fransisco Xaverius, then changed it to St. Fransiscus Asisi.

²⁷ The main program, ideas and other work that have, are and would be done by YKSPK (or GPPK) are further discussed in succeeding chapters.

²⁸ K. Haidi (with PPSDAK-PK), a senior activist, who at the time was working on school buildings, built coffins for the Dayaks who died in Pontianak from 1984-1990 before DSMD (Dana Solidaritas Masyarakat Dayak, one of YKSPK’s units) existed.

²⁹ Widjaya and cs. 2008.

³⁰ *Ari-bare* in Dayak Krio language, *berari* in Dayak Jawan, *bedurok* in Dayak Mualang, *juruk-barai* in Dayak Jalai, *belaleq* in Dayak Kanayatn are examples of Dayak solidarity. These are terms for agricultural work and shared work.

³¹ Bamba 2005. Paper presented in the seminar “Sepuluh Tahun Gerakan Sistem Hutan Kerakyatan di Kalimantan Barat” held by Supporting Program of Pancur Kasih Community Based Forest System, Pontianak, 16 September.

³² Bamba 2010.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ The palm oil plantation permits issued in West Kalimantan as of December 2010 were as follows: land information permits to 24 corporations covering 173,989.00 hectares, location permits to 69 corporations with 708,949.79 hectares, Izin Usaha Perkebunan (IUP) or plantation business permits to 173 corporations with 2,122,687.99 hectares, and Izin hak Guna Usaha (HGU) to 93 corporations with 576,611.90 hectares. There are 359 corporations in the process of obtaining permits to operate a total area of 3,582,238.88 hectares. As of now these 359 corporations have conducted land clearing, seedling and cultivation on a total area of 595,932.57 hectares. (Provincial Estate Crop Office of West Kalimantan, January 2011)

- ³⁵ See Nitiprawiro 2009, 135. In *Manifesto Gerakan Pemberdayaan Pancur Kasih* (Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement Manifesto) Pontianak.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 134.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 135.
- ³⁸ Document of The Establishment of Yayasan Karya Sosial Pancur Kasih. 1981. Quoted from *Manifesto Gerakan Pemberdayaan Pancur Kasih* (Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement Manifesto). Pontianak. 2009.
- ³⁹ Document of The Establishment of Yayasan Karya Sosial Pancur Kasih. 1981. Quoted from *Manifesto Gerakan Pemberdayaan Pancur Kasih* (Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement Manifesto). Pontianak 2009.
- ⁴⁰ The units and institutions established by GPPK are further discussed in succeeding chapters.
- ⁴¹ Segerak Establishment Document– Pancur Kasih 2000 (internal document).
- ⁴² The analysis on people's economy and populist economy is taken from Francis Wahono's paper "Ekonomi Kerakyatan: Di antara Gurita Korporasi dan otonomi setengah hati" (Populist Economy: Between the Corporation Octopus and Half-hearted Autonomy) presented in RAT BK3D. Palangkaraya 2007.
- ⁴³ Bamba, John. *Op.Cit.*
- ⁴⁴ Pabotinggi 2003.

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Developing Critical Humans¹

Matheus Pilin, Silvia Sayu and Antimus



Need for Critical Education

From the very start, the founders of Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation made education its main program, a decision impelled by the negative stereotyping and labeling of Dayaks as an ignorant society. The fact that they were colonized for so long was also another ground for the urgency to begin developing critical awareness among them. A third reason were the many impediments they faced to gain access to formal education.

The long colonization of the Dayaks under various rulers greatly influenced their social and economic condition as well as their mindset. Under the reign of the sultanate, the land and natural resources crucial to the Dayaks' survival were in the hands of a powerful few. This was the same condition during the Dutch colonial rule that was dominated by the commodity

trade. And resource exploitation continued during the New Order regime to the Reformation era. All these conditioned the outlook and frame of mind of most Dayaks. Throughout this entire period, the Dayak people lived in silence, having no courage to protest the injustice or even to conduct business, to negotiate their position or to exercise their political rights.

The negative stereotypes of the Dayak also became prevalent, and whether true or not, the assumptions behind them contributed to conditioning their mentality; intimidated, they became gullible and naive. This was one of the hindrances to their being critical humans. In addition, the Dayak's access to formal education was low. Schools, teachers and support facilities were very limited, and as a consequence, they found it difficult to pursue or continue their education.

Reflecting on these three factors, the founders of YKSPK saw education as an immediate need for Dayaks, especially for those from the hinterlands of West Kalimantan. In 1981 along with the establishment of YKSPK, they agreed to launch education as the foundation's first and main empowerment program. The most appropriate strategy then under the New Order regime was to set up formal schools to ensure that Dayak children from interior areas of West Kalimantan province would gain sufficient knowledge and working skills. YKSPK established the Saint Fransiskus Asisi Schools for middle and high school age youth. The GPPK activists and their families who came from the hinterland and from various ethnic subgroups were the recipients of YKSPK's initial work in education.

Aside from these formal schools, YKSPK also developed non-formal education to provide Dayak children skills in sewing, cooking, fish farming, organic farming, automotive training, driving and woodcraft. The participants were graduates and students from Asisi schools who lived in YKSPK dormitories located in the school compounds and school drop-outs from rural areas of the province. Dayak female teachers who lived in Pontianak volunteered as sewing course instructors. In addition to skills courses, YKSPK through its partner network organizations provided seminars, workshops and training.

Development of GPPK Education Model

The education initially implemented in 1981 was largely in the form of teaching practice, as most of the YKSPK founders were teachers. Teaching and educating skills became the basic capital for the Pancur Kasih education model. The model was learning by doing, which they had to operate under the New Order's dominant and discriminatory structure. Because of the political condition, YKSPK had to continue developing and adapting it to ensure the sustainability of its education program in West Kalimantan.

The YKSPK educators prepared learning resources for the Pancur Kasih activists such as training, courses and internship, but these were not as well planned as those of other organizations. As a strategy to carry out its education program for Dayak villagers, they employed appropriate texts in the Indonesian Constitution although they recognized that it had contributed to the country's social and economic problems. Some of the constitutional language they used were: "...to improve public welfare, to educate the life of the people... perpetual justice and social justice..."²

To discuss economy and social justice, they referred to the following article on Economy and Social Justice that states:

- (3) The land, the waters and the natural resources within shall be under the powers of the State and shall be used to the greatest benefit of the people.
- (4) The organization of the national economy shall be conducted on the basis of economic democracy, upholding the principles of togetherness, efficiency with justice, continuity, environmental perspective, self-sufficiency, and keeping a balance in the progress and unity of the national economy...³

In the 1990s some Dayak college students volunteered in YKSPK and bravely raised the issues of access to education and the need to oppose the authoritarian and discriminatory system. The GPPK activists then were increasing their knowledge, becoming more astute in their understanding of Dayak

social problems and more critical of education paradigms. They started to reorganize non-formal education and to initiate cooperation with NGO networks including those concerned about condition and issues of the Dayak community.

The GPPK education program developed and spread as collaboration with local, national and international institutions expanded. GPPK conducted various education and capacity building programs in a collaborative and integrated manner for both villagers and GPPK activist educators. The educators were introduced to new perspectives, liberating radical views, various ideas and terminology such as constituent, oppressed society, marginalized society, structural impoverishment, systematic duping, social rights, basic human rights, social organizing, participatory, empowerment, liberation, and so forth. These were discussed and learned through various forums, dialogues and debates. This led GPPK activists to conduct critiques and self-critiques of their organization as well as to develop the concept of empowerment in education.

Cooperation with various institutions also helped GPPK activists to strive to realize the GPPK ideology of continuous empowerment and liberation of society. From such cooperation and friendship, on both personal and professional levels, they came to learn about the ideas and theories of Paulo Freire who became one of GPPK's inspirations in the development of its education model.

Ideas that Inspired GPPK

One of Freire's ideas that stirred GPPK is that the vocation of man ontologically is to be the actor/subject, not to be the bearer/object. Grounding his ideas on the concept of humanism and dehumanization, Freire contended that the real life calling of man is to be a conscious subject who is able to overcome the world and its oppressing reality. Therefore, a real human being can always progress toward new possibilities for a richer and meaningful life individually or collectively. This "world," as conceived by Freire, is not a fixed, closed or given order, which people must always accept and adapt themselves

to. In fact, this world is a complexity that must always be repaired and struggled for.⁴

Another significant idea of Freire is the “problem-posing” education model, which has the following characteristics. First, people must act together upon their environment in order to critically reflect upon their reality and so transform it through further action and critical reflection. Through this education, they will view the world not as a stationary but a changing condition where everything keeps on moving.

Second, it affirms that men and women are beings in the process of becoming, and this is a never ending process. Freire’s problem-posing education is a deconstruction approach to the colonized mindset as well as to a false consciousness where a belief or view prevents a person from genuinely understanding the true nature of a situation. He categorized human consciousness into three levels: magical consciousness, naïval consciousness and critical consciousness. This categorization inspired GPPK educators and facilitators to analyze the Dayaks’ level of consciousness and try to raise it from the magical and naïval to the stage of critical consciousness.

As Freire explained it, in understanding that humans are imperfect beings who get caught in the unresolved complexities of life, it is important to keep on improving education by considering the importance of praxis, the process by which a lesson or skill is enacted, practiced, embodied or realized. This practical application must be harmonized with the ideas and the existence of human beings themselves. If these are separated, extreme polarization will occur, which is the sacrifice of activism. Therefore, the use of praxis as reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it within the system is essential.

A third feature of problem-posing education is that it requires a revolutionary manner (dialectic attempt) towards the future that must accommodate hope and is consistent with the goal of human welfare. Fourth, in a humane liberation praxis, individuals can only be liberated if they fight for their own freedom and fifth, problem posing education does not and cannot serve the oppressors’ interest.⁶

It is this education model that inspired and moved GPPK to transform its Dayak context—education by seeing Dayaks and other oppressed people equally as subjects. In the context of human philosophy, the Dayak, who is the subject, is human in the image of God, possessing of reason and a valuable character; he is a creation of God whose rights to life and to make a living cannot be violated. The Dayak is also a social being who grows together with other beings in equality and who needs to maintain harmonious relations with them, with the Creator and with the universe. Thus, Dayaks have to nurture and sustain a balanced environment that can benefit the many and enable them to live lives that can lead to perfection, since rationality, consciousness, spirituality, morality, socialism and harmony with the universe would have all been developed.

For Freire, humans are incomplete and unfinished beings, and education has double powers: as a cultural action for liberation and as a medium for producing a new social system. This prominent 20th century education philosopher who has roused the world with his creative ideas and his commitment to the oppressed declared:

“...Dehumanization, although a concrete historical fact, is not a given destiny but the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed” (Paulo Freire and Consietizacao).

Freire emphasized that an unjust system is oppressive because only through oppression can a ruling group continue an inequitable system. He contended that any situation in which some men prevent others from engaging in the process of inquiry is one of violence and oppression.

This world is a raw material that is utilized by man in making history. It is the responsibility of every human being to fight against inhumane conduct whenever and wherever possible and to have the courage to create a new and better world. In developing intelligence and demonstrating the power of mind in annihilating commonly accepted limitations, Freire has set a new task for humanity and opened a road to a new future.

Another inspiration is Freire's life dedication in struggling against poverty and illiteracy that are direct effects of an oppressive economic, social and political system. Freire's praxis shows that the "silent culture" developed in the oppressed life should be answered through education since it is a way to liberate the oppressed and to create a new world.

Conscientization Education

A fundamental component of GPPK education programs is conscientization. *Conscientization/conscientizacao*, according to Freire's formulation, is learning to develop critical awareness of one's social and economic condition and to take action against its oppressing elements. It is the main aspect in the education process that makes a person think and work actively as a subject and to involve himself directly in the real problems of society through dialectic experience. Conscientizing and humanizing the person can only be done in its real sense if he is truly aware of his own and his surroundings' real condition.

Conscientization is an ongoing process that can start again and again and is inherent in the whole education process itself. One's consciousness of the world cannot stop or be stationary. It keeps on, extending and developing from one step to the next, from naivai consciousness to critical consciousness until it reaches the highest level, which is the "conscience of the consciousness." GPPK's education program aims to lift the Dayaks from the magical and naivai level of consciousness to the level of critical consciousness.

Practice and Implementation of GPPK Education

The idea for implementing an education program in Pancur Kasih stemmed not only from the YKSPK founders' desire to change the prevailing negative Dayak stereotypes and to uplift the Dayak's general living condition. There was also the realization that most of them were educators in a prominent university and some schools in Pontianak City

in West Kalimantan, and as such had the capability to run and administer schools for Dayak children and youth. They consequently expanded St Fransiskus Asisi Middle School in Pontianak to other areas, such as Sahamp and Ngabang Landak Regency. Three years later, YKSPK established St. Fransiskus Asisi High School in Pontianak¹⁵ in Sei Pinyuh Pontianak Regency, in Bengkayang Regency and in Sei Ambawang, Pontianak Regency (now Kubu Raya Regency). These schools opened access to formal education to Dayak children from interior areas of West Kalimantan.

Along with school expansion was YKSPK's transformation of the concept of education. In 2003 the St. Fransiskus Asisi school administration changed its pedagogic concept from conventional to a liberating one. Its vision was: "Saint Fransiskus Asisi School liberates humans from oppression, impoverishment and ignorance to being autonomous and responsible humans." The new motto of "Asisi, venue of creation and solution" guided the school to accomplish its education goal, develop character, principles and values as well as continuously renew the educator's paradigm, learning supplements, curriculum and methodology of a contextual education. These changes in conception and implementation became a challenge and an answer to the then prevailing educational policy and system in Indonesia that was apparently not ready for it.

Another idea YKSPK developed was the preparation and strengthening of human resources among the Dayak. The YKSPK granted scholarships to a number of its activists to continue their studies in Tanjungpura University in West Kalimantan and in Sanata Dharma University in Yogyakarta. The recipients of the scholarships were Paulus Florus, Deni Teman, Sudirman, Adrianus Amid and Simon Takdir, who successfully completed a bachelor's degree. They, however, no longer work with YKSPK.

On August 18, 1996, the institutions under the umbrella of *Konsorsium Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Dayak Pancur Kasih* (KPMD) - Pancur Kasih's Consortium for Dayak People Empowerment, now GPPK, gathered in a workshop in Nyarumkop to discuss the financial difficulties faced by

families of many Dayak activists. Most of them lived in villages and the city, making it hard for them to send their children to university. In response to this concern, GPPK proposed a new program on “early education tuition investment.” This emphasized that education planning should be started from the early years, way before children enter school, thus helping to decrease the financial burden of university education.

The workshop agreement to implement this proposal led to the establishment of the GPPK program unit called *Program Pendidikan Kritis–Pancur Kasih* (PENTIS-Pancur Kasih) or Pancur Kasih Critical Pedagogy Program. The objective of PENTIS-PK is to implement “critical education,” an education perspective that looks at education as liberating and empowering. It also supports the tradition of critical thinking in relation to capitalism and to ideas of reform in constructing a democratic and just society.¹⁶

In the beginning, PENTIS-PK conducted the education program among rural and interior Dayak communities, university students and Pancur Kasih activists. The learning, discussions and awareness programs were successful, which prompted some Dayak families (parents and university students) to register for the scholarship programs and to submit their financial contributions as savings and investment for their children’s education. The early education investment fund reached some 2.7 billion rupiah¹⁷ by October 31, 2006, collected from 3,375 Dayak participating donors.¹⁸ Under this fund, 66 students were able to get bachelor’s and master’s degrees from universities in West Kalimantan and Jogjakarta. At present, the scholarship program is assisting 416 Dayak students who are pursuing college and doctorate studies.¹⁹

The Early Education Investment Program has also often been called the Pancur Kasih Education Socialites Movement.²⁰ The “socialites” are donors who contribute money that is managed and allotted for others under principles of trust, solidarity and togetherness. The socialite principle has operated in the Dayak community since they started the tradition of living together in longhouses. The traits of giving to each other, working together and helping others are the essence of Dayak life. It is based on the belief that while man can live without others, he cannot develop without other beings.

The scholarship program has eased the financial burden of the people who had first agreed to implement it. So far 66 beneficiaries have been helped by 3,375 participating donors. In turn these 66 individuals later contributed their own money to help other scholarship applicants. This program is not about the finances that are raised but the spirit of generosity that it generates and how education, solidarity and community can support empowerment.



GPPK Education Programs

GPPK education programs are directed towards its own internal organization, communities and sectoral groups such as youth and women, and these are conducted through its program units and in coordination with other NGOs and institutions. These programs are the following:

Capacity Building

GPPK employs two models for capacity building for its activists. First, the activists participate in educational activities and trainings held by external network partners at local, national or international level. Second, they attend capacity building activities held by GPPK program units or institutions to augment their knowledge, methods and skills. Improvements in these areas can lead to innovative and creative ideas and methodologies for the education and training programs conducted by GPPK program units.

People's Movement Activist Education

The *Pendidikan Aktivis Gerakan Rakyat* (AGR) or People's Movement Activist Education is a program facilitated by *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat* or Indigenous Peoples Alliance-Jalai Kendawangan in cooperation with GPPK's Institut Dayakologi to produce mediators in society. The target are Dayak young

adults, university students and NGO activists who are committed to serve and organize indigenous society. They undergo training to work within their community so they can more effectively develop a liberating, critical and knowledgeable social movement. The program aims to develop a community's collective critical consciousness in order to become militant in fighting for their rights and protecting their environment.

The AGR education uses a participatory approach and varied methods and teaching materials. The participants undergo the following 12 sessions:

Introductory and learning contract session. This session invites participants to understand the learning materials, gives the background and significance of AGR education including its fundamental concepts, goals and context, and obtains their agreement and commitment to take part in the whole process of learning.

Self Orientation. Participants identify themselves, other people and their environment. The orientation aims to make them comprehend inter-human relations and man-nature relationship as well as to reflect on their responsibilities as human beings. The goal is to deconstruct and construct the participants' understanding of their social and productive duties as human beings.

History of Social Development. This aims to increase the participants' understanding and ability to explain the history of social development, both in their own local society and in Indonesian society. It includes discussions on the development of capitalism and how its foundation was formed and the different stages in the development of society from pre-medieval to communal society to slavery, feudalism and capitalism.

History of Oppression and People's Response in Indonesia. Participants reflect back on the history of oppression and era of colonial expansion by European countries that included Indonesia and resulted in vast social and ecological damage for Dayak society in Kalimantan.

History of Plantations in Indonesia, Dynamics of People's Struggle and Native People's Struggle in Kalimantan. These topics are crucial and require longer duration. Critical discussion

and issue debates are conducted as a method to ensure mature understanding and awareness in viewing various social issues involved. The discussions are done within the context of social investigation and social structure analysis.

People's Movement Activists aims to provide insights into the participants' role and function as they become the motor of the people's movement in their own communities. This is supported by their basic skills in organizing aimed at developing the community's critical awareness. This session also reminds activists that they need to act and struggle and to form an organization that will serve as an instrument to bring social change and improve the life of the community.

Gender Education

For the Dayak community, "gender" is a term that is unfamiliar and hard to understand. This is due to the fact that Dayak men and women are equally special. Both genders have unique characteristics and differences as well as similarities that cannot be undermined, as both have the same faith and destiny. Thus, in the Dayak community, female and male members are equal. The gender education of GPPK thus aims to be a mutual reflection on male-female relations based on each other's unique characteristics. This includes discussions on work division, power relations, attitude, tools, language, and perception.

The GPPK model of gender education, which uses the social science approach, is not initiated by theories or expert views on gender. It is more grounded on the social issues faced by both men and women in a particular learning group. The facilitator or educator starts the program through a social analysis, so that the participant can determine the problems and facts (reflection on social reality) as well as the core and cause of the problems and their solutions.

In addition, the educator poses key questions on the characteristics, relation patterns, work division, power relations between men and women and between the influencing system and social structure. This method aims to achieve the goal of

gender education, which is to identify the problems rooted in an unjust system where both men and women are victims who experience dehumanization because of gender discrimination. Men also suffer dehumanization when they practice gender oppression.

Although not yet optimized, the GPPK gender education has a noble goal as an idea or channel to achieve a system that reflects fairness and equality. In this regard, Dayak women and men can participate, take a role, and use opportunities to make the most of their resources, make decisions and control the development of their community. Through gender education, they can realize equal benefits from social, cultural, economic and political developments. This realization will help eliminate discrimination and injustice, fixed gender roles, women's double burden, subordination and marginalization, and violence against both men and women.

To ensure the implementation of gender education, GPPK continues to enforce it internally in its institutions by incorporating appropriate materials in their education programs. The credit union program of the Kalimantan Credit Union Coordination Body similarly integrates gender education in its education programs.

Multicultural and Peace Education

Since 1997 GPPK, together with the network, *Aliansi NGO Untuk Perdamaian dan Rekonisiasi* (ANPRI)²¹ or NGO Alliance for Peace and Reconciliation, has inspired a peace and reconciliation program in West Kalimantan. GPPK formed the program to correct and rectify the false and negative image of the Dayak and to respond to the wide diversity in ethnicity, culture, art, religion, race, origin and other differences in the region. The program promotes the notion that diversity is God's blessing that must be accepted.

A third factor in setting up the program is ethnic conflict in Kalimantan, a problem rooted in the inequity and oppression that result from capitalism, "development" and other structural causes and whose triggers may be varied such as a violent

culture. Considering these factors, GPPK through ANPRI, which consists of multiethnic-based institutions (Dayak, Malay, Chinese and others), initiated peace and multicultural education in West Kalimantan.

GPPK believes that peace is a process, not a final goal. In the context of violent conflict, peace means not only ending the violence but more a process of using a state of amity to educate communities to comprehend that different ethnic groups can live harmoniously in peace, plurality and equality. This is signified by the willingness to respect and accept other cultures.

The peace and multicultural education program is implemented through two models. The first is education for a multiethnic society carried out through ANPRI's network and institutions. It deals mainly with the philosophy and agenda of peace and reconciliation in society, and a follow up program focuses on the human essence in the context of human rights: civil rights, and political, economic, social and cultural rights.

The second model is an organized peace and multicultural education that is integrated in the formal education for class/grade 7 (middle schools and Islamic schools). This is done in cooperation with seven private schools²² whose students come from the four main ethnic groups that have been in violent conflict: Dayak, Malay, Madurese, and Chinese. Middle school students were chosen as they are in an ideal age that can be influenced by concepts of diversity and plurality, which influence may last permanently.

In April 2008 the GPPK peace and reconciliation education program was officially recommended by the West Kalimantan government through the head of the Education Bureau as *Muatan Lokal* (Mulok) or local supplementary program in schools.²³

Critical Legal Studies

The legal system in Indonesia unfortunately is not able to judiciously address various social and political problems suffered by many communities, such as ejection of poor

people from their homes, prosecution of shifting cultivation farmers who are accused of grabbing state land and forcible conversion by corporations of indigenous lands into palm oil plantations or mine sites. The limitations and complicated permits required in the performance of cultural practices also show how the law and its implementation has been partial and unjust.

As progressive law experts²⁴ who have joined the critical legal studies movement have observed, the law can become a partial instrument that various covert interests can manipulate. The acknowledgement of the neutrality and autonomy of the law is merely a form to mask the political interests behind every judicial decision made and every issuance of an Act.

The Dayak are one of the communities in Indonesia that have become victims of “development,” an inequitable system and indoctrination in the name of the law. National laws have allowed the government to take over Dayak land, and this has endangered their safety and ecological sustainability. Thus, GPPK, through LBBT initiated and implemented the critical legal studies movement for Dayak communities throughout West Kalimantan, focusing on villages where GPPK assisting institutions are present.

The critical legal studies program aims to improve Dayaks’ critical ability so they are able to: 1) critically understand the legal system; 2) strengthen their critical understanding of customary law; 3) conduct comparative analysis of positive law and customary law; and 4) determine areas of interface between positive law and customary law. Ultimately they will be able to help the local community in building their ability to conduct a self-regulating system.

Some of the learning methods²⁵ used in the program are: a) brainstorming to analyze the participants’ inner views; b) small group discussion, which is the most appropriate way of bringing out group ideas and solutions; in addition a small number can be more focused in ideas, feeling, judgment and experience-sharing on the topic discussed; c) simulation through role play; d) visualization through photographs, graphic pictures, comics and cartoons; e) printed materials,

case stories, fact sheets and news collections; f) readings; and g) audio-visual materials.

Credit Union Education on Populist Economy

GPPK has also extended its education program to the credit union movement that has spread out in parts of Indonesia and Kalimantan through the Kalimantan Credit Union Coordinating Body. The education and training GPPK has provided have helped to empower and strengthen credit unions²⁶ that continue to operate today. Credit union services, among these the popular account savings program, include an educational component.²⁷

GPPK's education framework for credit unions is a populist humanist ideology, which has the following characteristics. First, education is rooted in local wisdom or the Dayak philosophy²⁸ and adopts modern scientific methods in accordance with world credit union financial management standardization²⁹ that are based on the values of truth and human dignity. Second, it is contextual and thus adapts to society's hopes, problems, real-life conditions, current issues and participants' diverse backgrounds, and for these, it uses appropriate methods and techniques. Third, education should be spiritual; it should inspire participants in how they run their lives and deal with present and future problems. Being spiritual refers to the core of man's life, which is to deliver peace, justice, compassion and solidarity as well as to consciously improve sensitivity, imagination and the social dimensions of life.

As John Dewey stated, "*Education* is not a preparation for life; *education* is life itself."³⁰ And as some GPPK educators themselves often say in their training sessions for credit unions, education is the "school of life."

Participatory Mapping Education

To help Dayak communities establish and strengthen their hold on their ancestral lands, GPPK provides education in

participatory mapping. Government and private development projects in logging, oil palm plantations, mining, transmigration, and other similar large-scale projects have led to expropriation of Dayak lands. These have inevitably resulted in land conflicts (see Chapter 6), which often remain unresolved as Dayaks have their own customary ways of establishing land ownership based on knowledge of their village history and of identifying territorial borders. The indigenous communities use rivers, trees, boulders and mountains to mark their borders, while the government and business entities impose state-delineated boundaries that disregard indigenous ownership of land.

GPPK's participatory mapping of indigenous lands provides a way to show and reinforce Dayak people's sovereignty over their land. It also serves as a springboard for village development that uses the bottom up approach. For the Dayak, "chart or map" is a new terminology; "kar/kaart," originating from the Dutch language, is the more familiar term.

The participatory mapping education serves several purposes. First, as an organizing tool. Before the mapping activity is conducted, the community is organized. Through dialogue, the people discuss the issues related to their *adat* (customary) area. Awareness raising on the importance of indigenous area mapping occurs only after organizational education has been done.

Second, for revitalization of *adat* knowledge. Indigenous society possesses extensive knowledge on nature and their environment. Participatory mapping helps to reintroduce the community's ancestral knowledge and generate appreciation and transmission from one generation to the next.

Third, *kampong* (village) planning. The community maps produce complete and accurate data that can be used for planning land use and management of *adat* lands. These also support the welfare and development of village members, especially in preserving and managing the biodiversity of their shared territory.

Fourth, as an instrument to augment the indigenous community's bargaining position with external parties. The map,

which the community can present to parties who intend to put up investments or development projects in ancestral territories, helps ensure the dialogue process between them will be fair and adequate. Each party can express its view, including reasons by a community to accept or reject an investment or development plan in their territory. In this regard, outside parties must respect, protect and fulfill the indigenous community's rights of Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC),³¹ which includes prior and sufficient information on any proposed investment or project on their land. Based on that information, community members can freely express their consent or refusal without any pressure.

To achieve these goals, education is a basic requirement, and thus GPPK takes a participatory approach.³² The role of the educator/facilitator is to train and ensure that the indigenous community are the real “kaar” experts in their ancestral territory.

Participatory mapping education is conducted in villages that are accessible to surrounding communities. The training includes basic knowledge in participatory mapping, mapping techniques, data management, map design, and map application. It lasts for 14 days, with the first seven days devoted to lectures in indoor and outdoor settings and the other half to field practice and actual making of the map of the ancestral territory.

This education is also conducted through the *musyarawah adat* (indigenous peoples' assembly for consensus) where community members discuss the village borders and undergo preparations to participate in the mapping program. The program involves all members of the community and engages them in discussion and dialogue in cases where they have to resolve differing views. The meeting brings out the community's intimate knowledge of their territory as they identify the name and exact location of each natural entity therein. Most of the problems that arise during such a discussion relate to land use and territorial boundaries. Such disputes are usually settled through a dialogue to prevent them from spilling outside of the meeting room. This requires skill and ability in facilitating discussions to accommodate equally different views

and opinions in order to reach consensus.

Another crucial training is on the use of mapping instruments. The participants are introduced and trained to operate mapping instruments such as the compass, measuring tools, and Global Positioning System (GPS). Territorial borders are demarcated based on exact coordinates taken by GPS, with conflict-sensitive borderlines determined with the use of the compass. The boundaries are usually marked by natural formations such as trees, rivers, monuments or stalks of hard wood.

Another training concerns land use. This involves longer hours to enable participants, who are accompanied by a facilitator team, to practice the handling and use of the GPS instrument. For field data collection, the training uses the Participatory Rural Appraisal method.

Some Dayak subgroups³³ in West Kalimantan have produced various *kar* or maps based on their indigenous knowledge:

No.	"Kar" Types (Based on Dayak Community's Knowledge)	Map
1	<i>Kar palasar Palaya' (Kanayatn), Kar Ngau Betanam Berujak (Iban), Kar Pagayo Pagoyak'an (Krio), Kar Nto Nyak Nator batonam batumoh Bakampokng Batamawankng Balako Bauma Badango Bapario Bawas Balukar manak (Simpakng)</i>	Land Use Map
2	<i>Kar Radakng (Kanayatn), Kar Panugau Kampung (Iban), Kar Laman (Krio), Kar Kampokng Loboh Laman Banua (Simpakng)</i>	Map of Dwelling Sites in Ancestral Territory
3	<i>Kar Batangan (Kanayatn), Kar Alur Aik (Iban), Kar Batakng Aik (Krio), Kar Tonah Arokng Piikng (Simpakng).</i>	Map of Rivers and Streams
4	<i>Kar Kayu Pakarakng (Kanayatn), Kar Kayu Ramu (Iban), Kar Paramu Pakay'un (Krio), Kar Nto Nyak Nyebr Koyuh Kayau Nyak Onya Bokah Nyak Baramu Batarakng (Simpakng)</i>	Map of Distribution/Dispersion of Trees
5	<i>Kar Palaokatn (Kanayatn), Kar Panugau Ama (Iban), Kar Paburu Paransu (Krio), Kar Tonah Adat Manak (Simpakng).</i>	Map of Distribution/Dispersion of Animals

6	<i>Kar Bakahatn (Kanayatn), Kar Amuk Kampung (Iban), Kar Pahonak Iyang Banyak Laman (Krio).</i>	Land Use Planning Map
7	<i>Kar Karamat Man Patunuan (Kanayatn), Kar Puaka Tamai Pemali (Iban), Kar Pase Patunu Tapakng Salinukng Komit Laman (Krio), Kar Nto Nyak Badah Pagadoh Pangingkin Pasar Langor Tamak Sanokng (Simpakng).</i>	Map of Sacred Places and Graveyards
8	<i>Kar Panojok (Kanayatn), Kar Panunyak (Iban), Kaampuk'un Kar Laman Tompok Mumukng (Kriau). Kar Panujuk (Simpakng)</i>	Reference Map
9		Three Dimensional Map

Based on its experience and learning for 16 years, GPPK PPSDAK-PK's facilitation of community mapping through a participatory approach has proven successful in exploring and revitalizing the Dayak's knowledge. It may thus be time to protect and acknowledge legally their skills, knowledge and maps of their ancestral territories.

GPPK Education Center

The Pancur Kasih Kayu Tanam Education Center is the GPPK education center located in Pontianak, West Kalimantan. A 27-hectare area, the center has a natural gum plant garden, fish pond, local fruit garden and local plant seeding area. Also within it is the Longhouse Sahapm in Landak Regency where one can observe the Dayak's everyday life. Adjacent to the house site is a gum plant garden and a wide spread of rice fields and gardens owned by Dayaks.

The center, which has a semi-outdoor training hall and a dormitory for participants, is used for various training programs such as outdoor activities and organic farming internship for local Dayaks in nearby communities and other farming groups in West Kalimantan. Despite its limited facilities, GPPK optimizes the center for training and education, and in the future, to host "nature schools."

Lessons

GPPK's 30-year experience in critical pedagogy has brought valuable learning to further advance the liberation movement. The various difficulties and challenges it faced in carrying out social change in West Kalimantan in the midst of political domination from one regime to another have made GPPK what it is today. While many hurdles still remain in managing differences among its activists with regard to controversial paradigms in radical, liberal and conventional education, GPPK realizes it must accommodate differing views as the movement's source of power.

The activists who hold liberal or conservative views do not intentionally set out to become conservative or liberal individuals. They are influenced by the concepts, theories and education methods they had learned before they joined GPPK and which still linger and affect their thinking, understanding and action. They believe that the poor and uneducated come into that position through their own fault (blaming the subject).

Those who maintain a liberal view also believe that education has no relation to the social, economic, political and cultural problems experienced by the Dayak community or to the existing political structure, cultural domination and discrimination in society. Thus, they take a neutral position, viewing education as a tool to guard the norms and stability of society. In comparison, some GPPK activists who hold radical/critical views do intervention through numerous discussions, informal dialogues, focus group discussions and internal discussion within GPPK, which contribute to their further understanding.

The following incident demonstrates the intense debates these differences generated and important lessons these provided GPPK in transforming its activists' ideas and understanding from conservative-liberal to critical-radical:

“In 1995 during a GPPK activists’ internal discussion, an activist fainted upon hearing a critical radical activist say, ‘the government has snatched away the Dayaks’ rights.’ The latter was explaining his analysis of the impact of UUD (Undang-Undang Dasar - Indonesian Constitution) 1945, Article 33 on the Dayaks in West Kalimantan; the impacts were oppression, natural disaster and violence. Meanwhile, for the GPPK activists who uphold conservative-liberalism, the statement did not make any sense and was illogical; they said: ‘we live in an independent country...it’s impossible...I disagree...’ In the middle of that hot debate, one of the activists fainted (Private notes of Matheus Pilin, a discussion participant).”

Conscientization education as the key of critical pedagogy contributes to transforming the Dayak mentality that has been contaminated by various external influences. It has also motivated GPPK educators and activists to continue learning, especially in training their critical skills to understand the real conditions in society and its existing structural injustice and oppressive system.

Education is a process of engaging one’s self in the reality of his situation: the weaknesses and helplessness as well as the potentials, strength and ability to understand the obstacles and their roots. The individual develops a desire to liberate himself from fear and the absence of knowledge in order to be free from his helpless condition. Once he overcomes his fear and ignorance, he can be totally liberated and free to become a critical, knowledgeable and complete individual.

In further learning, one can influence the group or community consciousness in dealing with their problems as a community and from an unjust system. This community awareness will bring the desire to organize and take action to free themselves from the repressive system. Ultimately they will be a liberated new community that is able to contribute to their fellow humans’ betterment and salvation.

This GPPK model of education, with its dynamics and limitations, has helped in humanizing Dayak society as well as other oppressed indigenous communities in Indonesia. This

way of developing critical humans has drawn the interest of some communities and organizations from many places to learn more about the GPPK empowerment programs.

In GPPK's 30 years of work, we have learned from our experiences and been inspired by our relations with other networks and the reality of the lives of Dayak and other communities. Immensely motivated by Paulo Freire's works, education philosophy, concepts, ideas, and commitment to the oppressed and marginalized, we have continued to reflect on concepts to further refine our critical pedagogical methods.

Although still imperfect, our work in informal education has contributed to the human liberating process and to a paradigm change from the conventional stream to a liberating one. This can be seen in the education system of the Saint Franciskus Asisi Education Foundation. It is also felt in the political field. Some members and female activists of Dayak communities have been elected or appointed to legislative and judicial bodies (see Chapter 7), an achievement in which GPPK education played a part. Community representatives have also emerged who have chosen to fight for their villages through *Aktivis Gerakan Rakyat* or People's Movement Activist. It shows that the people have awakened to the need to struggle for sovereignty over their land and resources in their indigenous territory. The awareness that this legal struggle is part of the rights of an indigenous community has made them more outspoken and critical about their problems as well as keep up the fight to advance their rights through peaceful ways.

Finally, conscientization education is the key to critical pedagogy's goal of humanizing people, the noble goal of education itself. Further refining this form of liberating education will continue to encourage GPPK activists to study and understand Freire's ideology in the pursuit to take forward the indigenous peoples' empowerment movement.

The goal and vision of critical pedagogy to create a fairer new social system has become the GPPK education agenda. The main task of education is to humanize people who have suffered dehumanization from an unjust political and social

structure. GPPK's experiences in the last three decades have shown that it is possible to uplift the dignity of marginalized Dayaks who have been oppressed in their own land.

Endnotes

¹ Written by Matheus Pilin (GPPK Secretary, facilitator and trainer, PPSDAK-PK Program Officer), Silvia Sayu (Pentis Pancur Kasih Program Coordinator) and Antimus (Pentis Pancur Kasih staff).

² 1945 Indonesia Constitution, PEMBUKAAN (Preamble), fourth paragraph.

³ 1945 Indonesia Constitution, Article 33, (3) and (4).

⁴ Freire 1985, xiii.

⁵ Freire *Ibid.* p. 67.

⁶ Freire *Ibid.* p. 70.

⁷ Suparno et al. 2002. 11-13.

⁸ Smith 2011, 1.

⁹ Smith *op. cit.* p. 40.

¹⁰ Freire *op. cit.* p. xiii.

¹¹ Mansour Fakhri *op. cit.* p. 45.

¹² Fakhri *Ibid.* pp. 1-46.

¹³ Fakhri *Ibid.* p. 47.

¹⁴ Total students admitted to SMP Santo Fransiskus Asisi since the first school year in 1981-1982 have reached the 30th generation, numbering 4,725. They are Dayak children who struggle to continue their education in Pontianak.

¹⁵ Total students admitted to SMA Santo Fransiskus Asisi since the first year in 1984-1985 have reached the 27th generation and number 3,798 people. Most are West Kalimantan Dayak children and some are Chinese children who live in Siantan, Pontianak.

¹⁶ Fakhri et al. 2001, 27.

¹⁷ PENTIS-PK Secretariat Data (October 2009).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Bdk. Kasdin Sihotang. *Filsafat Manusiak (Human Philosophy)*. Yogyakarta. Kanisius 2009, 102.

²¹ ANPRI is a strategic alliance of six multiethnic NGOs that actively work in peace building movements in West Kalimantan. These are Insitut Dayakologi, Gemawan, Sekretariat SegeraK-Pancur Kasih, MiSEM, BK3D Kalimantan, and PEK-Pancur Kasih. ANPRI also counts among its members organizations, forums and individuals who care and work for peace in Kalimantan.

²² SMP Santo Fransiskus Asisi (the majority of students are Chinese), SMP Haruniyah (the majority of students are Malay) are both in Pontianak; Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs)/Islamic School Nurul Alamiah (the majority of students are Madurese) in Wajok Kabupaten Pontianak; Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) Nurul Alamiah (the majority of students are Madurese) in Sungai Ambawang in Kubu Raya Regency; SMP Katolik Benedictus Pahauman/Catholic Junior High School of Saint Benedict in Pahauman (the majority are Dayak) and SMP Don Bosco–Menjalin (the majority are Dayak) in Landak Regency; Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) Gerpemi (the majority are Malay) in Tebas, Sambas Regency.

²³ ANPRI Team 2007, iii.

²⁴ Abdias Yas, unpublished discussion materials for critical legal studies

²⁵ HuMa and LBBT, Manual Pelatihan Hukum Kritis (Critical Legal Studies Manual), December 2002.

²⁶ Credit union training is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

²⁷ Saving account prospects is one of the credit union training materials

²⁸ A more detailed explanation of the Philosophy of Dayaks and involvement of GPPK in the credit union movement is found in Chapter II and in *Buku Credit Union*.

²⁹ Credit union world standardization referred to above is the Credit Union Performance Monitor. Union *PEARLS*: P=*Protection*, E=*Effective Financial Structure*, A=*Asset Quality* (Kualitas Aset), R=*Rates of Return and Cost*, L=*Liquidity*, S=*Signs of Growth*

³⁰ P. Darmin, OFM. Cap., Bahan Refleksi 8-13 November 2009, Wisma Imacullata Pontianak.

³¹ United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Article 10.

³² Participatory is active participation, where people become the main actors who possess certain potentials and knowledge.

³³ West Kalimantan has 151 Dayak sub-ethnic groups and 168 Dayak languages. See Bamba 2008.

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Chapter

4

Cultural Inheritance, Cultural Revitalization, Empowerment and Advocacy¹

Benyamin Efraim



“I beg you to listen to what I have to say, and that you will recollect my words... Has it ever occurred to you that after my time out here others may appear with soft and smiling countenances, to deprive you of what is solemnly your right that is, the very land on which you live, the source of your income, the food even of your mouth?...you will lose your birthright, which will be taken from you by strangers and speculators who will, in their turn, become masters and owners whilst you yourselves, you people of the soil, will be thrown aside and become nothing but coolies and outcasts of the island.”

Charles Brooke, The 2nd White Rajah of Sarawak 1915²

Embryo of Institut Dayakologi

A decade into its establishment, the Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation felt the need to have studies and critical analysis on the conditions of the Dayak community to use as a basis to formulate working programs to effectively address their problems. A group was subsequently formed that focused their study on the existence and condition of Dayak culture. They were joined by a number of Dayak youth from the West Kalimantan hinterland who were studying in several universities in Pontianak. They called themselves the “Study Group” in keeping with the trend then among campus intellectual circles who were protesting the dismantlement of student boards in the late 1970s.

The study group discussed in depth the position of the Dayak indigenous community in the national development process. This included a discussion of researches about the Dayak people, and among those that greatly influenced them was *Tanah Diri* by the Belgian anthropologist Mill Rokaerts (1985). Rokaerts’ study, which involved YKSPK activists Stevanus Buan and A.R. Mecer as research assistants and informants, explained the social and economic devastation caused by the PIR-TRANS rubber project on the Dayak Linoh in Nabal Sintang.

Rokaerts’ critical analysis was a revelation to the young activists in the group as it made them realize the real challenges Dayaks faced in the midst of development and the modernization process. The study concluded that the Indonesia government implemented the wrong development concept that led to the exploitation of an ethnic group for the benefit of others, trapping Dayak communities in the flow of modernization.

The number of books concerning Dayaks available to the study group was limited. Among those in circulation were *Dragon and Hornbill* by Bernard Sellato, Michael Dove’s book on agricultural methods of the Kantu sub-ethnic group, and *Manusia Daya* by Mickail Coomans. These books, highly referenced and quoted, were the resources that could fill the thirst

for information about Dayaks at the time. It is ironic however that these works were written by foreign researchers and none by Dayak themselves.

Other organizations were also concerned by the dearth of materials. In a meeting with YKSPK administrators in 1987, Ronald Lucardie from the Dutch non government organization CEBEMO declared, “Dayaks cannot advance because they do not have a history.” While the statement startled the YKSPK administrators, it challenged them at the same time to write a history of the struggle of the Dayak indigenous community. It raised the following questions: How could communities that still exist not have a history? Is identity itself not defined by history? Can anybody deny that history cannot be proven with oral tradition? The modern age requires sources and references in the form of books and other writings, among other forms of media that sadly the Dayak indigenous community did not have. If history is believed to be able to help people improve the present and prepare for the future, then how can the Dayak generation of today do without it? These reflective questions led YKSPK to start in-depth studies on the Dayak people and their culture.

This resolve was further reinforced when a group of Dayaks from Sarawak, East Malaysia arrived in 1989 to conduct a dialogue with YKSPK activists. The dialogue became a high point as “the long lost brothers and sisters” shared experiences in an intimate and friendly environment. This further moved the YKSPK activists to aspire to rise to the same level as their “relatives” in the other part of Borneo (Sabah and Sarawak) who proved to be in a far better condition socially, culturally, economically and politically.

From IDRD to Institut Dayakologi

Considering these conditions, YKSPK formed a research and development unit by the end of 1989. Under this department, the study group, which later named itself the Institute of Dayakology Research and Development (IDRD) found their identity and significance. The term “Dayakology” was, to

a certain extent, inspired by a number of similar institutions like Javanologi Institute, which studies Javanese ethnicity, and Sundanology, which studies Sunda ethnicity. It was also influenced by *Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengembangan Sosial* (LPPS) or Institute for Social Research and Development.⁵

The IDRД played a greater role than the earlier study group, which limited itself to conducting studies as a basis to formulate its work program. The Institute began to publish and disseminate results of scientific studies and researches through the media and undertake other activities. This was supported by the culture of Pancur Kasih that gives activists creative space as long as it advances the organization's mission.

As a department under YKSPK, IDRД in the early 1990s also started to translate Rokaerts' *Tanah Diri* to Bahasa Indonesia. Aside from inspiring the Pancur Kasih activists, the book was often used as a reference in their community meetings with the hope it would give Dayaks a critical understanding that development's utopian promises, propagated all that time, were far from the realities and negative effects that impacted people's lives. It brought home the point that development sometimes requires a high price to be paid.

The IDRД then undertook a small study on the social effects of the government's Nucleus Estate and Smallholder Scheme (*Perkebunan Inti Rakyat–Perkebunan/PIR-BUN*) on the Dayak community. At the same time, Stephanus Djuweng, an IDRД researcher, conducted a study on the social and political situation in the Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak that vividly showed the effect of development resulting from the marginalization policy on the Dayaks there. The research received positive feedback from various groups, especially after it was published in the Indonesian national newspaper, *Kompas*. The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta invited Djuweng to present his research in a seminar and subsequently published it in its journal in two languages, Bahasa Indonesia and English. The journal carried Djuweng's institutional affiliation, which caused IDRД to become more widely known. Many people and institutions subsequently suggested that IDRД be transformed into a

formal research institute from a mere study group, a suggestion seriously considered in a series of discussions.

On May 21, 1991, IDRД was formally established although it was still legally under the Institute for Training and Supporting Social Development (LP3S) Jakarta as part of the strategy to survive under the oppressive regime which was against civil movements. With its new designation as LP3S-IDRD West Kalimantan, it had a wider leverage to implement its work and advocacy programs. IDRД became known as a cultural advocacy institution that persistently fights for the recognition, respect, and protection of the Dayak indigenous community because of its uncompromising stance against large monoculture plantations (oil palm, hybrid coconut, among others), industrial forest plantations and large scale mining. Consequently, IDRД earned a great name and reputation among civil movement groups but was disliked by the government and other groups whose interests were threatened.⁶

One of the strongest factors that kept IDRД going at the time was publishing and advocacy activities for the Dayak indigenous community. Marked by critical analysis, sound scientific foundation and strong supporting data, its works were published in *Kalimantan Review*, scientific journals and other media and as seminar papers. This capability was also due to the strong network YKSPK had built in West Kalimantan, throughout Indonesia and in other countries, particularly with institutions that had cooperative relations with IDRД.

After five years under LP3S-Jakarta, IDRД was able to stand on its own. On May 31, 1996, after strategic planning it changed its name and organizational format from IDRД Foundation to *Perkumpulan Institute Dayakologi* or Dayakologi Institute Group. The words “research and development” were dropped and “y” was changed to “i” in Dayakologi to make it sound more familiar.⁷ The form of the organization was modified as part of the strategy to continue existing in light of the government’s critical view of vocal nongovernmental organizations. The institution was made more flexible, adaptable and responsive to its environment.

Strengthening Dayak Identity

A major IDRD activity that became a milestone in Dayak cultural revitalization was the Dayak Culture National Seminar and Exhibition in November 1992 (see Chapter 1). Believed to be the second largest event in the Borneo Dayak's history after the Tumbang Anoi in 1894,⁸ the seminar was attended by around 350 people from within and outside Indonesia, mainly indigenous leaders and representatives from all parts of Borneo. More than 6,000 visitors viewed the cultural exhibition.

The seminar produced the agreement that henceforth the word "Dayak" would be used as a collective identity of all indigenous inhabitants of Borneo island. Prior to this, some of the words used to describe the indigenous people were Dajak, Dyak, Daya' and Daya, which historically carried derogatory undertones. When the Dutch were in power in Borneo in the early 19th century, the ethnic Dayak and Melayu/Malay were the dominant groups. The Melayu/Malay, who arrived later in Borneo, resided along the coasts and embraced Islam as their religion, while the Dayak lived in the upper river banks and practiced their traditional beliefs. The Dutch and the Melayu/Malay people had distinctly more modern ways of life compared to the Dayak who tended to live the indigenous way of life. Unfortunately, the former groups saw the indigenous communities as a deviation from the culture and norm, and used the word *Dajakker*, which denotes savages, to refer to them. The term then developed into *Dajakkera*, which has a more demeaning connotation.⁹ On the other hand, *ndayak* (act like the Dayaks, having Dayak characteristics) was used in Javanese society to describe an individual or a group who are filthy, dirty, anarchic, anachronistic and other such negative behaviors.

An earlier attempt at name change to remove the stigma that caused Dayak inferiority occurred in 1956 at a big meeting of Dayak leaders led by *Partai Dayak* in Sanggau in West Kalimantan. The meeting decided to stop using Dajak/Dayak as used in English and Dutch literature to refer to the

indigenous population of Borneo and to use instead Daya' with an apostrophe. The word *daya* means power. As the more frequently used word, the apostrophe in Daya' tended to be dropped, becoming Daya, although non-Dayak people still used the word Dayak. The 1956 agreement in Sanggau implicitly expressed the Dayaks' view that the stigma can be eliminated and their identity transformed to put them on the same level with the same respect as other peoples in society.

After the 1992 Dayak Culture Seminar and Exhibition, IDRD and later Institut Dayakologi popularized the term Dayak as the collective identity for the indigenous communities of Borneo, consistently using it in all its publications. One of its most effective publications, the bulletin *Kalimantan Review* (KR) developed into a monthly magazine after the Cultural Exhibition and was the first to specifically advocate Dayak culture. With the difficult mandate to promote Dayak culture, Institut Dayakologi has undertaken cultural revitalization and restitution through documentation and research of Dayak culture and its recognition among Dayak communities in Indonesia and in all levels of the Indonesian government.



Factors causing Cultural Degradation

Institut Dayakologi traces the degradation of Dayak culture to at least five dominant factors that are part of the modernization process integral to development programs¹⁰ of the New Order regime. These factors, which are like a double-edged sword that has constructive and destructive sides, are:

Formal Education

Formal education provides both benefits and drawbacks for the Dayaks. Education expands knowledge and understanding that enable people to think critically. But the education system implemented in Indonesia has a significantly harmful effect as it tends to indoctrinate and uproot people from

their own culture. This includes West Kalimantan schools attended by Dayak children and youth, which follow the same national education policies. The education given is based on knowledge, materials and studies from foreign cultures, leaving no place for appreciation of local cultures. It considers the Dayak's agricultural system that is practiced in their daily lives as unproductive, obsolete, primitive and uncultured. It systematically alienates Dayak youth from their own culture, as it provides a better understanding of things far from their homes and their own environment. This leads to erosion of Dayak culture.

Spread of Dominant Religions

The arrival of the Melayu/Malay people in Borneo marked the end of the isolation of Dayaks from the outside world. While they came to look for a better life, they also spread Islam to the indigenous population. When a Dayak embraces Islam, he discards those aspects of the Dayak culture that are incompatible with this religion; hence in the past, when a Dayak converted to Islam, he gave up his ethnic identity and was considered a Melayu/Malay.

The Dayak groups who maintained their traditional beliefs migrated to the hinterland and upstream areas.¹¹ For example, the Simpakng Dayak who lived along the coast moved into the interior. The same occurred with the spread of Christianity. But although the goal was similarly to civilize people who were deemed living a savage way of life, the processes were different. The missionaries came to the Dayak villages, ate and lived with the people, and learned and spoke their languages. The modern way of life was introduced through charity, clothes, health facilities, education, among others. Spreading Christian beliefs came after this adaptation phase.

The next stage entailed shedding the beliefs systems of the traditional religions, a part of Dayak culture, as these were considered wasteful, heretic, and obsolete. The view was propagated that the values of civilization and modernity are coherent with Christianity. Thus if modernity and progress

were to be followed, then Christianity was the way. Dr. J.J. Kusni concluded that the spread of Christianity based on its sacred mission (*la mission sacre*) was part of the conquest of the Dayaks and their culture.¹²

Modern Technology and Media

Information technology and telecommunications have opened the Dayak community to the outside world. There is little chance that any Dayak village, even those isolated by the absence of roads and bridges, has not been reached by modern mass media. Satellite dishes to receive television signals and cellular communication services have arrived at the farthest and most remote village. The effect of mass media, television in particular, is far-reaching. Television does not only fill people's leisure time and other daily routine but also introduces modernity which changes their perception of other ways of life. The modern way of life, which is made appealing by state-of-the-art amenities, arrives through entertainment programs as do new products and activities, which replace traditional Dayak cultural activities.

Influenced by the modern lifestyle, many of the young generation go to karaoke establishments instead of attending cultural events and traditional rites. The perception of happiness and prosperity is measured by the ability to consume and provide what is promoted through advertisements and not through a balanced life which is in harmony with nature. This situation tends to chip away at people's sensitivity to matters of import, such as an appreciation of history and the past, the less fortunate and justice, among others.

Eradication of Rumah Panjang

In the New Order era, the government perspective of cultural development had three main characteristics: development of artistic material (performance and objects), commercial orientation, and in line with government policy

and interest. Other aspects, such as ways of life, attitudes and behaviors were not seen holistically as part of culture and to have a mutual relation with physical products (material culture). For instance, the rumah panjang or longhouse is a complex system of great physical and spiritual significance in Dayak culture. Its systematic eradication by government since the end of the 1960s broke the spirit of solidarity, democracy and freedom built in the longhouses.¹³ Those still standing are left without proper maintenance, becoming a mere tourist attraction that symbolizes the exotic Dayak culture.

Laws and Regulations

Laws and regulations in Indonesia generally benefit the rulers—government and industrialists—and tend to neglect the interests of indigenous peoples. These in fact do not recognize indigenous peoples,¹⁴ as all Indonesians are considered native. However, the national slogan *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) explicitly respects diversity, and thus in giving legal protection to the country's multicultural population, the government should produce laws that accommodate the interests of all ethnic groups.

Various laws, such as the Land Act, Forestry Act, Mining Act,¹⁵ and Regional Autonomy Act, disregard the rights to land and natural resources of people in traditional societies. Industrialists can easily take over such rights based on the law, making indigenous people a victim of the law. There is as yet no precedent where a Dayak community has won a lawsuit against plantation and mining investors that encroached or took control of its lands.

Revitalizing Dayak Culture

It is mainly through research and documentation that Institut Dayakologi revitalizes and restores Dayak culture. A Dayak cultural revival today is like saving a burning house where one is faced with two options: save all the valuable goods inside the house and let the house itself burn down or save the house and its occupants and let the valuable goods inside burn.

Without undermining other institutions' and parties' efforts that focus on Dayak material culture, ID took the second option, which it saw as more strategic in preventing cultural extinction; by retaining the container and its support, Dayak culture can be preserved as a whole with its values and spirit intact.¹⁶ That is the reason ID does not have any museum or collection of Dayak cultural objects.

This strategy is linked to ID's essential advocacy. Dayak culture is produced through social interactions of the Dayak community in a lively unity with the surrounding nature: forest, land and water. Their material culture (oral traditions, clothing, design, among others), customs, beliefs and ways of life cannot be detached from these natural resources, as these form the basis of Dayak culture.¹⁷ Destruction of the forest, land and water would mean the end of Dayak culture and identity, thus ID opposition to environmental destruction on Dayak land.

Programs of Institut Dayakologi

Given its strategy, Institut Dayakologi takes a critical stance on any project that affects Dayak culture, particularly those that abuse exploitation of resources by government and big corporations. To respond to external threats to Dayak culture, ID implements the following programs: oral tradition research, facilitation of lessons on Dayak culture in local school subjects, ethnolinguistic research, biodiversity research, publication of journals and *Kalimantan Review*, initial formation of

NGO alliance for peace and cultural diversity, and facilitation of people's transformation, through organizations, towards independence and empowerment.

1. Research of Oral Tradition

Oral tradition is the basic consciousness and autonomy of a community when interacting with its environment, hence its existence is a representation of the cultural formation process. When oral tradition is marginalized and forgotten, the people's consciousness, autonomy and identity are also marginalized. A vital component of culture, oral tradition in its various forms is a community's response to the challenges in its natural and social environment and to sustain its members' lives.

In the midst of foreign cultural dominance, Dayak oral traditions are diminishing as many new activities are taking their place. Moreover, the number of knowledge holders of these traditions is declining; with most of them at an advanced age, it may be a matter of time before the oral traditions disappear. This has made documentation and research of Dayak oral traditions an urgent program (see Table 1).

Table 1. List of Documented Oral Traditions¹⁸

No.	Dayak Sub Ethnic Groups	Number of Informants	Number of Tapes	Number of Script Title Ritual		Number of Transcribed Tapes	Number of Printout Pages
				Ritual	Non Ritual		
1	Kanayatn	89	236	97	435	236	3.782
2	Simpakng	114	229	31	663	195	2.765
3	Krio	87	233	90	497	221	2.092
4	Pompakng	64	136	12	151	128	1.542
	Total	354	975	221	1.764	917	8.482

In 1992 Institut Dayakologi conducted a study on Dayak oral tradition among four Dayak subethnic groups: the Simpakng Dayak, Krio Dayak in Ketapang Regency, Kanayatn Dayak in Landak Regency (formerly Pontianak Regency) and Pompakng Dayak in Sanggau Regency. The participatory action research (PAR) gave Dayaks an opportunity to take an active part as subjects as well as to collect and analyze data and to control and conclude the research. The study was published as *Dayak Oral Traditions* in 2003 as well as a comic book and an instructional material for local school subjects.

Table 2. List of ID Book Publications

No.	Author	Book Title	Year
1	Stephanus Djuweng	<i>The Dominant Paradigm and Cost of Development: Some Implications for Indonesia</i>	Dec. 1997
2	Stephanus Djuweng	<i>Indigenous Peoples and Land-use Policy in Indonesia</i>	Dec. 1997
3	Yovinus	Adat Dalo': Upacara Mengangkat Tulang Dayak Uud Danum (Dalo' Tradition: Uud Danum Dayak Bone Lifting Ceremony)	June 1999
4	Nico Andasputra	Perlawanan Rakyat di Hutan Kalimantan (Peoples Resistance in Borneo Forests)	July 1999
5	Laurensius Tatang	Sekilas Perkawinan Dayak Mualang (A Glance of Mualang Dayak Wedding)	July 1999
6	Nico Andasputra, Laurensius Tatang	Kalimantan, Bumi yang Kaya Makanan (Borneo, a Food Rich Land)	Nov. 1999
7	Edi Petebang	Masyarakat Adat di Dunia: Eksistensi dan Perjuangannya (World's Traditional Societies: Existence and Struggles)	March 2001

8	Nico Andasputra, John Bamba, Edi Petebang	Pelajaran dari Masyarakat Adat Dayak: Gerakan Sosial dan Rekonsiliasi Ekologis di Kalimantan Barat (Lessons from Dayak Indigenous Community: Social Movement and Ecological Reconciliation in West Kalimantan)	Sept. 2001
9	Stepanus Djuweng, Nico Andasputra, John Bamba, Edi Petebang	Tradisi Lisan Dayak: Yang Tergusur dan Terlupakan (Marginalized and Forgotten Dayak Oral Traditions)	August 2003
10	John Bamba	Dayak Jalai di Persimpangan Jalan (Jalai Dayak at the Crossroad)	Nov. 2003
11	Edi Petebang	Dayak Sakti: Pengayauan, Tariu, Mangkok Merah (Sakti Dayak: Headhunting, Trance, Red Bowl)	Nov. 2005
12	Nico Andasputra, Stepanus Djuweng	Manusia Dayak: Orang Kecil yang Terperangkap Modernisasi (Dayak People: Proletariats Trapped in Modernizations)	Nov. 2005
13	Paulus Florus, Stepanus Djuweng, John Bamba, Nico Andasputra	Kebudayaan Dayak: Aktualisasi dan Transformasi (Dayak Culture: Actualization and Transformation)	2000 Cet. II Des 2005
14	Maniamas Miden Sood	Dayak Bukit: Tuhan, Manusia, Budaya (Bukit Dayak: God, Man, Culture)	August 2006
15	Elias Ngiuk, Edi Petebang, Evy Flavia	"Anak Tiri" yang Marjinal; Potret Radio Komunitas di Indonesia: Kasus Kalimantan Barat (Marginalized Stepchildren: Community Radio in Indonesia: West Kalimantan)	Sept. 2006
16	Edi Petebang, Elias Ngiuk	Dokumen Internasional dan Nasional Tentang Masyarakat Adat (International and National Documents on Traditional Societies)	Nov. 2006
17	Edi Petebang	Mutiara Damai dari Kalimantan: Pengalaman dan Refleksi (Peace Pearl from Borneo: Experience and Reflection)	Nov. 2006
18	Elisabeth Lilis	Sempeilau	Jan. 2008

19	Elisabet Lilis	Cerita Rakyat: Sabunzu Sarokng Antu (Folklore: Sabunzu Sarokng Antu)	Jan. 2008
20	Editor: John Bamba, Author: Sujarni Alloy, Albertus, Chatarina Pancer Istiyani	Mozaik Dayak; Keberagaman Subsuku dan Bahasa Dayak di Kalimantan Barat (Dayak Mozaik: Diversity of Dayak Sub Ethnic Groups and Languages in West Kalimantan)	March 2008
21	Edi V. Petebang, Leili Khairnur, Paulus Andreas, Fajri Nailus Subchi	Modul Pendidikan Perdamaian (Peace Education Module)	April 2008
22	Edi V. Petebang, Subro, Julia Kam, R. Giring, Ireng Maulana, Fajri	Muatan Lokal Pendidikan Multikultur Kalimantan Barat (Local Subject: West Kalimantan Multiculture Education)	June 2008
23	Elisabeth Lilis	Pengetahuan Adat dan Tradisi Dayak Jalai (Traditional Knowledge and Customs of Jalai Dayak)	August 2008
24	Anton P Widjaja, Andika Pasti, Benyamin Efraim, Fajri Nailus Subchi, Frans Lakon, Vitalis Andi, Edi Petebang.	Menolak Takluk (Resistance)	2008
25	Elisabeth Lilis	Bidik Menggaling; Cerita Rakyat Dayak Jalai (Bidik Menggaling: Jalai Dayak Folklore)	Dec. 2008
26	Elisabeth Lilis	Bauk dan Pampan; Cerita Rakyat Dayak Jalai (Bauk dan Pampan: Jalai Dayak Folklore)	Dec. 2008

The Dayak oral tradition research is a continuing program and has been integrated into audio, visual, audio-visual and written materials. Among the traditions that have been documented are folklore, traditional ceremonies, traditional games, songs and ritual, and secular music. ID has faced some challenges, including accusations that it conducts documentation for commercial purposes. For this reason before starting any documentation activity the Institute signs an agreement

with the subjects that: 1) the documentation is only for research and scientific study; 2) resulting products may not be sold or used for commercial purposes; and 3) the copyright holder of the documentation are the subjects of the oral tradition research.

2. Plant Genetic Resources Research

As the basis of their culture, the forest, land, and water hold spiritual and cultural values for the Dayak people. These are deemed precious and vital, as they make available all their needs from food to housing and medicine.

These resources, however, have been subjected to massive exploitation after the downfall of the Old Order regime in 1967. The New Order regime issued a new development policy and several laws to push economic growth, among these Act Number 1 of 1967 on foreign investment, Act Number 5 of 1967 on forestry basic regulations and Act Number 6 of 1968 on domestic investment.¹⁹ These regulations were supported by a new policy on forest business license or HPH, 5-year tax cut, export permits and promotion of land concessions. Act Number 22 approved in 1999 further gave Regents the authority to issue Forest Product Exploitation Licenses or HPHH to operate up to 100-hectare concessions. As a result, rapid deforestation has occurred in Indonesia in the last 30 years, as shown by the following data:

There are various data that show the average rate of deforestation in Indonesia from year to year. Forest Watch Indonesia, for example, states that the deforestation rate in the period of 1989-2003 is 1.9 million hectares. Planology Office of the Forestry Department groups the years into three periods, 1.87 million hectares between 1985-1997, 2.83 million hectares between 1997-2000, and 1.08 million hectares in the 2000-2005 period. FAO records the deforestation rate in Indonesia as 1.87 million hectares from 2000-2005.²⁰

At such a high deforestation rate, we can imagine the number of springs that went dry, the number of streams that disappeared, and the number of plant and animal species that went extinct. Forests were cut down for monoculture plantations such as oil palm and for transmigration settlement areas. Unfortunately not many people realize or are aware that Dayak culture is disappearing with the destruction of natural resources.

Considering this situation, Institut Dayakologi in 1993 conducted researches on the biodiversity and plant genetic resources in West Kalimantan. The studies were carried out intensively for four years in Raba and Nangka villages in Pontianak Regency (present Landak Regency) and Tanjung village in Ketapang regency, with the local people as the main actor and ID as a mere facilitator.²¹

The findings of these researches were published in a book entitled *Kalimantan; Bumi yang Kaya Makanan* (Kalimantan: Food Rich Land) in 2000. Through this book, ID hopes to bring a new understanding of the importance of forests for the sustainability of human lives, especially for the Dayak people and their culture. If forest exploitation for business interests continues unabated and uncontrolled, a time may come that the book would be a mute witness to West Kalimantan's once having been an abundant land with a great diversity of plant life.

3. Facilitating teaching of local culture

Schools are one of the institutions that can become a marginalizing tool against traditional societies in Indonesia. The formal education system, which is dominated by outside cultures, produces negative excesses. Not rooted in the local culture, it promotes the idea and belief that modernization is the best and only choice for the future.²²

In 1994 the government introduced a new curriculum which allocated 20 percent of the curriculum to teaching of local subjects. Taking the opportunity, Institut Dayakologi initiated cooperation with the West Kalimantan Provincial

Education Office to provide an alternative education program where topics on local culture and life would be taught in local subjects, particularly in schools where the majority of students are Dayak. Started in 1999, it became a pilot project in eight elementary schools spread out in West Kalimantan.

The project began with a workshop that involved not only ID and the West Kalimantan Provincial Education Office but also officials and experts of the participating and surrounding schools. The workshop recommended that cultural traditions, traditional arts, crafts and games should be included in local subjects to be taught by local experts. Subsequent evaluations of the pedagogic processes of the local subjects showed positive response.

4. Ethnolinguistic Research

Language is the last stand of a culture. As one of the essential components of culture, it is often used as a basis for identity of an individual or a community. The Dayak indigenous community in West Kalimantan has a wealth of languages.

Dayak languages that are approximately 400 in number are a pile of national cultural treasure which holds various beauties, wisdom, uniqueness, science, and technology. The languages are the last frontier that defends the wisdoms from extinction. For the Dayaks who do not know the writing tradition, their languages can be used as a defense for their culture and existence as a traditional community.²³

Languages, with many variants emerging from the same language root, are complex and hold and represent the wisdom, value system and emotions of their speakers. The existence and vitality of a language is determined by the number of its speakers. If they are decreasing, then sooner or later the language will die. And if it becomes extinct, so will a culture, local knowledge and value system. Its speakers lose their history and identity.

Due to the importance of language in a culture, ID launched in 1997 an ethnolinguistic research on the languages of the Dayak people in West Kalimantan. Aside from identifying and mapping the diversity of languages of the Dayak sub-ethnic groups, the 7-year study has been useful as an advocacy tool for endangered languages whose speakers are declining due to the dominance of foreign languages in society.

Institut Dayakologi Director John Bamba has noted that two percent of Dayak languages have over 100,000 speakers; 19 percent have 10,000-100,000 speakers; 21 percent have 5,000-10,000 speakers; 37 percent have 1,000-5,000 speakers; 19 percent have 100-1,000 speakers; and two percent have less than 100 speakers. These data, according to him, indicate that Dayak languages are on the brink of extinction.²⁵

Diagram 1. Number of Speakers of Dayak Languages in West Kalimantan



Disseminating this information would make people aware that a language exists only if people speak it. ID popularized the results and process of the ethnolinguistic study in a book entitled *Mosaic Dayak* that many believe can be a stepping stone for the next scientific activity in the field of languages. A digitized map was also produced showing the language variants and the Dayak sub-ethnic groups in West Kalimantan that speak them.

5. ANPRI: Voice of Peace for West Kalimantan

Ethnic conflict in West Kalimantan, mainly between Dayak and Madura ethnic groups, has been a latent problem for years. Although there are no available data on the exact number, the conflict has claimed many lives and has brought little benefit to the parties involved.

GPPK's vision is to bring about mercifulness and solidarity; it holds peace as a great value and does not tolerate any form of violence on any ground. All its programs are based on respect for man's dignity, protection and tolerance and must not exclude or discredit other ethnic groups. One of these has been its active participation in a forum in Pontianak to open multiparty discussion to find a peaceful solution to ethnic conflicts. In 2002 it started advocating multiculturalism through a campaign that promoted respect for differences (culture, ideology, ethnicity, religion, race, and traditions). If the cause of ethnic conflict is truly cultural, then the only way to respect differences is to tolerate and accept the differences that exist as a reality of life.

In ID's view, peace is not the goal but men need it in order to be able to achieve all their goals and aspirations. Based on this idea, Institut Dayakologi in 2006 continued the role GPPK initiated by establishing an alliance of non government organizations to promote a culture of peace and a multicultural society in Borneo. The *Aliansi NGO untuk Perdamaian dan Rekonsiliasi* or Alliance of NGO for Peace and Reconciliation (see Chapter 2) is comprised by six NGOs in West Kalimantan and three primary credit unions whose membership is as diverse as the ethnic groups in West Kalimantan. ANPRI members undertake their campaign through their strategic partners, the credit unions. Credit unions are considered strategic because of the universal values they uphold, one of which is nondiscrimination on ethnic, racial, religious or any basis. One of its pillars, the credit union's education program integrates peace culture and multiculturalism to enable members to understand and live the values of diversity.

6. *Kalimantan Review: Voice of Indigenous Community*

From its very first publication as a bulletin in June 1992, *Kalimantan Review* has served as a medium to advocate the rights of the Dayak community. Despite pressure from New Order regime critics and a media industry that mostly towed the rulers' line, KR continues to be published today, distinguishing itself in the journalistic field as an alternative press along with other ID publications.

Kalimantan Review provides a forum to raise and discuss the issues and aspirations of Dayaks, especially those at the grassroots level. Their otherwise silenced aspirations are expressed in the only magazine that is published from, by and for the Dayak traditional community. The critical stand of Institut Dayakologi on all activities and projects carried out in the name of development that damage Dayak resources and livelihoods is voiced out clearly and supported by valid data. This has caused KR to be feared by those whose interests are threatened and loved by readers who have grown into a loyal base.

With the end of the New Order regime that widened democratic space and allowed media to become more openly critical of government, KR stepped up the campaign for peace and multiculturalism. Its content became more varied, which enlarged its reader base. Its advocacy for the Dayak was further boosted by GPPK's expansion into other media forms, such as *Radio Komunitas Suara Masyarakat Adat* (Community Radio for the Voice of Indigenous Community, RAMA) and Ruai TV, a local TV station (further discussed in Chapter 7).

7. *Facilitation for Empowerment of Independent Indigenous Community*

The Institute facilitates integrated programs to empower indigenous communities, and an illustration is its engagement with the Jalai Dayak and Kendawangan Dayak in southern Ketapang regency. Their traditional area consists of six districts: Jelai Hulu, Marau, Kendawangan, Singkup, Air Upas

and Manais Mata. These two groups are a microcosm of the general Dayak community. External pressures throughout their history have brought lasting impacts that have deeply affected them. They endured double colonialism: by the sultanate and by the Dutch.²⁶ They faced complex problems like many other Dayaks.

In 1997 a great forest fire occurred followed by a cricket epidemic. Since their livelihoods of rubber tapping and farming gave insufficient yields, they resorted to other means to survive and to meet their economic needs. They went into destructive logging and mining, which are not practiced in their traditional resource management system.

Institut Dayakologi saw these activities as counterproductive and opposed to what the people had previously hoped to gain from them. The real problem however was not only economic and environmental but seriously threatened the very existence of their culture. In 1993 ID undertook a Plants Genetic Resources (PGR) research and a number of documentation activities in response to the communities' problems. Two years later, Pancur Kasih People's Natural Resources Management Empowerment Program or PPSDAK-PK facilitated a participatory mapping of their villages. The mapping aimed to defend these Dayak communities against oil palm plantations, to resolve a number of problems they faced and to identify their expectations.

In mid 2001, ID and other GPPK activists carried out four main programs in a more comprehensive and integrated manner: populist economy empowerment through support and facilitation of the development of Gemalq Kemisiq Credit Union (CUGK) that had been established two years earlier, revitalization of local culture and institutions, local wisdom-based natural resources management and cricket pest control.

Although these programs consisted of many components, they were executed in an integrated manner. The project began with a social investigation to map out the threat and opportunities in the communities. The result was discussed through a focused group discussion with the communities and used as a basis to formulate programs for each of the villages. The individuals with a potential to become pioneers

in the empowerment movement were trained and equipped with organizational tools. They were expected to become the agents in their communities who would gather and manage their potential human resources to ensure they could sustain the empowerment program independently.

After about 10 years of implementation, these programs have contributed in resolving the problems of the Jalai and Kendawangan communities. While a number of both qualitative and quantitative indicators can be used to measure the programs' benefits, in the absence of a comprehensive evaluation, it cannot be concluded that the members of these communities have accepted and recognized the project gains. Nonetheless, based on what was planned, the achievements could not have been attained without the implementation of the various programs. The Credit Union Gemalq Kemisiq, for example, has seven service points to provide maximum service to its members. Aside from responding to economic needs, CUGK also performs a social function. Its by-laws and regulations state that the credit union's products and services must not go against the principles of sustainable natural resource management and social local values. The enforcement of traditional law as an alternative to litigation in the management of CUGK is also a part of the effort to revitalize endangered local institutions and culture.

To strengthen local culture and institutions in these Dayak communities, Institut Dayakologi further helped establish two cultural centers. The Gemalq Kemisiq Culture Studio serves the needs of the Jalai Dayak, and the Patih Gerintang Culture Studio caters to the Kendawangan Dayak. While these centers have not been operating as planned, these help ensure the people's arts and ritual ceremonies will be sustained and preserved and will continue to be performed by the younger generation. The youth are learning about their traditions and culture from local experts as taught in local subjects in their schools. The adults, who were previously uninformed and even forbade their children to attend traditional ceremonies, have supported and motivated the youth to participate in cultural events.

Advocacy for environmental management as part of sustainable resource management has borne fruits. *Kalimantan Review* (2006-2008 editions) has reported the stories of villagers who bravely defended their rights to their forest, land and water from external threats. And their awareness was mainly built through the advocacy made through such alternative media as *Kalimantan Review*, Village Library and *Manjing Tarah* Community Radio.



Institut Dayakologi in GPPK Network

The strategic position that Institut Dayakologi holds in the GPPK network involves not only implementing technical activities for empowerment at the grassroots level. ID also formulates policies and plans on GPPK's future direction to enable the movement to be always attuned and responsive to the problems of Dayak society.

ID played a role and initiative in the establishment of GPPK program units and in making GPPK more widely known (See Chapter 1, Table 1). GPPK began to be more publicly visible when the 1992 Dayak Culture National Seminar and Exhibition was held by ID, which at the time had established a network and actively conducted information dissemination. The *Kalimantan Review* and *Dayakologi Journal*, which are also published in English and available on the official ID website, have further helped to bring public attention to the GPPK movement and its role. The use of information technology has become one of the keys by which ID shares its ideas to the world including online database on Dayak culture and its achievements. In the near future, ID will launch a Mediawiki-based website on Dayak culture to serve as a channel for ID and other parties to share their ideas.²⁷

The Institute through its programs also strategically promotes peace and multiculturalism in West Kalimantan as a response to ethnic conflicts. It maintains that the past riots between the Dayak and Madura groups, whatever their cause, have injured communities and cannot be justified. *Kalimantan*

Review, as ID's leading publication, has stood as a medium for empowerment and reconciliation in West Kalimantan following the violent conflicts.

The advocacy of Institut Dayakologi, which stands in the frontline of the GPPK network in strengthening Dayak identity, is a continuing process. Indigenous communities around the world, especially in Asia and Africa, are fighting through many means against the pressure of capitalism and regimes that disregard their interests and sustainability. This includes the struggle for human rights, environment, democracy and other matters that mean the survival of indigenous communities. These are the same things ID works for, and its role in providing ideas for alternative solutions can be shared not only on the local but also national and international levels.

The NGO community has been dynamic in responding to and solving the problems of indigenous communities. In the same manner, ID has been consistent from the start in its commitment and objective to address problems facing Dayak culture. Its persistence in attaining this goal made it the 2005 country winner of the Resource Alliance and Citigroup Foundation award, given to NGOs in the Asia Pacific region to honor their achievements. A documentary film produced by ID was also nominated at the Borneo Film Festival.

Institut Dayakologi views the problems on Dayak culture as related to other aspects of the people's life as demonstrated by its integrative empowerment program for the Jalai and Kendawangan Dayak communities in Ketapang. This showed that programs may be more successful if initiated directly through an integrated approach, and advocacy more effective if accompanied by real activities at the grassroots.

The experience of A.R. Mecer in innovating the Pancur Kasih model of credit union by studying and developing the local values into the four-way salvation path also gives a valuable lesson. Such reinterpretation of Dayak culture in the current context is a concrete form of cultural revitalization and restitution. Cultural values are transformed to answer present challenges people encounter. As GPPK has shown, the Dayak people and culture possess values that can be useful

for people in general, and what is needed is the ability and creativity to probe and develop them. Culture itself is the fruit of the intellectual brilliance and creativity of a people to solve various challenges.

J.J. Kusni states that the GPPK empowerment model provides a way for the Dayak people to regain their identity. The road to that ideal is long because many Dayaks still live in difficult conditions. Thus, empowerment models for the Dayak community should continue to be improved to attain this goal. By taking this road, Dayaks will develop a culture, which is aware of the developments of the era, and grow into maturity to become the current Dayak. This is the true meaning of transformation that is in line with the GPPK vision: “Dayak People Dignified in Culture.”

The more Dayaks are organized and educated, the more empowered they will be, and their aspiration to be the main actors on their own land and to set their own destiny can be sooner realized. In this way, they are more equipped to meet all possibilities the future brings. The hope that Dayaks will not be mere workers on their own land, as Charles Brooke had warned, can be a reality, not simply a mirage in a deserted wasteland

Endnotes

¹ Written by Benyamin Efraim, activist of Institut Dayakologi, with inputs from A.R. Mecer, John Bamba and Francis Wahono.

² Payne 1960, as quoted by Colchester 1993, 158.

³ Djuweng 2005, 3.

⁴ A.R. Mecer in an interview on October 6, 2009 in Jl. Sintang P-6, Pontianak.

⁵ Compare with IDRDR; *Institute of Dayakology Research and Development*.

⁶ Bamba 2004, 79.

⁷ The elimination of the word “development” itself is connected to the rise in tension and anti-development stance taken by IDRDR activists at the time because the development model enforced by the New Order government had eroded the sovereignty and culture of the Dayak.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 73.

⁹ This term identifies Dayak with monkeys; hence, no matter what they do, whether good or bad, right or wrong, they will always be viewed as behaving like animals that is not acceptable in general society. This label has caused a deep and long lasting trauma among Dayak indigenous society.

¹⁰ Bamba *Op. cit.* p. 75.

¹¹ Djuweng 2003, 2.

¹² Kusni 2004, 18.

¹³ Bamba *Op. cit.* p. 77.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Bamba *op. cit.* p. 78.

¹⁶ Bamba *Op. cit.* p. 79.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ In the fire that burned the ID building on August 9, 2007, all documentation data and ID assets that were collected in a period of 17 years were destroyed, including oral tradition (OT I-IV) research data. ID repeated the documentation program after the catastrophe.

¹⁹ Rahman 2008. <http://www.kabarindonesia.com>.

²⁰ Redaksi Beritahabitat.net “*Terdapat 3 Akar Masalah Penyebab Deforestasi dan Degradasi Hutan di Indonesia*” in Redaksi, Berita Habitat. 8 Oktober 2009.<http://beritahabitat.net>.

²¹ Bamba 2000, x.

²² Bamba 2004, 76.

²³ Bamba 2007, xix.

²⁴ ID Ethnolinguistic Research Team (Pontianak: Institut Dayakologi 2007).

²⁵ Bamba 2007.

²⁶ At the time, they were enslaved by the Panembahan of the Matan Kingdom as an extension of the Dutch Colony; they had to pay taxes regularly in the form of food (rice, chicken and eggs) and send 10 men to work in 6-month shifts by rotation. See Bamba 2001, 79.

²⁷ Media Indonesia 2011, 20.

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Popularizing People-Based Economy¹

Sarvianus Mimi



Cause of Poverty

For about three decades, Indonesia implemented an exploitative resource management policy, especially in the forestry, mining and oil palm plantation sectors. This was part of an effort to accelerate economic growth but without much regard for sustainability of raw materials and people's empowerment. As a result, natural resources rapidly declined, and indigenous people lost their sources of livelihood and rights to future use of these resources.

Forest exploitation for the timber industry reached its peak in the 1980s, with timber exports becoming one of the main sources of national income. At the same time, oil palm plantations were expanding extensively in former forest concession areas and on ancestral lands of indigenous peoples especially in West Kalimantan.

The expansion of the oil palm plantation in six regencies in West Kalimantan since the 1980s until 2009 has resulted in 229 corporations holding the rights to expand the oil palm plantation up to 3.57 million hectares and 318,560 hectares have been realized. The license conditions for oil palm plantation expansions in West Kalimantan are as follows: Ketapang Regency: 1.1 million hectares; Kapuas Hulu Regency: 425,000 hectares, Sintang Regency: 519,400 hectares; Pontianak Regency: 401,472 hectares, Sambas Regency: 195,470 hectares; Bengkayang Regency: 191,125 hectares; Landak Regency: 434,860 hectares; Sanggau Regency: 372,259 hectares; Sekadau Regency: 269,544 hectares; and Melawi Regency: 172,259 hectares.²

The extracted natural wealth, however, benefited only a few people, leaving the rest of society in poverty and causing even more impoverishment for communities whose sources of income were wiped out. In particular, the people living in and around the forests did not receive any substantial benefit from the greatly profitable timber and palm plantation industries. The touted trickledown effect never occurred, as the people did not get the economic improvements they were promised. Instead, forest exploitation disrupted the sources of livelihood they depended on, reducing their access to and management of natural resources. A consequence was rising poverty.

The number of people in poverty in 2004 was 558,580 lives or about 13.91 percent of the West Kalimantan population. Meanwhile, the number of households in poverty (including the near poor, poor and very poor) that were eligible to receive BLT (Bantuan Langsung Tunai/Financial Welfare Aid) in 2006 was 359,356 households. In the period of March 2007 to March 2008, the number of people in poverty decreased 12.92 percent from 584,000 to 508,000 people. This number shows that the number of people in poverty decreased by 75,500 people. The poverty line in West Kalimantan is Rp158,843 per capita per month, placing 508,000 people in poverty or 11.07 percent. The Poverty Gap Index in West Kalimantan is 1.66 and the Poverty Severity Index in the province is 0.42.³

GPPK realized that the poverty was not caused by the absence of resources but of ideas on how to curb economic exploitation. Advocating a social economic movement, it started to disseminate the concept of the credit union. GPPK chose the credit union, as it is an effective means to socialize the economy and at the same time to propagate the methods of holistic natural resource management. Thus as GPPK activists went around villages and their own hometowns to conduct programs in cultural research, participative mapping and critical law lectures, they shared the success story of Pancur Kasih Credit Union, which they established on May 28, 1987.



Supporting People's Initiative

PEK-PK Program

To handle economic issues, the founders of GPPK formed a socio-economic think tank to focus on how to socialize the economy with the credit union as the tool to be integrated in GPPK activities and programs. The team was organized in October 1995 and called *Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Kerakyatan Pancur Kasih* or PEK-PK. A.R. Mecer articulated its rationale thus:

In general, Pancur Kasih was established as an answer to poverty issues, environment issues, lack of knowledge, and other issues. To fulfill that role, we formulated programs and formed a team that will be responsible to implement them. We began by establishing formal schools, the Santo Fransiskus Asisi Middle and High Schools, to make people educated. We then established institutions to deal with culture, law, environment, social development, and the economy.⁴

The immediate need then was to support people's initiatives in solving economic, social and cultural problems. As a

strategy PEK-PK chose to partner with credit unions, which assist people in overcoming financial difficulties. In this partnership, PEK-PK provides human resources in the form of skills, facilities and funds for operation.

Money as an Idea, Credit Union as its Implementation

Almost everyone thinks that by having money, everything can be achieved, such as building a house, providing food and meeting other needs to sustain life, but not many people think critically of what money is. GPPK has its own understanding of money and that is: money is not only the paper or coin that is printed with numbers, it is an idea. Money as an idea exists everywhere; it is in the rocks, in the water, in wood. And it is through the credit union that GPPK gives a holistic understanding of money.

To help members of the credit union understand money as an idea, they are taught that people can own houses and vehicles as well as have savings even when they do not have cash in their pockets. The way to do this is through *Pinjaman Kapitalisasi* or Capitalization Loan where the credit union provides a loan to members to add to their savings or to be saved back to the credit union. Implemented since 1999, this is considered one of the ways of socializing the economy.

The concept of money as an idea was developed to rid people, especially credit union members, of misconceptions that they are unable to buy goods due to lack of money and yet they are able to pay or replace borrowed goods when they damage these. Or that they have no money to save, yet they are able to produce it when they have to repay a loan or other borrowings. The benefit of this kind of understanding of money is to motivate people to save, spend wisely and exercise discipline in managing their finances.

These are not unfamiliar practices because many common methods of acquiring goods like motorcycles, cars and houses are by way of financing or mortgage. If we are able to own a house, a car and a motorcycle through financing, then why can we not similarly have savings through this method? The credit union in Gemalaq Kemisiq in Tanjung, Jelai Hulu, Ketapang Regency, which was established on February 17, 1999, has consistently implemented this concept in its loan policy. This policy is applied to all regular members for their first loan. For succeeding loans, they have the choice what to use them for.

Objectives and Phases

The PEK-PK program supports the development of credit unions and encourages small scale business activities by their members. It assists the credit union in social preparation, initial organizing, provision of staff, training facilitation and

workshops according to the CU's needs and campaigns. The support aims to:

1. Help achieve empowerment and social welfare for Dayaks in their economic, social and cultural lives;
2. Increase people's participation in economic development through the credit union and productive activities that will improve their finances and intellectual, emotional and spiritual well being.

PEK-PK support for credit unions is conducted in phases (Table 1).

Table 1. Phases of Development of Credit Union and People's Productive Activities

Phases	Period	
Phase 1	April 1996- March 2001	Phase 1 is social preparation which builds collective understanding among members to enable the credit union to grow and develop as a financial institution, which accommodates their interests in improving their economic, social and cultural lives.
Phase 2	April 2001- March 2003	Phase 2 is the development phase where the credit union has developed and grown, and the people are organized in accumulating capital. During this phase, the credit union has to know how to develop the institution in the form of product development, service area expansion, and management strengthening. It also has to find ways to maximize the use of the funds in the hands of its members. To do this, members need to be motivated to use loans for productive activities to increase their household income.
Phase 3	April 2003 -March 2007	Phase 3 is the model development and strengthening phase where the credit union is well developed and grown to a mature size with a sufficient sustaining system in terms of size and members. It can also fulfill its financial requirements for its programs. In this phase the credit union needs model development and strengthening of the management system and human resources, which can be supported through trainings and workshops. Its growth and development should continue, and productive units should be strengthened. The activities that have grown are still in the learning process and finding the correct form and system and thus need to be continuously supported. ⁵

The PEK-PK employs several approaches in its program for credit unions. First, people are organized and motivated to save and become credit union members. They are also organized to develop businesses (productive activities) with an ecological perspective to strengthen access and rights to management of natural resources. In this way, the people can protect their rights to resources, and support from credit union loans will strengthen their ability to sustain their income sources, enabling them to save and repay their loans.⁶ To complement these activities, PEK-PK conducts public campaigns to disseminate information to influence public opinion to support and strengthen a people-based economy.

These programs and activities have the general objective to transform people's mindset, attitude and behavior and to increase people's welfare. These are also intended to improve the ability of both credit union managers and members in organizing and managing small economic enterprises that can serve as a model for adoption in other areas. The program is further directed towards the establishment and utilization of learning, marketing and advocacy networks.



Popularizing Credit Unions

The credit union not only provides a wise and effective way to socialize the economy. Through its three pillars of education, independence and solidarity, it helps to develop people's critical awareness, increase their understanding and capability in management, and motivate them to get actively involved in holistic resource management. Active participation is the key, thus in the whole facilitation process, the people are the primary actor (owner and operator) of the activities, and PEK-PK serves merely as a motivator, facilitator and consultant. To ensure the smooth running of a populist economy, credit unions have formulated success indicators through a workshop conducted by PEK-PK in March 2006 in Wisma Tabor, Pusat Damai.

Facilitation and training

In facilitating the development of credit unions, PEK-PK has encountered some difficulties, especially in terms of people's capacity as well as apathy. To overcome these, PEK-PK assigns its staff to work full time in a local credit union for one to two years to strengthen it institutionally. The staff helps the managers of the credit union to conduct social preparation, financial and non-financial administration activities, education and training, organization and planning. The 1-2 year period is deemed sufficient to transfer knowledge and skills and to determine whether the PEK-PK staff can be withdrawn. This timeframe is also due to PEK-PK's limited personnel and wide geographical work scope.

One of the success indicators of PEK-PK support is the credit union's ability in technical administration, such as conduct of administrative activities and financial reporting. The managers for instance should be able to facilitate basic education for members, formulate working programs, analyze credits and develop the credit union. In addition, the supervisors should be able to conduct sufficient internal audits.

By the end of the 2-year period, the local managers are expected to become independent. Assistance, however, is extended in monitoring and training to increase the capacity of credit union activists and to develop members' business activities. This includes training in local wisdom-based entrepreneurship, management, household economy and gender awareness.

How PEK-PK supports Credit Unions

In 1996, A.R. Mecer and a number of GPPK activists conducted a meeting with people in Menyumbung village in Hulu Sungai, Ketapang Regency to talk about their concept of a credit union. The villagers raised many comments and ideas, including the trauma they experienced from the failure of previous credit unions they established.

After a lengthy discussion, however, they came to a common understanding and agreed to establish a new credit union. This was the Canaga Antunt Credit Union (CUCA) led by Yohanes Moser as chairperson. PEK-PK assigned its staff, Andreas Paulus and Tutol, to work with CUCA for one year. Aside from providing

personnel to give assistance, PEK-PK also facilitated a 6-month internship of the credit union staff in Pontianak to learn more about credit unions. Among those who participated in the program were Vitalis and Yeti who returned to their credit union to work as regular staff after their internship and continued to receive financial incentives until 2000.

Economic Empowerment Model

PEK-PK follows a distinct model and several basic principles in its economic empowerment program. It conducts the set activities with the people and start from their real conditions and problems. This is to enable them to understand that empowerment aims to achieve the following:

1. To transform mindset, attitude and behavior as people become critically aware of their condition;
2. To motivate eagerness, courage and commitment to change and move out of the condition that people are experiencing to a better condition while upholding social and traditional values;
3. To make people think and act critically, bravely and responsibly to free themselves from their condition;
4. To maximize human potential and natural resources in society using the principles of independence, participation and solidarity to improve people's lives and minimize dependence on outside parties (government, private institutions and other parties);
5. To motivate people to have freedom of thought and expression, to pursue welfare and eliminate fear;
6. To understand that empowerment is not a fund-giving program but an effort to develop independence, dignity and sovereignty.

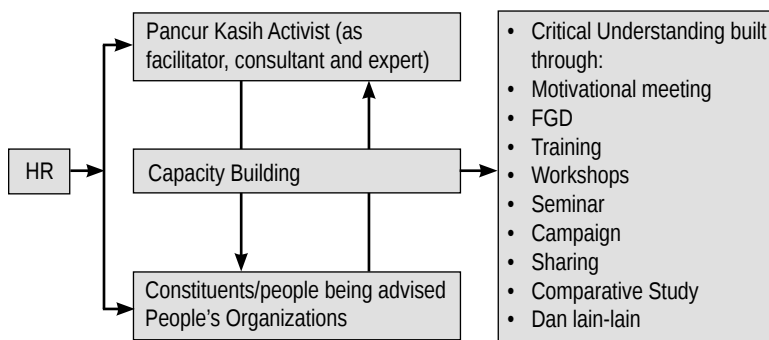
This understanding helps to ensure that the economic activities the people undertake run smoothly. Socializing the economy is done through a critical campaign on economic, social, political and cultural rights and development of a populist economy. A populist economy is built on the ability and willingness of people, which means it is financed by the people, managed by the people and produce benefits for the

people. This economic system is further described in the following terms:

Populist economy here is understood as a system of management and natural and human resource allocation that is humane; management and allocation methods that are educating, democratic, fair, based on the spirit of communality and mercy, and based on the power of the people. The principle of from, by, and for the people becomes of utmost importance in the implementation processes as a manifestation of honoring the dignity and sovereignty of the people of the nation.⁸

Critical campaign is conducted to achieve independent, empowered, prosperous, critical and responsible people. The framework in building a critical understanding is illustrated in the following diagram:

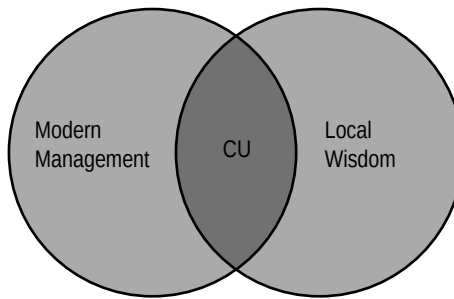
Diagram 1. Critical Understanding Development Framework



The goal of a populist economy is empowerment and freedom from economic, social and cultural hegemony. To achieve this, people are motivated to become active actors in cultivating local resources and in upholding and strengthening traditional values and customs to advance and master science, understanding and skills. Customs refer to the Dayaks' indigenous ways in fulfilling the requirements to have a meaningful life (see Chapter 2). These are the customs in meeting man's

physical (food and drink), sustainability (reserving best seeds for replanting), social (sharing and solidarity) and spiritual (rites performance) needs.⁹ In short, the credit union developed by GPPK is an institution that is founded on modern management and local wisdom, as illustrated in the following diagram.

Diagram 2. Credit Union Structure as Combination of Modern Management and Local Wisdom



Credit Union Products and Services

The values embodied in Dayak local wisdom and customs are reflected in the product and service development of the credit unions facilitated by GPPK. For instance, the value of allocating the best agricultural produce for seeds to sustain the next agricultural cycle is adopted in a number of savings products (Saaleatn-CUPK, Tanis-CUGK, TAKALAK CUCA). These products are characterized by the symbol of prosperity building. With these savings products, credit union members are able to plan for their family's economic prosperity based on local wisdom and social unity.

The custom of providing for daily food and drinks is used in a savings product with daily interest. With savings, members are able to manage the daily spending of the household. The values of social unity influence health and death solidarity products, which strengthen the members' sense of caring for others. Through these products, members help their colleagues by easing financial burdens caused by ill health or death. The adoption of local wisdom in the development

of products and services is the distinguishing feature of the GPPK model of credit union.

Aside from being adopted in the credit union, spiritual values inherent in the Dayak custom of ritual performance have also inspired the establishment of independent parishes. PEK-PK, in coordination with credit unions, implements the Independent Parish Movement through its critical education program. Together with the Canaga Antunt Credit Union, it facilitated the Menyumbang Salib Suci Parish and Nanga Tayap Apostle Santo Petrus. With Pancur Kasih CU, it assisted the Ambawang River Santo Fidelis Parish; with Puyang Gana CU, the Bukit Kelam Santo Martinus Parish; with Stella Maris CU, the Stella Maris Parish, and credit unions of other parishes.

Education and Training

Establishing a populist economy through the credit union is grounded on education and training. Training, workshops and seminars including funding support comprise 80 percent of PEK-PK activities, and the rest is technical consultation. Education and training are categorized into four groups based on their goals:

1. Giving Awareness and Motivation: builds people's awareness about social reality and motivates them to move and transform the current condition into a better (ideal) one;
2. Giving Knowledge and Information: focuses on local wisdom, and training is given locally, regionally and nationally. The education motivates people to understand correctly the issues that support and threaten their local wisdom;
3. Education that forms and strengthens attitudes and spiritual values. It motivates people to change their mindset and habits, especially of being unorganized;
4. Training to increase skills and expertise in the fields of administration, finance, credit analysis, supervision, management, computer literacy, organization, leadership, training facilitation, among others.

As people in villages have a limited ability in understanding new information, PEK-PK uses local wisdom as an approach in establishing a populist economy. It utilizes the people's own cultural values and local expertise as an entry point to explain concepts discussed in learning processes.¹⁰

Expansion of Credit Unions

The effort to establish a populist economy through the credit union is undertaken not only in West Kalimantan but also in other provinces of Kalimantan and the rest of the country.¹¹

PEK-PK works in a number of regencies in Kalimantan. It is to the credit of GPPK activists who returned to their hometowns to start credit unions in their own villages that this economic institution began to spread in various regencies. The following table shows the expansion of credit unions in West Kalimantan that were facilitated through the Populist Economy Empowerment Program; it includes the hometowns of GPPK activists.

Table 1. Expansion of Credit Unions in West Kalimantan

No.	Regency	Credit Union
1	Ketapang	Gemalaq Kemisiq (Tanjung village), Canaga Antunt (Menyumbung village), Pengiris Midup (Balai Berkuak village), Pancur Dangeri (Simpang Dua village), Arus Laur (Sepotong village), which has joined with Canaga Antunt
2	Sanggau	Sumber Kasih, Mura Kopa, Taponk Borimai (joined with Pancur Kasih)
3	Sintang	Puyang Gana (Kelam village), Tani Mandiri (Engkrangan village)
4	Melawi	AGAPE (Nanga Pinoh)
5	Kapuas Hulu	Tri Tapang Kasih (Sejiram village), Tuah Menua (Sungai Utik village) which has joined with Keling Kumang
6	Sekadau	Keling Kumang (Tapang Sambas village), Nyai Anta (Nanga Taman village), Usaha Kita (Sungai Ayak village)
7	Bengkayang	Raya Ramoh (Sibale village) (joined with Pancur Kasih)

Source: PEK-PK

Spread of credit unions facilitated by GPPK through PEK-PK Program in West Kalimantan



Source: PEK-PK

Aside from programmed facilitation, PEK-PK also provides development support, in terms of training and strategic planning. The credit unions it has extended such assistance to are Manteare Credit Union, Tilung Jaya Credit Union, Sabhang Utung Credit Union, KUSAPA Credit Union, Pancur Solidaritas Credit Union, Muare Pesisir Credit Union, Sari Intugin Credit Union, Kingmi and Lantang Tipo Credit Union.

Drawing some lessons from the credit union development in West Kalimantan, PEK-PK acknowledges that it is mainly a facilitator, consultant and expert and can only give recommendations to problems the credit union faces. Its role is to provide and facilitate training and workshops, consultation, concept proposal, field consultation, monitoring and evaluation. Also, it does not have a binding relationship with the credit unions it facilitates.

Other Areas

The Pancur Kasih-model of credit union has reached provinces in Central, South and East Kalimantan (see Table 2). This development was mainly achieved through the facilitation of PEK-PK and Pancur Kasih Union for Community Empowerment Movement or SegeraK-PK in cooperation with Kalimantan Credit Union Coordinating Body.

Table 2. Credit Unions and Development Centers in Kalimantan

No.	Credit Union	Development Center
1	Femung Pebaya	Malinau, East Kalimantan
2	Batang Asi	Palangka Raya, Central Kalimantan
3	Eka Pembuluh Itah	Sampit, Central Kalimantan
4	Remaung Kecubung	Pangkalan Bun, Central Kalimantan
5	Daya Lestari	Samarinda, East Kalimantan
6	Petemai Urip	Samarinda, East Kalimantan
7	Alang Jalung	Desa Ritan Baru, East Kalimantan
8	Sempekat Ningkah Olo	Dusun Jengan Danum, East Kalimantan
9	Citra Dayak	Kampung Sangsang, Siluq Ngurai, East Kalimantan
10	Sumber Rejeki	Ampah, Central and South Kalimantan
11	Bintang Karantika Meratus	Meratus , South Kalimantan

Source: PEK-PK

Aside from Kalimantan, the Pancur Kasih credit union has been replicated in other provinces throughout the country (see Table 3). PEK-PK and BKCU Kalimantan provided support through strategic planning, training, consulting and monitoring facilitation.

Table 3. Credit Unions and Development Centers outside Kalimantan

No.	Credit Union	Development Center
1	Uma Mentawai	Mentawai
2	Rajeh	Jember
3	Almendo	Sorong
4	Mambuin	Tofoi- Sumuri
5	Sauan Sebarung	Toraja
6	Barerot Gracia	Jakarta
7	Liku Aba	South West Sumba
8	Cindelas Tumangkar	Yogyakarta
9	Sinar Saron	Larantuka
10	Mekar Kasih	Makasar Sulsel
11	Prima Danarta	Surabaya
12	Kasih Sejahtera	Atambua
13	Sinar Papua Selatan	Merauke
14	Bahtera Sejahtera	Maumere
15	Gerbang Kasih	Ende East Nusa Tenggara

Source: POR-PK, SegeraK-PK Secretariat

In establishing a populist economy through the development of credit unions, PEK-PK works closely with other institutions and networks. PEK-PK is integrated with other institutional programs of GPPK, and in the field, it coordinates with local officials and other government agencies, traditional and religious institutions, people's organizations, training centers and BKCUI Kalimantan. The cooperation established is based on the institution's own strategic role.

Benefits of Populist Economy

a. Growth of Credit Unions

The populist economy has helped to make credit unions grow and develop in membership, assets and savings while upholding the values of local wisdom. This is reflected in the development of products and the credit union's management system. The members understand the benefits of saving, thus the idea of investment (increasing their savings) through loans operates well.

b. Towards People's Business Enterprises

The development of people's businesses (productive activities), resource development and local wisdom are some of the reasons of members in joining a credit union. They want to develop sustainable income sources and gain a market share to increase their economic and social security.

PEK-PK's experience in organizing and financing the development of productive businesses, however, has not always been smooth. It assisted credit union members in cocoa and rubber tree plantation projects, organic vegetable gardens, fish farming, and trading. Specifically it conducted consultations and facilitated feasibility studies, planning, training, internships, and comparative studies for these small projects. While many of these businesses are operational, they are not developing and growing as planned, and a number have failed.

PEK-PK has realized that for a business enterprise to succeed, strong determination by credit union members is not the only requirement; the enterprise also needs time to grow. For instance, the Dayaks' lack of experience, skills and commitment contributed to the failed efforts at fish farming and cocoa cultivation. PEK-PK itself tried chicken raising as a pilot project for two and a half years before implementing it with local people. But it was discontinued when a bird flu epidemic

struck Indonesia and after losses for two business periods due to lack of sales and high cost of feeds.

c. Increasing People's Capacity

GPPK plays a practical and strategic role in increasing the capacities of local people in areas where credit unions operate. Some community people have admitted that at the start they were illiterate, risk averse and did not know what accounting was, much less financial reporting, but through GPPK they have become more knowledgeable in these areas and are willing to assess risks. According to Yustania, a Puyang Gana Credit Union activist, PEK-PK training and consultations expanded her colleagues' and her own awareness of their condition, their knowledge, information, skills and determination as well as the values that need to be strengthened. She acknowledged that they could not have reached their level of development without PEK-PK.¹²

d. Women's Empowerment

The PEK-PK program also builds the capacity of women through organization and training, boosting their abilities as well as confidence to involve themselves in the management of credit unions.¹³

e. Health and Education

The Pancur Kasih model of credit union has helped people in villages to cope with their families' health and educational needs. As Tani Mandiri Credit Union member Lorentius Aki noted, educational needs are not only for children but also for adult villagers who decide to continue with their schooling. PEK-PK and the credit union have opened people's minds to many possibilities including what to do to improve their quality of life.

In the same vein, health needs involve not only medical care and treatment but also improved nutrition. PEK-PK and the credit union teach extensively the importance of farming, vegetable gardening, and preserving a healthy environment to ensure safe drinking water supply.¹⁴

f. Indirect Effects

Credit unions have contributed to the region's economy through taxes, specifically on vehicles. According to board members of credit unions that partnered with PEK-PK, at least 23,213 motorcycles and 355 cars have been purchased through credit union financing. A motorcycle is taxed an average Rp150,000; and a car, an average Rp2 million. In a year, the regional government can collect Rp3,481,950,000 (2008) in taxes on motorcycles and Rp710,000,000 on cars. This does not include other businesses that credit union members operate like restaurants and trading.¹⁵



Lessons Learned

GPPK has faced many problems in the struggle to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of the people. Its effort to establish a populist economy and to help run small businesses in particular encountered difficulties. But through hard work and coping with the challenges, many assisted businesses, although they failed at the start, ultimately grew and produced profits. Establishing a populist economy requires much persistence, patience and time. One of the important lessons is to increase the capacity of villagers with low formal education to develop businesses with standardized accounting principles and to understand the philosophy of empowerment.

The GPPK has proven its ability in establishing a populist economy. Credit unions that were thought to be a lost cause have grown and become learning centers for people from other parts of Indonesia and other countries like Malaysia, es-

pecially Sabah and Sarawak, Cambodia, and Bangladesh. This success can be ascribed to its activists' understanding of the ideology, philosophy, local wisdom, and tactical and strategic methods in establishing a populist economy.

A future challenge is how to share these ideas, knowledge and skills with people in villages who have limitations in managing financial businesses like credit unions that have grown so big and thus have a higher level of risk, integration and sustainability. The other challenge is how to keep the credit unions as a social and economic movement that prioritizes local values and wisdom and not a capitalistic institution that simply focuses on financial gains.

Endnotes

¹ From PEK-PK Strategic Planning Document 1996-2007.

² Written by Sarvianus Mimi, a PEK-PK activist and currently the manager of Gemalang Kemisiq Credit Union in Tanjung, Ketapang, with the assistance of Paulus Darem, a former PEK-PK activist.

³ Data on summary of plantation licenses in West Kalimantan published by the Plantation Bureau of West Kalimantan in 2007.

⁴ Data of BPS Kalbar (Central Statistic Agency of West Kalimantan) on poverty rate from 2004 to March 2008.

⁵ A.R. Mecer in an interview done by Paulus Darem at Kapuas Palace hotel on 26 June 2009.

⁶ Program Report on findings of interviews conducted by Paulus Darem and Sarvianus Mimi with the Board and members of PEK's credit union partners in May 2009.

⁷ As stated by Yohanes Moser, Board of CUCA, Vitalis and a senior staff of CUCA during an interview by Paulus Darem in July 2009.

⁸ Quoted from "Model and Principles of Peoples Empowement of Pancur Kasih," paper presented by Sarvianus Mimi in Populist Economy Management Training held by Merah Putih Foundation in Palu, June 2007 and Populist Economy Development Training held by ILO in Jayapura and Manokwari in November 2008 and in Wamena in June 2009.

⁹ As explained by A.R. Mecer in every Pancur Kasih Movement meeting, permitted to be quoted.

¹⁰ As included in Activity Report of PEK-PK of February 2009.

¹¹ Explained in PEK-PK 1996-2008 Planning and Reporting document, PK Segerak secretariat program report, and Segerak and POR Pancur Kasih Secretariat Credit Union Development Program Report.

¹² As described by Yustania, Rebu (Puyang Gana staff), Jerahi (Sumber Kasih senior staff), Budin (Mura Kopaseniior staff), Miluanus (Mura Kopa staff and former chairperson), Adrianus Ayau (Pancur Dangeri manager), Andreas Sartono (Pancur Dangeri chairperson), and Vick Ilu (Pancur Dangeri founder and former chairperson) to Paulus Darem and Sarvianus Mimi in May 2009.

¹³ Quoted from PEK-PK Program Execution Report to Oxfam Novib in August 2008 and testimony by Yustania (Puyang Gana-Sintang Credit Union senior staff) in June 2009.

¹⁴ Interview with Lorensius Aki, a Tani Mandiri Credit Union member in May 2009.

¹⁵ Quoted from evaluation of PEK-PK programs conducted by Delima Kiswanti from Remdec in 2006 and from statements of H Djuki (founder of CU Sumber Kasih), H. Tindit (one of the founders and staff of CU Puyang Gana), Vitalis (staff of CU Canaga Antunt), H Tarno (Board of CU Puyang Gana), Lourentius Aki (member of CU Tani Mandiri), Yoseph Patiwil (Head of Credit Department of CU Tri Tapang Kasih), and Bonifasius Timan (member of CU Tri Tapang Kasih), May 2009.

¹⁶ As explained by Gemalq Kemisiq Credit Union board chair and Institut Dayakologi Executive Director John Bamba to Paulus Darem, June 2009.

Chapter

6

Nurturing Nature, Raising Human Dignity¹

Abdias Yas, Iwi Sartika and Marten Loter



Today we are standing here not to have fun, not to have revelry, not to be exulted, and not to have festive hullabaloo. Here we want to deliver to all people, to the world, that we almost can't stand the pain and sorrow. Our patience starts to fade, our reason starts to tremble. All these are because our living place has been robbed, our laws have been disdainfully degraded, and our hope has been disgraced.²

Mardius, Dayak Limbai youth

Dayak People Nurturing Nature

Long before the reign of the Malay sultanates, the Dutch and Japanese colonial regimes, the birth of the Republic of Indonesia and national and international forums on sustainable environment, the Dayak people in Kalimantan have been nurturing nature. For thousands of years they have maintained their own natural resource management system, which has played a significant role in sustaining and propagating the natural environment of Kalimantan.³ This is so since the Dayak consider nature as an inseparable part of their life.

To the Dayak, the universe contains such complex values as economy, culture and religion.⁴ Nature is the economic base, which is cultivated to support life through farm production, food gathering and hunting, among other activities.⁵ In getting the economic benefits nature provides, however, the Dayak maintain ecological balance. In farming, they apply *gilir-balik* (shifting cultivation) as a farming pattern, where a used plot is left to fallow for at least five years before it is recultivated. This is done to bring back the soil's fertility. In the process of opening a farm, the community usually builds a small canal around it to prevent forest fire.

For Dayak people, biological diversity is essential. Farmers do not only plant paddy but also cassava, corn, yam, sugarcane, and other crops. Diversifying crops, which forms part of their local knowledge in production management, makes efficient use of a farm plot as well as provides various food alternatives for carbohydrates, protein, vitamins and minerals. In addition, food plant diversification is their way of adapting to climate change and minimizing risks of harvest failure.

The Dayak manage nature and all its components on the basis of the principle of collectivity. The *menuba*,⁶ a way of catching fish among the Dayak Mayao in Kampung Kotup, for instance, can only be done collectively by the members of a kampong or village, and a grand kampong meeting has to be held before the activity is carried out.⁷



Dayak Sami farm plot in Kampung Terusan, Bonti District, Sanggau Regency. Photo: LBBT 2010

In the cultural context, apart from being a place to practice their culture, nature is at the same time a source of materials for Dayak people to build houses and boats, craft artistic and hunting tools, establish farm plots and other things they need for everyday life. One of these cultural forms is the *betang* house (longhouse), which can still be found in several regions in Kalimantan, while artistic tools like drums and traditional clothing are used in cultural performances.

The religious value of nature is reflected in the Dayak's belief that the universe is a gift from the Creator. Thus, through rituals they always give gratitude to the Creator; the soil, the stone, the tree, the mountain and the stream serve as tools by which they communicate with the Creator of the universe.



Cemetery of villagers of Lintang Tambok, Nanga Tebidah District, Sintang Regency. Photo: LBBT 2007

The Dayak people also take notice of diverse signs from nature. All the events they experience are considered related to nature. For instance, when a plague occurs in their community, it is attributed to some human deeds that are not pleasing to nature spirits; thus, they conduct rituals to seek the spirits' forgiveness and aid to halt the plague from inflicting further suffering. Furthermore, along with the ritual the kampong members apply an obligatory collective taboo, such as a ban on hunting and leaf-picking from a wooden tree for a certain period of time.

The Dayak follow several fundamental principles in managing natural resources, and these are sustainability, collectivity, biodiversity, subsistence, and observance of customary law. They view nature not only as an asset or property but as a collective dwelling. The concept of "collective dwelling" is manifested in every ceremony they perform prior to an activity of benefiting from nature in which they ask permission from nature's other inhabitants. Under this concept, nature is not for the interest and use of humans alone but also for other creatures. Thus, exploitative and destructive deeds are avoided for the sake of maintaining nature's harmony.⁹

The Dayak wisdom in managing nature is also perceptible in the concept of customary land use and allocation. The Dayak Punan Uheng Kereho in Kampung Nanga Enap, Kapuas Hulu Regency recognize four customary land uses: *titing* (dwelling area), *ivut* (former farming area less than 15 years old), *ivut tu'o* (farming area more than 15 years old), and *hiva* (primary forest area).¹⁰

The people of Cenayan, Nanga Mahap District, Sekadau Regency divide their customary areas into jungle, *bawas* (forest area used for shifting cultivation), *tembawang* or former residential areas planted with fruit and hardwood crops, *tengkawang* (fruit tree area), swamp, rubber plantation and residential area.



But can the Dayak wisdom in nurturing nature endure? Can its benefits still be felt in future generations? Today the Dayak face various threats to their lands and confront the challenge of defending their belief and ways in fostering the earth. Paran, a 60-year-old leader of the Dayak Kayaan in Kapuas Hulu, articulated this challenge:

*...We, Dayak people, are now under a very serious threat. Our environments, our nature, our customary rights, are very vulnerable. All Dayak people have this very same complaint about our environs, our jungle, our water, our nature, our weather. This is the problem for us.*¹²

In 1997 the Kayaan community witnessed how their forest was destroyed by PT. Lembah Jati Mutiara, a company given a license for an Industrial Plantation Forest or HTI. The same thing happened in 2007, this time by PT. Toras Banua Sukses, which claimed a total 24,920 hectares of forest based on a Minister of Forestry Decision Letter issued on 17 April 2006.¹³ Within the claimed area is the Dayak Kayaan customary forest.

Other Dayak communities suffered a similar fate. In 1994, the Dayak Krio in Sandai District, Ketapang Regency saw 15,600 hectares of their customary area marked out by PT. Lingga Teja Wana.¹⁴ So it was with the Dayak Bekatik in Belimbing Village, Bengkayang Regency where the HTI company PT. Nityasa Idola annexed their customary area in 1995. Also in Bengkayang Regency, PT. Ledo Lestari in July and August 2005 took over the customary land of the Semunying Jaya Village community, parts of which had been planted to rubber. Police officers arrested two villagers whom they accused of barring the entry of the company's heavy equipment.

In Melawi Regency, Dayak Limbai in Ketemenggungan¹⁵ Pelaik Keruap, Menukung District, were alarmed by a land survey conducted by several government officials in Bukit Kerapas and Bukit Alat, as these are customary areas that hold significant historical value for the community.¹⁶

Such expropriation of Dayak lands and violation of their rights are a consequence of various policies, which place nature as an object of exploitation and ignore indigenous land ownership. Since the days of Soeharto's authoritarian regime, natural resources have served as the core capital to fuel the Indonesian economy. This is manifested in the following programs and policies:

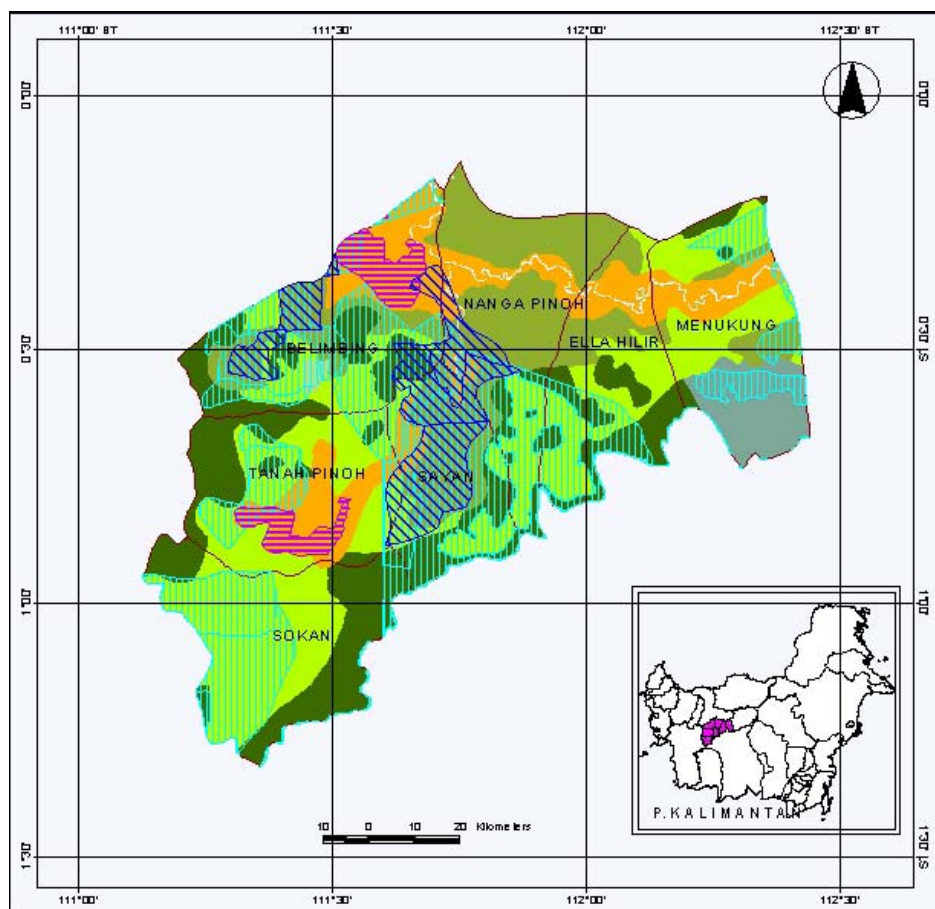
1. Exploitative Laws

Some of the exploitative policies that adversely affect indigenous peoples are the Basic Agrarian Law Number 11/1697, Foreign Investment Law Number 25 of 2007, Forestry Law Number 41 of 1999, Plantation Law Number 18 of 2004, and Spatial Management Law Number 26 of 2007.¹⁷ Through these laws, the state declares its authority and control over natural resources. Clause 14 article (1e) of the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law cites that: “in the frame of socialism, Indonesia makes a general plan regarding supply, allotment, and use of soil, water, space and nature’s richness contained within for the benefit of developing the industry, transmigration, and mining.”¹⁸

Furthermore, several of these laws give investors the means to invest and expand their capital and to obtain rights over ancestral lands through various permits and licences: Right to Exploit or HGU, Timber Forest Production Utilization Permit or IUPHHK, Forest Business License or HPH, Industrial Forest Plantation license and mining permit. It is these laws that support increasing expansion by oil palm, timber and mining companies. The Basic Agrarian Law and Plantation Law allow extension of HGU permits, granting its holders leeway and legal basis to keep lands for their operation.

The Basic Agrarian Law, Clause 22 (a), provides a 95-year HGU permit that can be renewed twice, for 60 years and for another 35 years. In the same vein, the Plantation Law extends the HGU permit for another 25 years should the holder make a proposal for an extension; the permit can also be granted to a new business holder (clause 11) right after the HGU expires. The Forestry Law regulates forest product utilization granted to timber companies through IUPHHK (Clause 29 article 4). This wave of laws have virtually washed away the lands of the Dayak people. The overlay of permits and licences, land use and spatial management in West Kalimantan Province shows the vast area where customary areas are not recognized (see map).

Land Allotment Map of Melawi Regency



LEGENDA :

- HPH
- KEBUN
- HTI
- AREA PENGGUNAAN LAIN
- CAGAR ALAM
- HUTAN LINDUNG
- HUTAN PRODUKSI TETAP
- HUTAN PRODUKSI KONVERSI
- HUTAN PRODUKSI TERBATAS
- TAMAN NASIONAL

Source: FWI and HuMa Jakarta

Based on the map, all the regency areas have been allotted for HPH, HTI, plantations, wildlife conservation, protection forest, definitive production forest, conversion production forest, limited production forest, and other-use area. There is no area managed by indigenous peoples depicted on the map. It is thus that Dayak lands have been controlled and devastated by giant companies, especially oil palm plantation corporations.

In West Kalimantan, 316 oil palm plantation companies have operated, both with and without HGUs, some at the seeding phase and others in the cultivation stage. They covered an area of 4,696,390 hectares as of June 2009.¹⁹ As for HPH, 2005 Forestry Office data showed about 1,162,020 hectares of forest areas in West Kalimantan were run by 19 timber companies.²⁰

Table 1: Distribution and Area of Oil Palm Plantations in West Kalimantan (April 2007)

Area of Distribution (Regency)	Number of Companies	Area (Ha)
Bengkayang	16	191,125.00
Kapuas Hulu	24	425,000.00
Ketapang	64	1,164,208.00
Landak	31	434,860.00
Melawi	13	172,650.00
Pontianak	25	401,472.00
Sambas	19	195,470.00
Sanggau	26	372,259.00
Sekadau	16	269,544.00
Sintang	27	519,400.00
Total	261	4,145,988.00

Source: Data processed from BAPPEDA of West Kalimantan Province (April 2007).

The total area of monoculture plantations will even widen should the government approve an investment proposal made in 2005 by Perusahaan Perkebunan Negara PT. Perkebunan Nusantara (state-owned plantation company, PTPN) to de-

velop around 1.8 million hectares on the Indonesia-Malaysia border; with an 875-km length, most of the remaining intact forest is found there.²¹

In the era of PIR BUN/TRANS²² initiated in the early 1980s, the government implemented a massive transmigration program that also appropriated Dayak lands. Every transmigrant family was given 2.5 hectares of land for free, where two hectares were used for oil palm plantation and the rest for settlement. In the first year, the family's daily needs were provided for by government through a life ration scheme. On the other hand, discriminative regulations were imposed on Dayaks who joined the program. They had to hand over at least seven hectares of land to state-owned or private companies. After being cultivated by the company, 2.5 hectares were returned to the owner who had to bear a 20-year installment payment mechanism to cover the company's operational costs. This patently unfair treatment caused resentment and jealousy among the Dayaks.

Sweet as they were the first time made, the company promises to the Dayak who lived within its operating area were never kept. Seemingly heroic slogans such as "for the sake of national development distribution" and "for the sake of justice and prosperity of the people" turned out to be empty words and a grand hoax that made the Dayak people realize they were being tyrannized. Individually and collectively, they found themselves treated as dairy cows, and if they stood against the tyrant, they were accused as dissidents and an obstacle to development.

This is evidenced by the experience of Vitalis Andi, an activist of Institut Dayakologi and secretary general of Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Jalai-Kendawangan (AMA-JK - Indigenous Peoples Alliance of Jalai Kendawangan) and Japin, a village activist. In 2008 PT. Bangun Nusa Mandiri (Sinar Mas Group) flattened cemeteries, rubber and fruit trees, and other plantations that belonged to the people of Kampung Silat Hulu in Marau District, Ketapang Regency. The local people withstood the company's heavy equipment and imposed the customary law on the company for conducting operations outside its concession area. But while the company agreed to

pay the penalty, it reported six members of Kampung Silat Hulu to the authorities for disrupting its operation. This included Andi who was not a resident of the kampong but was the Secretary General of AMA-JK, which had put up a massive struggle against companies that annexed Dayak lands.

2. Transmigration Program

Under the transmigration program, each member family of the Dayak community had to give 2.5 hectares to a transmigrant without any compensation.²³ More ironically, the transmigrants were treated better, as they were given life ration, a community health center, a school, clean water, and transportation access, among other services. In comparison, the kampongs of the Dayak who gave their lands to the transmigrants had never been paid any attention by the government. This was highly discriminatory and often triggered tension between the natives and the newcomers.

Before the 1990s, transmigration was identical with Javanization. After this period, transmigrants came not only from Java Island but also from Bali, East Nusa Tenggara and other regions. Transmigration indeed reduced the population density in the island where the transmigrants originated especially Java. But for the Dayak people, it spelled disaster as it threatened their existence.²⁴ This situation was worsened by the stigmatizing labels of “natives” and “newcomers,” which often gave rise to conflict between them.

3. Green Revolution

“Development” programs on the intensification of food plant cultivation and conservation also plundered the lands of Dayak people. Known as Green Revolution, these projects introduced and expanded the use of new technology in farming. Supported by some international institutions, the programs destroyed the Dayak farming system, bringing benefits to only a small group of people.

4. Conservation “Labelled” Project

Conservation programs like National Park, Protection Forest, Wildlife Conservation, and other newer schemes of forest preservation such as Reducing Carbon Emission from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD) and carbon trade also cause the seizure of Dayak lands and forests. In one such case, Pori and Toro, residents of Bukit Sungkup kampong, had to stay behind bars on the charge of cutting trees in Bukit Baka Raya National Park. But in their view, it was the National Park that appropriated the customary forest of Sungkup kampong.

In such crucial situations, GPPK and environmental organizations in West Kalimantan experience an even greater challenge. In its ecological advocacy (including cooperation with other organizations), GPPK sometimes faces various pressures and even violence, be it suffered by its activists or the community members it is guiding.²⁵



Impacts of Environment and Resource Destruction on Dayak People

The Dayak people, who rely on the land and its resources for their survival, bear the brunt economically and socially of any destruction on the environment. As *Down to Earth* explained:

*...it is no longer of our doubt that deforestation in Indonesia has caused serious impacts at the international, national, and local levels. Destructive tree cutting, uncontrollable forest fire, forest clearing for plantation, mining, fossil-made fuel exploitation, transmigration area development, water-animal breeding, and road building have been so long related to the negative social and economic impacts for the local Indigenous Peoples, who are dependent on the forest, and huge financial loss for the society and the state.*²⁶

Climate Change

The most felt impact of deforestation and consequent global warming is the alteration of the Dayak's farming cycle. For instance, *menugal* (seeding), which used to be held in July-August, has moved to September, impacting negatively on yields. According to Alamsyah, a 45-year-old resident of Kampung Laman Mumbung, Menukung District in Melawi Regency, their harvest is no longer enough for a year's supply of food, so they have to buy rice to cope with the shortage.²⁷ Other climate change effects are plant blights and various plant diseases, clean water shortage and disappearance of diverse plant and animal species, which supported the Dayak people economically and functioned as ritual tools.

A comparison of the current agricultural conditions and those of 10-20 years ago of Dayak Iban in Sungai Utik in Embaloh Hulu District, Kapuas Hulu Regency further illustrates these changes (see Table 2).

Table 2. Impacts of Climate Change on Dayak Iban in Sungai Utik

Past	Today
Farming season was regular.	The season is unpredictable, especially dry season, which is the time to burn undergrowth in fields. Failure in cultivation and harvest is common since paddies are soaked from floods.
Rainy and dry seasons were conveniently regular and predictable.	It is hard to predict when the rainy and dry seasons will come.
The farms were free from blights and diseases.	The farm is very vulnerable to blight and other diseases.
It was easy to hunt game animals (wild hog, etc.).	It is difficult to look for game.
The air was clean and fresh.	The weather is hot, air is dirty, dust and smoke are everywhere.
Not many diseases afflicted people.	Diseases that used to be rare are now common (allergy, malaria, etc.)

Fruit season was regular and predictable.	The fruit season is not predictable since the irregular dry and rainy seasons force the “fruit flower” to fall.
It was easy to find fish to catch.	It is hard to catch fish, as several species like the Tapah, which was commonly found in the river in certain seasons, have disappeared.

Source: Results of REDD LBBT Research 2009.

Economic and Cultural Loss

The takeover by big companies of indigenous lands, forests, water, and other natural resources is resulting in a loss for the Dayak on many fronts. The land and forest have significant roles in their existence; these are where their cemeteries, tembawang and *keramat* (*pantak*, *penti pemali*)²⁸ are located.

For example, Batu Betanam in the community of Limbai Ketemenggunan Siyai (Menukung District, Melawi Regency) is a sacred place that at the same time indicates that the customary area belongs to the Dayak Limbai. Historically significant, the land was won by Dayak Limbai in a battle between the people of Central Kalimantan and West Kalimantan. Their triumph made the area their own.²⁹ It is on this historical basis that Dayak Limbai people, up to now, continue to oppose the claims by Bukit Baka Bukit Raya National Park over the area.³⁰

Furthermore, economic and cultural activities, such as farming, hunting, gathering, and herbal plant harvesting cannot take place without the land and the forest. Once these resources are lost, the Dayak people’s knowledge about their farming system and the names of animals, trees and herbal plants will eventually vanish.

The rituals for economic and cultural activities will also disappear since these can no longer be performed. For instance, Dayaks living in oil palm plantations cannot open farms anymore, thus the accompanying ritual like *ngusok* (opening of farm for the first time) of the Dayak Sami in Bonti District, Sanggau Regency and other farm-related ceremonies will fade away.

Inevitably the people will lose their source of knowledge. With little or no knowledge about nature and their living environment, the young's identity and pride as Dayak will gradually weaken. In short, diminishing the land and the forest means diminishing the Dayak people.

Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement in Environment Sector

The reality that the poverty experienced by Dayak people is caused by the loss of sovereignty over their natural resources led GPPK to establish an environmental movement. To reclaim that sovereignty, GPPK knew that the effort must begin from the Dayaks themselves. This awareness prompted Dayak youth and GPPK activists to engage actively in enlightening their own people about their rights to their land and living environment. The GPPK consequently set up special environment-related institutions/programs: the Institute for Community Legal Resources Empowerment or LBBT, Community-Based Forest System Management, Civil Natural Resources Management Empowerment Program or PPSDAK-PK and Etno Agro Forest (EAF).

LBBT, which has run since 1993, works to empower the people through legal assistance in cases or disputes related to natural resources governance. Its establishment was informed by the study made by several GPPK members, like A.R. Mecer, Sandra Moniaga, John Bamba, Stephanus Djuweng, and Oktavianus Kamusi who looked into the civil society movement in the Philippines, focusing on the legal and environment movement implemented by Legal Rights and Natural Resources Center (LRC). Learning from the LRC experience, GPPK cooperated with Institut Dayakologi, Indonesian Forum for the Environment, and Surabaya Legal Aid Center to set up LBBT. This GPPK institution works on policy change at regional level (policy advocacy) and rights awareness and education for indigenous peoples (rights advocacy).

In 1995 GPPK deemed it important to expand its work scope. This was grounded on the concern for threatened local systems practiced by Dayaks for generations. GPPK wanted to raise awareness among them and outside parties on the importance of defending local systems that continue to be practiced, particularly forest resource management based on Dayak wisdom. Thus, in cooperation with several institutions such as Institut Dayakologi and LBBT, GPPK established the Community-Based Forest System Management. This program promotes the alternative system of Dayak wisdom-based forest resource management.

Also in 1995, GPPK developed a program to strengthen the rights of Dayak people over their land and resources. As a concrete action, it established in July of that year the Civil Natural Resources Management Empowerment Program, a special program mandated to conduct community mapping.³¹ Area mapping has become an important strategy to prevent Dayak lands from being taken over by companies and other entities. It gives the Dayak people a good bargaining position to negotiate with the government in cases where their areas are allotted for HPH, HTI, plantations, mining, wildlife conservation, protection forest, national park, and other projects. The maps produced by PPSDAK become one of the tools to prove the existence of the Dayak people and their customary area along with information on their land uses and resource management systems.

In implementing these programs, GPPK employs an integrated area development work strategy. While each has its own mandate, the programs/institutes work cooperatively and support one another. GPPK believes this working strategy strengthens its overall work and allows it to expand more widely to other areas outside West Kalimantan. This work program has the following general components:

1. Self-Organizing

Taking as its point of departure the notion that those who can help the Dayak are the Dayak themselves, GPPK deems it important to develop critical, united and independent Dayak people. A critical community would not be easily deceived by those with other than pure intentions. As such, they can avoid threats of expropriation of their land, water, forest and other resources. A critical community, however, should not struggle individually but need to unite against those who want to rob them of their resource rights.

Considering that environmental and resource problems can occur anytime anywhere, GPPK saw that a community cannot rely on other groups to resolve such difficulties. They themselves should have the ability and independence to undertake environmental protection and conservation. To realize this, it is essential to organize the people. The GPPK process starts with living with the people and determining what they really need. In its journey, GPPK has often been confronted with the complexity of problems the people face, but it often begins from real cases or problems and employs a rights-based approach.



Pan-Kapuas River Basin Indigenous Community organized themselves in Matalunai in the "Pehumong Hiu Nong Matalunai" activity. Photo: LBBT 2006.

In its organizing work, GPPK chooses people whose capacities can potentially be improved. Called Community Organizers (CO), it is they who later carry on with the organizing work. The following table shows the community organizations formed by community organizers in various areas to serve as a channel for consolidation.

Table 3. Community Organizations initiated by GPPK

No.	Organization	Area
1	LKBM (<i>Lembaga Ketemengungan Benua Mayao</i> / (Institution of Indigenous territory of Benua Mayao)	Sanggau Regency
2	GRPK (<i>Gerakan Rakyat Pemberdayaan Kampung</i> / Village Empowerment Civil Movement) ³⁴	Sanggau Regency
3	Stades (<i>Serikat Tani Dayak Desa</i> /Farmer Union of Dayak Desa)	Sekadau Regency
4	Pusaka (<i>Pusat Advokasi Kampung</i> /Village Advocacy Center)	Sekadau Regency
5	Ketemengungan Sepan Sungai Mare' Kelampai Ayau (Indigenous Territory of Sepan Sungai Mare' Kelampai Ayau)	Sekadau Regency
6	Lembaga Tanjung Barai Bersatu (Institution of Tanjung Barai Union)	Sintang Regency
7	AMA-BN (<i>Aliansi Masyarakat Adat-Benua Ningkau</i> / Indigenous Peoples Alliance of Benua Ningkau)	Sintang Regency
8	Gerakan Masyarakat Adat Serawai (Gemasa)-Serawai Indigenous Community Movement	Sintang Regency
9	Gema-kami (<i>Gerakan Masyarakat Adat Kabupaten Melawi</i> /Melawi Regency Indigenous Peoples Movement)	Melawi Regency
10	Permadali (<i>Persatuan Masyarakat Dayak Limbai</i> /Dayak Limbai Community Union)	Melawi Regency
11	Permadar (<i>Persatuan Masyarakat Dayak Ransa</i> /Dayak Ransa Community Union)	Melawi Regency
12	JAKA (Jaringan Antar Kampung-Inter-Village/Kampung Network)	Melawi Regency
13	Sekretariat Masyarakat Adat Dayak Kapuas Hulu (Skakmad-KH)-Secretariat of Kapuas Hulu Dayak Indigenous Community	Kapuas Hulu Regency
14	Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Jalai Kendawangan (AMA-JK) - Indigenous Peoples Alliance of Jalai Kendawangan	Ketapang Regency

Through these organizations, the communities took action to defend their natural resources and environment. They autonomously launched protest activities, signing and submitting petitions, engaging in lobbying, negotiation and discussion, convicting companies under common law, and staging mass actions. Mass actions usually became the last resort when other conflicting parties did not respond to their efforts immediately or appropriately. From 1993-2008 at least 14 notable civil resistance movements were organized against companies holding forest business licenses, industrial plantation forests, oil palm plantations, and mining companies (see Table 4).

Table 4: Protest Actions from 1993 to 2008

No.	Case	Conflicting Parties	District	Year	Result
1	Empurang Case (company operation shutdown)	Dayak Ketungau against PT. Inhutani III-HTI	Sekadau	1992	Company stopped operating
2	Sandai I Case/ Incident	Dayak Krio against PT. Lingga Teja Wana	Ketapang	1994	Communities in Village Demit succeeded in expelling the company
3	Jalai Case (Resistance to oil palm plantation plan in their territory)	Dayak Jalai di Kampung Singkup against PT. Antar Mustika Segara unit Singkup, PT. Benua Indah Group and PT. Golden Hope	Ketapang	1995	Company cancelled its plan to operate in Dayak Jalai territory
4	Belimbing Case	Dayak Bekati' in Village Belimbing against HTI Nityasa Idola	Bengkayang	1995	Company stopped operating
5	Mayao Case	Dayak Mayao in Village Kotup against PT. Finantara Intiga	Sanggau	1996	Company stopped operating
6	Kayaan I Case	Dayak Kayaan Mendalam against HTI PT. Lembah Jati Mutiara	Kapuas Hulu	1997	Company stopped operating

7	Sandai II Case	Dayak Krio against PT Alas Kusuma	Ketapang	1999	Company stopped operating in Menyumbang and Senduruhan territory
8	Kasus Sami (resistance to PT. MAS)	Dayak Sami in Kampung Terusan against PT Mitra Austral Sejahtera-palm oil plantation	Sanggau	1999 – 2008	Dayak Sami succeeded in defending their territory from PT. MAS expansion
9	Ganjang Case (resistance against the company)	Dayak Ganjang against PT. Wanasokan Hasilindo (2007	Melawi	1999-2008	Succeeded in expelling and stopping company operation
10	Bunyau Case	Dayak Limbai against PT. Maju Karya Kita	Melawi	2004	Company stopped operating
11	Kayaan II Case	Dayak Kayaan Mendalam against PT. Toras Banua Sukses	Kapuas Hulu	2007	Both company expansion and people's resistance are ongoing
12	Mentibar Case	Dayak Uud Danum Serawai against PT. Borneo Kurnia Mandiri	Sintang	2007	Company stopped operating
13	Nusa Bakti Case	Dayak Uud Danum Serawai against CV. Pangkar Begili	Sintang	2007	The resistance movement failed to defend the people's territory from company expansion
14	Pelaik Case (resistance to coal mining companies)	Dayak Limbai against PT. GSP and CV. Mekanika Utama Group	Melawi	2007	The company was sentenced under common law and stopped exploration work

Source: *LBBT Case Data, 2008*

These cases of people's resistance reflect a rise in critical mindset, cohesion and autonomy after the communities organized themselves. These are all the outcomes of GPPK's organizing work.



Solidarity Act of Community of District Melawi. Photo: LBBT 2010

2. Awareness Building on Indigenous Peoples' Rights

In essence, GPPK builds awareness on indigenous peoples' rights among the Dayak through critical education. This is stimulated in regular discussions, which prioritize knowledge transfers in which the communities become the resource center. This process originates from the social reality (poverty, education, conflict, health), culture (tradition, ritual, holiness, tembawang), economy (farming, hunting, gathering, planting) and politics (decision making, legal matters) that the people are in. The discussions reveal the needs and problems they have to face.

GPPK integrates the economic, social, cultural, legal, and political dimensions in all the activities it carries out together with communities. But on environmental issues, GPPK frequently organizes education and training that includes critical legal education (PHK), paralegal, investigation, legal analysis, and drafting of legal regulations and resolutions. In addition, it provides technical support through technical expertise training on lobbying and negotiation, mapping, participatory

inventory of resources and documentation (conflict, common law and indigenous justice system).

Also an important component of GPPK environmental work is legal mentoring, which stems from increasing problems relating to resources. HPH and HTI companies and plantations do not only seize Dayak lands and resources but also dispossess the people of their rights and freedoms. This is a curtailment of their right of self-determination, which in the context of the right to land is affirmed by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Article 26 states that: "Indigenous peoples have the rights to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquire."³⁶ Furthermore, the right of self-determination has a political dimension that focuses on freedom from external interference. Allan Rosas declared that this right covers "freedom to manage wealth and natural resources."³⁷

In this context, the state has an obligation to acknowledge and to protect indigenous peoples' territories. Dayaks' attempts to defend their lands and forests are, however, frequently deemed as "obstacles to development" and even as criminal acts. Thus to defend them and act on their behalf and other marginalized groups has often turned into a great challenge.



Protest movement by communities of Kayaan Mendalam against PT. Toras Banua SukSES. Photo by LBBT, 2009.

Since 1993 GPPK through LBBT has thus taken the task to provide legal mentoring to Dayaks who suffer injustice and unfair treatment. Legal mentoring is intended to save not only people from the threat of imprisonment but also the resources which are the subject of dispute. The main concern are cases which have a public dimension, i.e., cases which have significant impact on the lives of the people (village and community), either as direct or indirect victims. The mentoring is meant to help the victim recover his dignity as a human being.

GPPK uses various strategies, depending on the case, for mentoring. When a case is subjected to the formal legal process, GPPK engages in litigation, providing Dayak victims a people's lawyer.³⁸ It has given a number of litigation mentoring including in the arrest of three Dayak Bekatis in Village Nyayat (1999-2000), the arrest of Dayak De'sas in Desa Tapang Semadak (2007), the arrest of three Dayak Limbais who were farming their lands in Village Sungkup (2008), the arrest of three Dayak Limbais in Village Pelaik Keruap (2009) and the Vitalis Andi-Japin case in 2008.³⁹

The last mentioned case underwent dozens of court sessions at the Ketapang District Court. In its verdict delivered on February 28, 2011, the court judged that Andi and Japin had violated Plantation Law No. 18 of 2004 (article 47, clause 1) and sentenced them to one year imprisonment and a fine of Rp2,000,000. Their lawyers immediately appealed the case with the West Kalimantan High Court and filed a notice with the Judicial Commission in Jakarta on what they deemed was a flawed and unfair conviction. During the appeal, the community pursued a judicial review by the Constitutional Court of Indonesia against Plantation Law No. 18, specifically article 47 clause 1. The judicial review was won by the plaintiffs, making the article under question no longer valid, but the Supreme Court has yet to issue a decision on the Andi-Japin appeal.

Cases which do not have to undergo formal court proceedings are settled under local law and mechanisms, which have produced satisfactory results. Many communities succeeded in convicting a number of companies and in stopping their operations under customary law. Two cases settled under

common law were the logging operations in 2003 by PT. Maju Karya Kita (PT. MKK) in the indigenous forest of the Bunyau in Sub-district Menukung and coal mine surveying by PT. Sumber Gas Sakti Prima (PT. GSP) in 2006 in the Dayak Limbai indigenous territory in Village Pelaik Keruap.

In the logging incident, PT. MKK, which was convicted under *Adat Kesupan Pemimpin, Pemomar Daroh and Kokoh Sengkolan*,⁴⁰ agreed to pay compensation for the cut trees. In the second case, PT. GSP and Dinas Pertambangan were convicted under *Baso Tidak Beguno (66 ulun)*⁴¹ and made to pay a fine whose nominal value was converted to cash. The indigenous local committee used the money to buy the required animals and tools, such as a cock, pig, hen, bowl, and iron tools, to be used in the ceremony to enforce the customary punishment on the concerned company.

3. Legal Advocacy and Community Law Reinforcement

Considering that state laws have contributed to the destruction of the Dayak's natural environment, Pancur Kaish Empowerment Movement has worked for the passage or amendment of laws to protect the interests of indigenous and local communities. During the period of Reforms in 1999, GPPK along with national NGOs disseminated and discussed issues on decentralization (local autonomy) to almost all communities in most districts in West Kalimantan. In District Sanggau, it collaborated with the government to conduct training on Local Regulation (Perda) Drafting that is participative and accountable to government, in particular the local House of Representatives.

Moreover, GPPK facilitated a comparative study on local regulations formulated by members of the Sanggau Local House in Solok, West Sumatra, which had passed Regional Regulation *Nagari*⁴² on village autonomy. Such efforts generated the Local Regulation on Village Governance passed in 2004. Unfortunately, this regulation could not be implemented because its contents were not relevant to the community-initiated Local Regulation Draft facilitated by GPPK. The Local

Regulation Draft allows villages to exercise self-governance, while the House version maintained authority in the hands of village heads.

In 2006-2007, GPPK through LBBT facilitated the documentation of the Indigenous Judiciary System of 25 Dayak tribes in District Sanggau. The output served as material for the “Seminar on the Indigenous Judiciary and Indigenous Institute Recognition” on September 21, 2006 in Sanggau,⁴³ which was attended by Supreme Court Justice Dr. Abdurrahman, SH, MH., a legal expert in common law from University Tanjungpura in Pontianak and Dr. Thambun Anyang, SH. Following the seminar, the District Sanggau local government initiated discussions on the Local Regulation on Indigenous Institute Recognition.



Seminar on Indigenous Judiciary and Indigenous Institute Recognition in Sanggau, September 21, 2006. Photo: LBBT

Aside from District Sanggau, the same effort was conducted in other communities. For instance, in District Kapuas Hulu, LBBT collaborated with the local government to identify the *Hak Ulayat* or communal land rights of the communities in Iban Jalai Lintang. The results of the documentation can be used as a basis in recognizing the communal land rights of these communities in the future.⁴⁴

At national level, GPPK actively promotes revisions and

repeal of a number of Indonesian regulations and laws. One is the substitution of Law on Forestry Number 5 Year 1967 by Law on Forestry Number 41 Year 1999. The request for substitution stems from a potential constitutional appeal that investors may make to justify massive exploitation and disregard of community rights. Yet an amendment of the Constitution may not resolve the problem because it would have no significant impact in reducing destruction of indigenous forests and in gaining recognition for indigenous territories. On these grounds, a number of institutions concerned with issues of rights, law and environment⁴⁵ consolidated in 2007 into the Coalition for Forest Policy Reform (KPKK) and urged the revision of Law Number 41/1999, but to date the needed revisions have not been made.

4. Facilitating Participatory Mapping of Indigenous Territory

The Dayak in West Kalimantan commonly possess indigenous territories whose areas are considerably the same as those of their forests. In the villages in Kapuas Hulu and Ketapang, the indigenous lands and forests could reach tens of thousands of hectares. For instance, the indigenous territory of Village Menyumbang⁴⁶ in Subdistrict Sandai, District Ketapang is approximately 13,000 hectares.

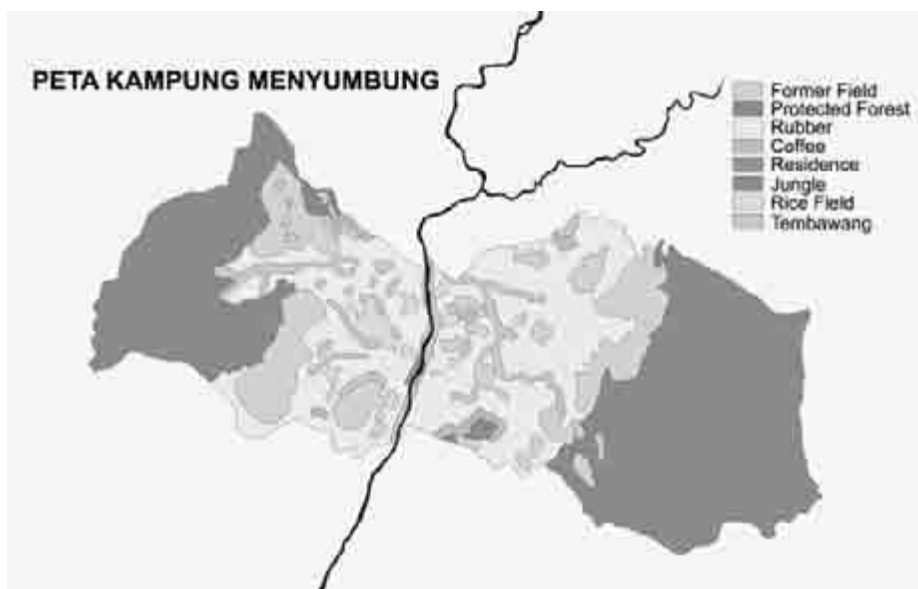
To the indigenous community, the vast lands and forests are blessings from the Creator. To defend them wisely from any destruction is therefore essential. This kind of perspective, however, is absent in the paradigm of the state and investors who treat the wide tracts of lands and forests as a source of economic gain. Even worse, they regard these areas ownerless, uninhabited, unused and unproductive.

As a consequence, Dayak lands and forests have been appropriated for various commercial concessions, nature conservation projects and so forth without any permission from the communities. Such land-grab was made only through satellite images and aerial photo maps that could not provide any information that the lands and forests were owned and

marked by *keramat* or sacred sites, cemeteries, tembawang, and other community areas.⁴⁷ Such ignorance is the central cause of overlapping territorial zoning.

For instance, in Village Demit in Sub-district Sandai, District Ketapang, 12,940.69 hectares of its total area of 12,963.11 hectares comprise indigenous territory, which consists of bawas or forest areas used for shifting cultivation, rubber plantations, jungle, tembawang, and settlement. All these were converted into oil palm plantations, and only 22.42 hectares were left untouched (see map).

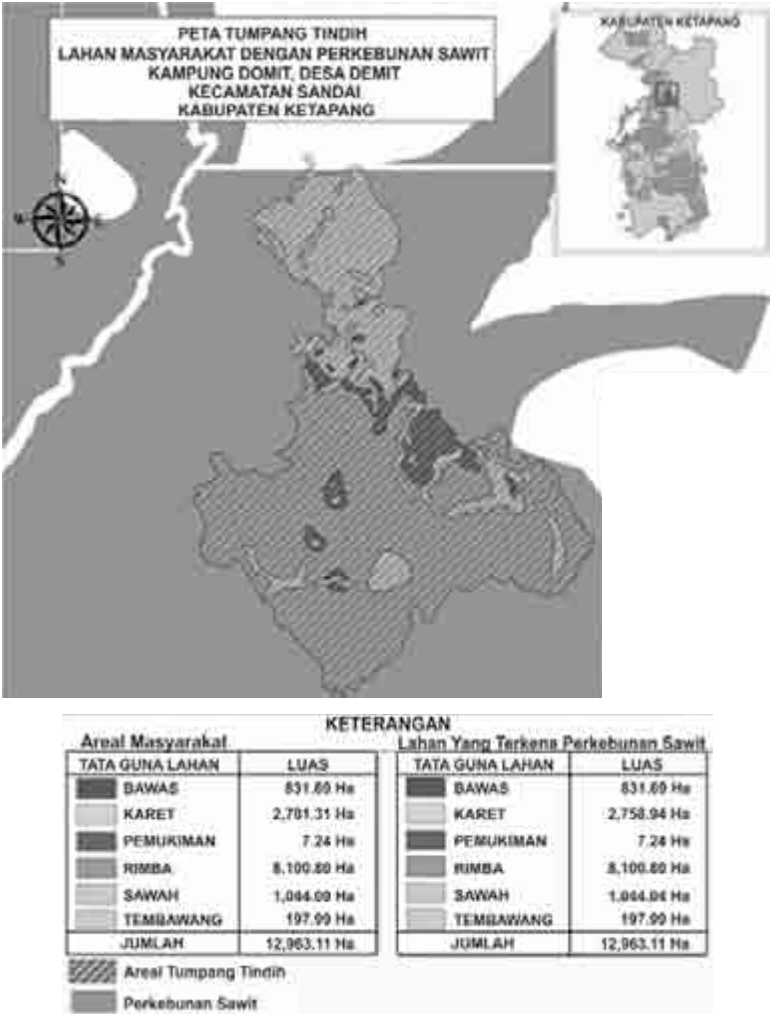
Indigenous Territorial Map of Village Menyumbung.



Source: GIS PPSDAK Pancur Kasih.

To prevent land overlaps and land-grabbing by companies and the government, the community must own maps that can prove their indigenous land ownership. Hence, GPPK initiated a participatory mapping movement. Mapping involves all communities in the village, resulting in a community mental/spiritual map, i.e., the local communities' knowledge of their indigenous territory that is understandable and com-

Map of overlapping lands in Village Demit



Source: GIS PPSDAK Pancur Kasih.

prehensible to them. The mapping further provides solutions to conflicts of overlapping territorial zones.

Conducted by PPSDAK participatory mapping began in 1995 in a number of villages struggling to save their indigenous territories from the threat of oil palm plantations and HTU expansion. These villages were Merbang, Menawai Tekam

and Tapang Sambas in District Sanggau (District Sekadau now), Village Nangka and Pate in Sub-district Sengah Temila, District Landak. In the last two villages, the indigenous forest, Udas Kanuis, was in danger from the operations of HPH companies, especially PT. Kota Niaga (branch of PT. Gelora Agung).

The participatory mapping is conducted through a long process that includes the following stages: *first*, preparation of the community together with the mapping team that discusses the concept of mapping, organizing (technical and nontechnical preparation visits), team preparation, materials and instruments, magnification of the basic map; *second*, field activities including village customary meeting, training on mapping, surveying (data gathering), data processing in the village, and participatory discussion; *third*, activities at PPSDAK shop covering map drafting, map drawing, data documenting, report writing on activities; *fourth*, post-mapping activities covering map handover and reaffirmation, dialogue, seminar, critical discussion, workshop, custom revitalization (book writing), territorial reinforcement through facilitation of inter-community agreements.



The community of Village Mentibar, Sub-district Serawai, District Sintang redraw the map following the output of the participatory mapping. Photo: PPSDAK Pancur Kasih 2011

From 1994 to 2010, PPSDAK succeeded in facilitating participatory mapping of indigenous territories in 314 kampongs, 107 villages in 37 sub-districts in nine districts. The total mapped area was 1,270,016.97 hectares, which represent 8.65 percent of West Kalimantan's total area of 14,680,700 hectares.⁴⁸

Through mapping, communities are able to identify both the potentials in their indigenous territories that can support their community plans as well as possible threats including plantation concessions, HPH and HTI. They can determine the territorial overlaps between government zoning and planning and the land use their communities have practiced for generations. By establishing overlaps and unilateral land-grabbing, they can execute the appropriate actions to deal with the problem of land annexation.

A number of communities have succeeded through participatory mapping in defending and stopping appropriation of their indigenous lands by oil palm, logging and mining companies. The following are some notable victories of communities in protecting their indigenous territories, which have been mapped:

1. The community of Village Menawai Tekam, Sub-district Belitang Hilir, District Sanggau convicted PT. Finantara Intiga with a fine of Rp4.7 million for grabbing 13 hectares of their indigenous territory. The company returned the land to the community;
2. The community of Pendaun sentenced PT. Wahana Stagen Lestari (HPH) under customary law to pay a fine of 40 reals —equivalent to Rp8 million (price of *tajau*, *tempayan*/vase and *mangkok*/bowls and white plates) and Rp50 million for grabbing *colap torutn pusaka* (a type of indigenous land);
3. The community of Village Langkar convicted PT. Kayu Mukti (HPH) for land grabbing and imposed a fine of Rp150 million;
4. The indigenous community of Village Empajak in Sub-district Belitang Hilir, District Sekadau sentenced PT. Bakrie Brothers, an oil palm company, for violating the rules on the borders of the indigenous territory;

5. The community of Village Kenyauk, Sub-district Simpang Hulu, District Ketapang convicted PT. Hutan Raya Group (HPH), handing down a fine of Rp74,000,576 for land grabbing;
6. Presenting their indigenous territorial map, the Sahapm community in Sub-district Sengah Temila, District Landak succeeded in making PT. Agromas, an oil palm plantation company, withdraw from their territory;
7. The community of Village Tapang Sambas/Tapang Kemayau, Sub-district Sekadau Hilir, District Sanggau used their indigenous territorial map to defend their indigenous territory from the threat of expansion by PT Multi Prima Entakai;
8. The community of Villages Riam Tapang, Selangkai, and Bagan Baru in Sub-District Silat Hulu in District Kapuas Hulu sentenced PT. DRM (HPH-HTI) to pay a fine of Rp400 million and expelled the company from their indigenous territory;
9. The community of Perendaman, Sub-district Marau, District Ketapang stopped the expansion by PT. Golden Hope, Polyplant (oil palm company) into their territory;
10. The Untang community, Sub-district Toho, District Pontianak resisted PT. Timah Investasi Mineral (mining company) that planned operations on Sadaniang Hill, one of their sacred sites;
11. The Menyumbung community in Sub-district Sandai, District Ketapang expelled and sued PT. Alas Kusuma for land grabbing.⁴⁹

In addition, the 3D maps produced by PPSDAK became a source material and reference in drafting the Provincial Spatial Planning at a seminar held by the West Kalimantan Provincial Administration in 1996. These also served as evidence in an earlier cited court case in 2008 involving Pori and Toro, villagers who were accused of farming in a national park.

The above cases show that the community-initiated map has legal ground in the formal justice system, as it can be utilized as evidence of the existence and boundaries of the

indigenous territory and forest. While the government has not given recognition to the community map, however, it has already used it as a reference document in creating the District and Provincial Spatial Planning maps.

5. Civil Forestry System

Most of the forests in Indonesia, especially in West Kalimantan, East Kalimantan and Java, have been destroyed by the exploitation of HPH companies. This finding by a PPSHK West Kalimantan research in the 1990s⁵⁰ encouraged GPPK through PPSHK to look for alternatives and to promote ecologically sustainable forestry management systems or what is called civil forestry system.

In a Civil Forestry System (SHK), two unitary concepts prevail, i.e., forestry system and civility. The SHK conception means that a forest is not merely tree stands but a territorial management system of indigenous territory whose elements are the village/settlement, farms, plantations, tembawang, keramat, burial grounds, river and lake.⁵¹ According to Pilin and Petebang (1999:53), an area can be classified as a civil forestry system if it meets 10 characteristics, which are:

1. The main actors are the people (the local people);
2. The management agencies are established, run, and controlled directly by the people;
3. The territorial ownership is evident;
4. The interaction between the people and their environment is very tight and direct;
5. Ecosystem is integral in the lives of the local people;
6. Local wisdom takes significant role and grounds every decision and tradition of forestry management system;
7. Local technology is considered to be an adapting process controlled by the people;
8. Production scale is not limited, but by the principles of sustainability;
9. Economic system is based on the common welfare and every profit is distributed fairly as well as proportionately;

10. Biodiversity is the ground for all other aspects, in terms of kinds and genetics, pattern of natural resource utilization, economic system and so forth.⁵²

From 1995-1999, PPSHK West Kalimantan actively promoted the civil forestry system, starting it among the Dayak in Kapuas Hulu, Sanggau and Sintang. In Kapuas Hulu, the Dayak listed a set of local laws including common law or inter-village agreements on managing their forest. One of the communities that is nationally known for having succeeded in forestry management is the Iban in Village Sungai, Utik Sub-district, Embaloh Hulu District, Kapuas Hulu.

For the Dayak Iban in Sungai Utik, forests are where they live and where the future is created, thus their lives rely entirely on them. To protect and to preserve the forests means to protect and preserve their lives. They therefore regard it essential to regulate forestry use and management by employing the common law. Up to the present, Sungai Utik is the only one of seven villages in the area, which has successfully resisted corporate expansion into its territory.

6. Women's Empowerment

The Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement fully realizes the important role women play in the social, economic, cultural and political life in Indonesia in general and in West Kalimantan areas where it primarily works. Thus it works for equal participation by women and men in social transformation so as to achieve fairness and sustainability in the community's social empowerment.

GPPK initiates women empowerment by involving women fully as the subject or as a partner if they so wish. Its commitment to gender equality in its entire empowerment work encompasses equality of opportunity, of access to natural resources and services, and of agency, power and decision making.

Acknowledging that there exist a number of cultural, economic and socio-political obstacles that prevent women



A group of women in Village Laman Mumbung, Sub-district Menukung discuss their problems. Photo: LBBT 2009

from taking significant roles in social change, GPPK attempts to minimize and eradicate the gender gap, promote changes in behavior that tends to divide women and men, and uphold gender equality in the empowerment process. Further, in every institution it establishes, it tries to create better circumstances that generate fair recognition and acceptance of women's role in the community empowerment process at any level and reject gender discrimination of any kind.



Paradigm and Principles of GPPK Enviromental Empowerment

The GPPK paradigm in environmental empowerment is “preserving nature, honoring human dignity,” not “preserving nature, jailing people.” This framework is critical of the conservation paradigm that has long emphasized preservation while alienating local people.

In the GPPK perspective, the existence of the indigenous community and a balanced, sustainable ecosystem are both important. The fact is, the Dayak have long managed their environment sustainably, and this is called local wisdom. GPPK describes this knowledge system as the Seven Fortunes/ Wisdoms of the Dayak: diversity-sustainability, cooperation-collectivity, organic-natural, rituals-spirituality, effectiveness of process, domestic subsistence and customary law (Chapter 2). And it is on this Dayak perspective of nature that GPPK has based its environmental work.

GPPK is not a singular movement. It is linked with all institutions on the national and international level that support the indigenous peoples' struggle to save their land and natural resources. On the national level, GPPK and its program units cooperate with partners like WALHI, Indonesia Legal Aid Center Foundation, National Commission of Human Rights, Consortium for Agrarian Reform, JAPHAMA, HuMa, Elsam, AMAN, JATAM, International Forum for Indonesian Development, Telapak, Working Network of Participatory Mapping or JKPP, LATIN, Sawit Watch, ICRAF, and others. These institutions form an important part of GPPK's network, and some of them such as AMAN, JAPHAMA and JKPP as well as the Consortium for Supporting Community Based Forest System Management or KPSHK were helped to be established by GPPK (see Chapter 1).

On the regional level in Kalimantan, GPKK also took part in the formation of alliances and networks, among these, Dayak Dynamics Network, Kalimantan Human Rights Network, and the Borneo Indigenous Peoples Network Programme, a NGO, which works for indigenous peoples in Kalimantan and Malaysia.

On the local level, GPKK cooperates with the regional governments of Sanggau, Landak, Melawi and Kapuas Hulu as well as Sekadau Regencies. The regional government of Sekadau and Landak is involved in participative mapping; Kapuas Hulu Regency, in the identification of customary law; and Sanggau Regency, in the formulation of regional regulation of the Kampoeng Governmental System. To the present, GPPK maintains good relations and communication with these local governments.

Internationally GPPK activists actively maintain a network with the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) and South East Asia Popular Communication Programs (SEA-PCP). They have used the opportunity provided by meetings with these organizations and papers they present in forums to correct negative perceptions of the Dayak as rude and bad, as forest loggers and shifting cultivators, and even as headhunters from Borneo. Many foreigners, who visit West Kalimantan out of an interest to learn about the Dayak, are witnesses to these false notions and beliefs.



Future Challenges in Environmental Advocacy

Uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources, which is an unsustainable development model, appears to be the next challenge. Already, capitalist groups have dominated the international discussion and lobby to advance and secure their agenda. One of the areas where they are moving forward is the use of biofuel as an alternative energy source. Palm oil plantation companies have successfully used the Roundtable on Sustainability Palm Oil (RSPO) to justify their operations. One of their arguments is the need for investments to increase economic growth and to decrease use of fossil fuels globally, and their proposed alternative to the latter is biofuel.

The demand to reduce fossil fuel use has encouraged the cultivation of various plants with high vegetable oil content. Among these is palm oil, which has pushed the expansion of palm oil plantations into indigenous peoples' lands. In 2006 Indonesia's palm oil production was expected to rise to 14.7 million tons or by 1.1 million tons from the previous year; palm oil export was estimated at 11.3 million tons in that year. The Indonesian Palm Oil Organization (*Gabungan Pengusaha Sawit Indonesia*) and the Indonesia Chamber of Commerce noted that since 1994 1.8 million hectares have been used for palm oil plantations, and this is estimated to reach 13,748 million hectares nationwide by 2020.

Expanding palm oil plantations to produce biofuel does not solve the energy problem. It has instead created more environmental destruction and social inequity, as it has led to land clearing on a massive scale, causing not only the release of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, but also expropriation of Dayak land. In the same vein the international effort to decrease deforestation through REDD and carbon trade schemes could cut off the Dayak's access to their forest and other resources. Because of this, GPKK has formed Task Force REDD whose function is to deepen understanding of the issues on REDD through forums and by conducting studies in pilot areas.

GPKK has launched a campaign against palm oil plantation expansion for biofuel production through national and international forums and discussions and through mass media, in particular *Majalah Kalimantan Review*, Community Radio for the Voice of Indigenous Community (*Radio Komunitas Suara Masyarakat Adat*) and Ruai Television. To broaden the campaign further, GPKK initiated the formation of the network, Global Community of Change (GCOC). Composed of civil society groups, GCOC serves as a national and international advocacy network to bring awareness on the injustice and environmental havoc caused by large scale palm oil plantations in Indonesia and in particular in Kalimantan.

Endnotes

¹ Written by Abdias Yas, Iwi Sartika and Marten Loter.

² Documentary film on solidarity action for law and environment sovereignty produced by LBBT 2009.

³ Masiun 2001, 45.

⁴ Taridala and Adijaya 2009.

⁵ Among other economic activities, farming is the main livelihood of Dayak people.

⁶ The term *menuba* refers to a technique of catching fish by using a kind of poison made from fruits or roots (among the Mayau, the fruit/root is called *kemonah* or *perodeh*; and among the Iban, *tuba*), which contain a substance that can temporarily blind or stun the fish. This fishing activ-

ity is done by Dayak people together in many places and is regulated by customary law.

⁷ A book produced from the Dayak Kotip Seminar “*Poratoran Poya Tona Wah Kampokng Kotip*” (LBBT 2003, 15).

⁸ GPPK Transformation Team. *Manifesto Gerakan Pemberdayaan Pancur Kasih* (GPPK 2009, 46).

⁹ John Bamba. *Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Alam menurut Budaya Dayak dan Tantangan yang Dihadapi in Pemberdayaan Pengelolaan Sumberdaya Alam Berbasis Masyarakat Adat*, (Pontianak: PPSDAK, 1998), p. 24.

¹⁰ Gawing 2006, 58.

¹¹ Bamba, *op. cit.* p. 25.

¹² As told orally by Paran (60). *Lika-Liku Menuju Kampung* the Film, (Kampung Sungai Ting: LBBT 2007).

¹³ Decision Letter of Minister of Forestry Number 107/MENHUT-II/2006 of 17 April 2006, on decision I (1).

¹⁴ Niko Andasputra. *Perlawanan Rakyat Di Hutan Kalimantan*. (Institut Dayakologi 1999, 3).

¹⁵ *Ketemenggungan* is a unity of customary authority in certain Dayak sub-ethnic groups that can cover several kampongs, villages and even districts.

¹⁶ Abdias Yas, *PT. Maju Karya Kita Membabat Hutan Kampung Bunyau* in the LBBT Case Series Book Number 2, *Menabuh Gong Perlawanan*, (Pontianak: LBBT, 2006), p. 25.

¹⁷ Based on the experience of LBBT in critical law education; LBBT critiqued several Constitutional Regulations concerning natural resources management.

¹⁸ Electronic document on Basic Agrarian Law Number 5 of 1960 compiled by LBBT, source: [http://www.wgtenure.org/file/PeraturanPerundangan/UU No. 5,1960.pdf](http://www.wgtenure.org/file/PeraturanPerundangan/UU%20No.%205,1960.pdf).

¹⁹ Number of Oil Palm Plantation Permits issued as of June 2009, data from the Plantation Office of West Kalimantan Province, 2009.

²⁰ Forest Utilization Structure, data from the Forestry Office of West Kalimantan Province, 2005.

²¹ See Butler 2009.

²² PIR program initiated in the early 1980s. At almost the same time, Indonesian farmers were given the opportunity to manage palm plantations through the PIR-Bun program. Based on the PIR system, large plantation businesses, which act as the nucleus, are assigned to develop and market the product of smallholders, while smallholders have to manage their plantations well and sell their products to the nucleus

plantations. The PIR-Bun program became the PIR-Trans program through Presidential Decree No. 1 of 1986. The PIR-Trans program targeted migrants under the transmigration program to develop smallholder palm plantations in their new areas.

²³ GPPK Transformation Team, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

²⁴ Dahl and Parellada 2001, 85.

²⁵ LBBT case report 2007.

²⁶ DtE 2009, 1.

²⁷ Loter 2009.

²⁸ *Tembawang* is a former village area that is planted with various kinds of fruit plants; *keramat* is a place or item considered sacred by the indigenous community because of a certain event or experience, for example, the *pantak* (sacred guardian figure/statue) in Kanayatn community.

²⁹ The history of how Dayak Limbai Ketemenggungan Siyai people claimed their customary land, as told orally by Manan 2007.

³⁰ The struggle of Limbai community in defending their customary area/forest from the claim made by Bukit Baka Bukit Raya National Park led to the imprisonment of several civilians in 2008, LBBT case document 2008.

³¹ Electronic document of PPSDAK Book Draft, *Perjalanan Panjang Gerakan ‘Pancur Kasih’ Merajut Solidaritas Masyarakat Adat*, p. 11.

³² Normative regulation on human rights and environment was successfully formulated in Rio Declaration and Agenda Action Plan 21 in 1992 Rio Summit (Earth Summit), *Hak atas Lingkungan Hidup*, Kertas Posisi WALHI No. KP 03/WALHI/09/04, p. 7.

³³ Other terms used are *Penggerak Kampung*-PK (village mobilizer) by LBBT, community mapper-CM by PPSDAK and *Aktivis Gerakan Rakyat*-AGR (civil movement activist) by Institut Dayakologi.

³⁴ GRPK at the start was known as Pancur Kasih District Office in Sanggau (DO Sanggau).

³⁵ The right to self-determination is clearly stated in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Articles 3 and 4.

³⁶ United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. AMAN, UNDP Bangkok.

³⁷ Rosas 2001, 125.

³⁸ The Lawyer of the People could be professional lawyers. GPPK, however, usually trains people who are capable of handling legal matters, and they are frequently called People's Legal Assistant (PHR).

³⁹ In the Nyayat case, the Pontianak High Court sentenced one resident to two years and two others to 1-year imprisonment. In the Dayak De'sa case, one resident was given a 6-month sentence; and in the Pelaik Keruap case, three residents, a sentence of four months and five days (from a charge of 9-year imprisonment). In the Sungkup case, two residents received a 7-month sentence, which was later increased to one and a half years by the Pontianak High Court. But until 2009 the sentence had not been enforced and they were still out on bail. Meanwhile, the Andi-Japin case is still pursuing an appeal with the Pontianak High Court.

⁴⁰ These three kinds of sanction are imposed on violations of the common law relating to civility and respect, disturbance of the peace, and destruction of village-owned natural resources.

⁴¹ This is the term for the customary monetary unit that the Dayak Limbai imposed on acts violating the norms of politeness and/or ethics. 1 *Ulu*n is equivalent to 100 bushels of paddy. But a violator usually pays the fine in cash as in the above-mentioned cases. The indigenous local committee decides on the use of the fine.

⁴² *Nagari* is the Minangkabau's term for a territorial unit that is equivalent to a village. This regulation guides *nagari*/village autonomy.

⁴³ *Understanding the Indigenous Judiciary System of the 25 Dayak Tribes in District Sanggau (Sistem Peradilan Adat 25 suku Dayak di Kabupaten Sanggau)*.

⁴⁴ Reports on Identification Results of the Ulayak Rights of the communities in Iban Jalai Lintang, LBBT and Pemerintah Kabupaten Kapuas Hulu, 2006.

⁴⁵ The institutions associated with KPKK (Coalition for Forest Policy Reform) were, among others, HuMa (and its local partners such as LBBT-Pontianak, Bantaya-Palu, LBH Semarang, Wallacea-Palopo, Q-bar Padang, RMI-Bogor), Walhi Jakarta, RACA Institute, KPA Jakarta, and FWI Bogor.

⁴⁶ Village Menyumbung is where A.R. Mecer was born.

⁴⁷ Paper by Atok 1998, 40.

⁴⁸ Data Base PPSDAK-PK 2010.

⁴⁹ Natalia 2001, 139.

⁵⁰ Interview with Ronny Christianto, Executive Director of West Kalimantan PPSHK in Pontianak, July 7, 2009.

⁵¹ Pilin and Petebang 1999, 50.

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 53.

⁵³ Focused Group Discussion with 10 PPSDAK activists in Pontianak, July 7, 2009.

⁵⁴ Bamba, *op cit*, p. 128.

⁵⁵ Djuweng 1996, 7.

⁵⁶ As stated by Head of Gapki 2006.

⁵⁷ SDA Melimpah, Tapi tak Ada Pabrik—Potret Perkebunan Sawit di Konawe Utara, Abundant Natural Resources, but no Factories—Portrait of Oil Palm Plantation in North Konawe (Website: Harian Kendari Post Online Saturday, 12 July 2008 11:05:35). Quoted on 15 October 2009.

⁵⁸ GCOC initiative raised in Tabor meeting of members of civil society movement in Indonesia and Kalimantan in October 2008. GCOC was formed to set up a Roundtable on Unsustainable Palm Oil (RUPO), which was initiated by John Bamba in 2005 as a response to the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). But RUPO did not get local, national, and international support as it was not considered a major issue. Today GCOC is being revisited and GPKK is involved in leading and bringing this initiative to reality.

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Chapter

7

Voicing the Marginalized Truth: Effecting Change through Media¹

Stefanus Masiun and Andika Pasti



Media in the eyes of Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement

In the last few centuries, the Dayak ethnic groups who settled in the island of Kalimantan were an object for outsiders, especially as a topic of research. But in fact some of the hardships they faced mostly stemmed from derogatory labels stamped on them by people outside the community that were carried down through the generations. The labels imply repulsiveness, filth, underdevelopment, stupidity and other such similar undertones.² This was done without the Dayak people themselves being aware of it, for at the time printed information and objective news regarding them were very limited.

From the era of the New Order (1998) to the period of reformation (starting in 2008), the Dayak people suffered a loss

of history and self identity. They were marked as an outcast ethnic group, shifting cultivators, destroyers of forests, and even infidels and heathens. The history of the Dayak people was written and defined by the leaders then in power. But the grandeur of custom law, norms and regulations concerning local ownership and rights was missing. The authorities did not acknowledge them simply for the lack of printed documents.³

As an initial strategy, it was essential to have a critical alternative media that would provide information and education to build society's awareness of the true nature of the Dayak people.⁴ Taking this step, the Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement in 1992 published the *Kalimantan Review*, a monthly magazine, through Institut Dayakologi. Circulating the magazine was necessary to provide a medium for Dayaks to voice their aspirations and thoughts about themselves as well as the issues they faced.

GPPK subsequently launched other publications: *Gong Borneo*, a bi-monthly bulletin published by PPSDAK since 2000; *Tembawang* Bulletin started by PPSHK in 2007; *Suara Enggang*, a collection of news articles on issues of indigenous peoples that started in 2006, and later the bulletin, *Suara Banua*, both published by LBBT; and *Jaatiku*, Pancur Kasih Credit Union's bulletin established in 2000.

GPPK took a further step, deciding to use broadcast and audio-visual media in the effort to raise the voice of the Dayak people. In 2005 it ventured into community radio and television, with several considerations prompting this important move. Institut Dayakologi's research on verbal traditions between 1991 and 2000 showed that one of six dominant factors that have marginalized the Dayak is information technology. John Bamba wrote in *Dayak Jalai di Persimpangan Jalan* (Dayak Jalai in Cross Road 2004), "Information technology is another factor that largely has a destructive effect on the existence of Dayak culture."⁵ The other factors are the formal education system, eradication of longhouses, entry of major religions, capitalist economic system and state law.

Of the various mass media, television initially appeared the most attractive based on the perception that it has been a

highly influential medium in villages in the past and present. Even villagers can easily get access to international channels through the use of a parabola, a situation that has influenced the development of Dayak culture. On this basis, towards the end of the 1990s, GPPK conducted a study visit to Rome, facilitated by Grocevia Organization, to look into the practice of television broadcasting. Discussions following this study concluded, however, that TV was not as relevant a medium as it was thought to be, given the condition in West Kalimantan at the time and several other factors. Among these were prerequisites in setting up a TV station: 1) large capital; 2) specific knowledge and skills that were not commonly taught in the existing educational institutions; 3) technical facilities, foremost being electricity and good reception, which certain areas lacked or did not have; and 4) watching TV tends to decrease social interaction and communication.⁶

Taking these into account, GPPK opted to go into community radio. It organized and established a network of community radio stations called *Radio Komunitas* (Rakom) to disseminate information on issues concerning the Dayak people to enable them to know and evaluate the realities of their situation.⁷



Idealism and Strategy in Media Development

1. Kalimantan Review

Much of the information on the lifeways, culture and problems of the Dayak people has been written by people other than the Dayak themselves. Outside researchers and reporters naturally write, analyze and define their reports and findings according to their own perspectives. *Kalimantan Review* thus provides an essential space and vehicle for the Dayak people to write about themselves.

At the outset of KR's establishment, concerns about survival and development did not come to mind; the important thing then was that it would come out. *Kalimantan Review* was primarily a bulletin that brought out results of ID researches and opinion pieces but did not carry any news reports. As it developed, circulation increased but funding declined. Various efforts were thus exerted to make it financially independent, which entailed changes including reducing KR's field coverage and raising its price.

The most fundamental change in *Kalimantan Review* from 2007 to 2008 was keeping a balance between idealism and economic viability. The magazine had to maintain about the same number of pages for news and for advertisements. It also went into partnerships with the regional governments of Melawi, Sanggau and Bengkayang. KR carried news on the activities of these Pemerintah Daerah or Regional Governments and they subscribed to the KR magazine. In order to focus on the development of KR, other publications by GPPK programs such as *Gong Borneo*, *Tembawang*, *Suara Enggang*, and *Suara Banua* ceased operations.

Raising a New Voice

Kalimantan Review was established by young men and women from various villages in the city of Pontianak, among them, John Bamba, Stephanus Djuweng, Paulus Florus, V. Julipin, Albert Rufinus, Nico Andasputra, Petronela Regina, and FY. Khosmas.⁸ Its first editorial staff was led by Nico Andasputra, followed by V. Julipin, Edi Petebang, Thomas Tion in that order, and back to Edi Petebang. The most recent editors were Elias Ngiuk from 2005 to 2009 and Dominikus Uyub from July 2009 to the present.

When it first came out in 1992, KR was published twice a year in the form of a newsletter without news reports or bylines. It mainly contained articles by ID activists on various topics concerning the Dayak people, such as their culture, proverbs and humor. This move was quite bold in the face of the New Order government's tight rein on the press; despite

this constraint, KR was able to continue publishing without receiving a single letter of censure.

KR's initial circulation of 500 copies at Rp1,500 each was printed for a limited audience, mainly Dayaks. The first edition was purposely written partially in English, so that non Indonesian-speaking people could also obtain knowledge about the Dayak. Its simple format, however, unexpectedly gained the attention of many people, both Dayaks and non-Dayaks alike. The magazine answered the latter's curiosity on the Dayak amid government media control. To the Dayak, KR became a virtual symbol for their defense of their identity. It was also seen as daring because it brought out articles that highlighted the negative impacts of development and modernization on Dayak people and culture.

In the course of its development, KR's contents became more varied. News items were not restricted to Dayak culture, expanding to issues affecting the Dayak people such as the environment, ethnic relations, economy, politics and social relations. The wider variety increased the magazine's news content.

The desire to proclaim good news regarding people-based economy prompted KR to publish a special section on the Pancur Kasih Credit Union model. Called "Community Economy, Liberation Economy," it has since June 2005 become a special supplement with the name, Pancur CU. The CU supplement had the support of all credit unions in Kalimantan and the Kalimantan Credit Cooperatives Coordinating Body (now the Kalimantan Credit Union Coordinating Body). It answered the need for self-actualization of KR readers, many of whom are credit union members.

Kalimantan Review also suffered a number of crises, however; among these a 3-month stoppage from December 1996-February 1997 during an ethnic unrest and the 2007 global crisis that badly affected KR finances. To weather the economic crisis and ensure its continued existence, KR was forced to reduce its number of pages. Also on August 9, 2007 the offices of KR, Institut Dayakologi and several of its partners suffered a fire, which burnt down all of KR's facilities

and data. But even if the fire destroyed everything, the GPPK activists remained enthusiastic and continued to publish the magazine. Their efforts paid off. By 2008 KR had a readership of 50,000 with 10,000 regular subscribers.⁹

The continuing global crisis in 2009 also affected KR's loyal readers and operations. With decreased purchasing power, the majority of its readers who lived in rural areas had to prioritize their basic needs. As a strategy, KR reduced its circulation between January and August 2009 and subsequently published according to demand.

Motto as Strategy

Kalimantan Review adapted its motto to the political condition prevailing at various times. During the period of extreme hegemony by the New Order in the 1990s, KR took a strategy of self-preservation embodied in its motto, "Information Media for Culture and Development." This was important, considering that at the time KR did not have a business license for press publication (*Surat Ijin Usaha Penerbitan Press*) as was required of media outfits.¹⁰ During its strategic planning in June 1997, its motto changed to "Indigenous Peoples Empowerment Media." This was in recognition of the fact that development was violating the Dayak people's rights and destroying their culture.¹¹ In view of the black history of ethnic conflicts in West Kalimantan, the 1999 strategic planning added "Reconciliation" to the motto, and it became "Indigenous Peoples Empowerment and Reconciliation Media." The new motto made KR a medium for peace, which was formally acknowledged beneath its logo in the 111th edition of November 2004.

A further modification occurred in July 2008 when KR adopted the slogan, "Indigenous Peoples Empowerment and Transformation Media" during its evaluation held in the District of Kubu Raya. This reflected the bigger changes happening in the Dayak community, in particular the credit union movement, which was becoming more inclusive of other indigenous people. In line with this, KR was no longer

simply a medium for Dayak people's empowerment but for other indigenous peoples' struggles. This slogan continues to be used to the present.

Voice for Peace and Transformation

The magazine has tried to become a voice for peace. Historical records show that at least 16 cases of conflict have involved a number of ethnic groups in West Kalimantan, and even now an undercurrent of conflict still exists.¹² Believing that these social conflicts must be addressed, *Kalimantan Review* in 2006 added a special section, *Kerabat* (kinsman), to provide space for cross-cultural, interreligious and interethnic group dialogue. The 4-page *Kerabat* carries news of reconciliation between ethnic groups in Kalimantan and issues relating to peace building in West Kalimantan as well as activities of the Alliance of NGOs for Peace and Reconciliation.

Kerabat's purpose is to convey reconciliation processes conducted at the grassroots level, making KR a vehicle of intercultural dialogue. For instance, an article on Madura culture was well received in rural Madura; this was a positive achievement since for all that time ignorance of cultural differences often led to stereotyping that was simply accepted as truth. Dialogue in print could break such ignorance, and *Kerabat* provided that space.¹³

Kalimantan Review is also a channel for advocacy for transformation. The magazine is factual and critical in presenting news, prioritizing the people's voice (*vox populi, vox dei*), and remains selective in advertisements that use its commercial space.

The majority of the magazine's readers are members of credit unions in the villages. Although mostly distributed throughout Western Kalimantan, KR also reaches other provinces of Indonesia, such as East Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Papua, Flores and even other countries in Asia, Europe and Africa.¹⁴

After its long work on empowerment for indigenous peoples through print, *Kalimantan Review* was listed in 2007 in the national press directory published by the Press Council. The magazine was issued a publication license (No.465/114/U/1993) in 1993 by the Regional Office of West Kalimantan. In 1994, it obtained an International Standard Series Number (ISSN 0854-4646), which put KR as an official document in the national library.

Kalimantan Review has received various awards that have made it a magazine of national reputation. One of these is the prestigious *Institut Studi Arus Informasi* or Institute for Studies on Free Flow Information Award, which it won three times in a row: 1999, 2000 and 2001. ISAI is a prominent press monitoring institution in Indonesia. Winning the ISAI Award proves KR is able to compete in terms of coverage with other magazines in the country.

Also of note is that KR is still viewed to the present as the only media outfit for indigenous peoples' empowerment and the only regular publication by and for the Dayak people in Indonesia. Cooperation between KR and credit unions on content, advertisements and marketing has helped the magazine survive to this day.

Keeping pace with information technology, KR has also gone online. All editions of *Kalimantan Review* from its first edition in 1992 to date have started to be uploaded by its databank unit on the website www.kalimantanreview.com. As of the end of 2008, 29 KR articles were available online free of charge, while 1,952 articles from 88 regular and special KR editions can be accessed with a fee. In the second half of that year, 12 KR articles were added online as well as 257 articles from 12 regular and special editions. This could not have been done without the hard work of putting the old KR editions in digital form.¹⁵

Medium of Empowerment that dares to be Different

Designed to be different from its conception, *Kalimantan Review* takes a critical stance on development policies that favor

large-scale plantations, mining, HTI and HPH companies, which are the very policies that have denied or reduced the Dayak people's access and use of their forests, land and water. Other problems of grassroots communities, such as human rights violations and rights of marginalized groups as well as people's bravery and resistance, are also regular news covered in each edition. The following table presents some defining aspects of KR that distinguish it from other publications:

Differences between Kalimantan Review and General Press¹⁶

Aspect of Empowerment	General Press	Kalimantan Review
Emphasis of news	Sensational values, problems faced by many people, etc.	Severity of the problem, level of brutality and HR violations
Model of Reporting	Emphasizes "balanced reporting"; principle of caution (specifically regarding issues of sex, religion, and race) and confirmation with authority	Emphasizes "truth" that can be obtained through investigative reporting. In this context, covering both sides of a story is not the first priority.
Issues raised	Critical national dilemmas, international war, disease outbreaks, celebrity gossip, entertainment, sports, etc.	Problems faced by the grassroots, HR violations, rights of marginalized groups, people's bravery and resistance. Each edition contains news regarding oil palm plantation conflicts.
Key sources	Famous figures, people with big names, government officials, famous celebrities, etc.	The "victims," the small people, eye witnesses, NGO activists and academicians
Work priority	Making articles that discuss "many issues" like a video clip	Presenting issues of the "state" vs violations of rights of grassroots communities
Legal bases	Emphasizes reporters' formal appearance and presentation of ID	If necessary, taking disguises like intelligence agents do and even disguising sources vulnerable to threats of violence

Expectations following report of news	The people are entertained, aware of contemporary issues and are able to follow recent trends that are topics of discussion	Raises debate and people's polemics that strengthen people's rights; the government improves its policies
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Planting Seeds, Reaping Harvest

Although no evaluation has yet been made of KR's impacts, it is nonetheless evident that the magazine has contributed to the increasing critical awareness of Dayak people today. Compared to how they were 20 years ago, the Dayak are more informed on the issues affecting them that KR has raised and discussed publicly.¹⁷

The magazine has also provided a new way of bringing out the truth in a story. Articles are straightforward, fact-based and express the indigenous voices as well as official policies in West Kalimantan. All these have brought out the diverse indigenous community struggles in demanding truth and justice. *Kalimantan Review* chronicles the courage with which people everywhere are beginning to protest denial of their rights and to refuse development concepts imposed from outside.¹⁸

Part of KR's impact can be seen in the action taken by concerned authorities as well as by indigenous leaders to problems covered by KR news reports. An article on a population census (2004)¹⁹ conducted by BPS (Central Bureau of Statistics) that "eliminated the Dayak" prompted the West Kalimantan Dayak Indigenous Council to punish the BPS head in West Kalimantan under custom law. In another case, a judge in Sanggau was moved to another post following a news report that he blackmailed the MANTEARE Credit Union (2005).²⁰

The magazine also serves as a material for advocacy in the community as well as for sharing experiences with others.²¹ News items in KR are reproduced or directly distributed to people in villages to further raise awareness and build unity

in the community's struggle. In this way, villagers are made aware of events and issues concerning other indigenous communities, which can help prepare them for similar eventualities. Further, Kerabat supports efforts to build peace and eradicate discrimination, while the section on Pancur Kasih Credit Union motivates people into joining a credit union and increases KR readers.²²

Already in its 20th year, *Kalimantan Review* has made its contribution to GPPK by bringing out the voice of the marginalized Dayak ethnic group and other indigenous communities. Its existence to date is not a matter of management and technique but a commitment of the heart and mind.

2. Community Radio: Conserving Local Culture and Instigating Peace

Radio Komunitas or Community Radio similarly acts as a channel to raise the community's voice without being hampered by political or economic interests. And just as significantly, as John Bamba (2006) asserted, it ensures the existence of local languages. Through community radio, the Dayak are able to express themselves in their own language and according to their own perspectives.

In establishing the community radio program, some of GPPK's main considerations were that radio is relatively cheaper to operate, required skills are not as sophisticated as those needed for television and it is simple to use, as people can listen to the radio even while sculpting or fishing. More importantly, the community itself would manage it after undergoing basic training. With these qualities that could overcome the difficulties presented by TV requirements, radio was chosen as a means to develop community empowerment and communication between communities.

Community radio was designed to be managed and owned independently by the community. The role of GPPK institutions, Institut Dayakologi and Pancur Kasih Civil Autonomy Empowerment or POR PK, was merely to provide facilitation and only when it was asked of them. Facilitation included

broadcast and management training in the community where the radio station is located, formulating a work plan for running it, and building partnerships with various parties to support its operation. The participating communities, ID and POR PK agreed to a timeframe of 1-1.5 years of facilitation after which the communities would be responsible for the management, operation and support of the radio station. Unfortunately a number of community radios stopped airing after ID and POR PK assistance ceased.

Facilitation commenced in 2003, with the setting up of two community radios: Manjing Tarah Tanjung Radio in the district of Ketapang and Sunia Nawangi Tunang Radio in Landak regency. The first community radios to operate in West Kalimantan, they broadcast programs on local knowledge and local culture.

In July 2004, ID and POR PK agreed with Segerak–Pancur Kasih to put up a community radio but only after the formation of a community organization. This resulted in the establishment of *Perkumpulan untuk Media Komunikasi Masyarakat Adat* (Association for Indigenous Peoples Communication Media) which decided to use the name Radio Suara Masyarakat Adat (RAMA, Radio for the Voice of Indigenous Society) for their community radio. In the Kanayant Dayak language, *rama* means shady or sheltered. By August 2004, RAMA had been set up, including its broadcast equipment, authorization and management.

Facilitation by GPPK institutions continued, resulting in 10 new radio stations: six reconciliation radios and four indigenous peoples' community radios. A reconciliation radio delivers its programs in various languages and perspectives. It broadcasts in Madura, Tionghoa, Dayak, Melayu, and other languages as long as communities speaking these languages are within broadcast range. On the other hand, the indigenous peoples' community radio is a medium to support the revitalization of Dayak culture; thus priority for its location are communities with a majority of Dayak sub-ethnic groups. Its broadcast material is aired in the local Dayak language and focuses on issues of their culture. These radio stations are operated and managed independently by the communities themselves.

The community radio also serves to promote a culture of peace. It aims to spread the perspective of multiethnic societies in preventing and settling conflicts through non-violent ways; to promote alternative views on enforcement of human rights and democracy from a multiethnic perspective; to develop critical awareness of society in general and multiethnic communities in particular in order to prevent and resolve conflicts without violence; to increase critical culture among multiethnic societies and the bigger society on various issues of human rights and democracy; and to increase the confidence and self esteem of multiethnic societies.²³

Besides being a medium of peace, the community radio is also used as a cheap and effective tool to communicate and convey messages freely. As an indigenous leader declared, “*Baru’ ampean urakng Dayak nian merdeka boh* (Only now does the Dayak feel independent).”²⁴ Today the Dayak are free to get information, entertainment and critical education on many issues through the community radio. In addition they are capable of managing and operating a radio station, something that had seemed impossible for them in the past.²⁵

Many parties were initially supportive of the operation of community radios, including government and social and religious leaders. In Ketapang City, the Bishop of Ketapang, Mgr. Blasius Pujaraharja Pr, was directly involved in opening the Gema Solidaritas Radio.

The community radios operate under a broadcasting license issued by the *Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia Daerah* (KPID) or Indonesian Broadcasting Commission of West Kalimantan. They follow procedures for broadcast operations laid down by Regulation No. 32 of year 2002.

Empowerment through Airwaves

Community people were enthusiastic with the opening of the radio stations, especially in areas where this form of mass media was nonexistent. Radio provides a way to air community problems and to seek solutions to these. For instance, in Tunang village, the people invited the sub-district head for

an interactive dialogue on air concerning electricity problems in their area. It was only then that they discovered from a radio listener that the blackouts were usually caused by tree branches falling on electric cables.

The community radio is a major source of cultural information and entertainment. Local people in the village of Tanjung, Sub-District Jelai Hulu, District Ketapang, likened the operation of RKMT (*Radio Komunitas Manjing Tarah/Manjing Tarah Community Radio*) to a mobile signal; a day without RKMT broadcasts meant missing their daily dose of cultural news and information.²⁶ Community radio in this village has a significantly high impact, since its news programs raise issues of *jalan jamban titiq* (a cultural custom), strengthening the community people's sense of identity and motivation to preserve their environment and practice their traditions. Nowadays, both young and old people use traditional sayings and proverbs they often hear on their community radio.²⁷

In Ayo Village in the District of Landak, the Bujakng Pabaras Community Radio was able to survive despite limitations because of the contribution and support of its loyal listeners. In Pontianak City, RAMA especially its program called *Jumpa Akrab Aktivis RAMA* (Meeting among RAMA Activists), which is aired in between main broadcasts, has enhanced the bond between broadcasters and listeners, among listeners, as well as between organizers and activists from various ethnic backgrounds who consistently support RAMA.

As the above examples show, the community radios provide space to convey the voices and perspectives of multiethnic peoples, especially indigenous peoples, who have not been heard.

State of Community Radios

A number of the community radios have ceased operation due to several factors identified by Institut Dayakologi's Community Radio Team. First, the initial processes for the radio's establishment in the community were inadequate, which resulted in an unsuitable choice of partnership or in

some cases non-selection of a local institution as a partner. Second, the community's social and economic condition was not conducive in supporting a radio station. Third, there was less than maximum assistance from ID; no ID staff were specifically assigned to assist the community radio.²⁸

Edi Petebang,²⁹ who headed the community radio program, noted two other causes for the radios' closure: inadequate implementing capacity that resulted in below-standard, low quality programs and unstable frequency of broadcasts that led to loss or lack of public interest. Similar data recently obtained from field investigation of community radios (both reconciliation and indigenous peoples' community radios) confirm these observations. Financial limitations were an additional obstacle to the sustainability of these radio stations.

Some of these difficulties are illustrated in RAMA's operations. As it entered its fifth year in 2009, RAMA realized it still had many shortcomings and must continue to improve and learn from previous experiences in order to become a truly independent community radio. Based on field surveys and listener feedback, it has to be self-sufficient in human, financial and technical resources and capacity to ensure its continued existence.

Challenges in Developing Community Radio

The main challenge Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement faces in developing mass media outfits for the empowerment movement is the issue of independence. In other words, the community's dependence is still high. A number of community radios, for instance, stopped operating because the radio management team expected continued assistance, facilitation and even resources from GPPK institutions.³⁰

Community radio managers traced this dependency to funding difficulties. Unlike independent radios that survive on advertisements, community radios, in accordance with Regulation No. 32/2002 on Broadcasting, are forbidden from accepting commercial advertisements. Other factors are unprofessional management, blackouts that lead to broadcast

delays, damaged radio equipment, and broadcasters' ennui and subsequent resignation due to inadequate incentives. Because trained staff did not remain long, the quality of radio programs declined.³¹

Further, government laws and regulations on communication and information tend to limit community radios in their development. They are discriminatory to start with, using as standard highly populated areas, such as the island of Java.³² They are also financially restrictive. Government Regulation Number 7 Year 2009 on types and tariffs of nontax state revenue requires community radios to pay a tax as determined by the regulation.³³

There are at least five other challenges GPPK has to confront in the development of mass media: 1) minimal resources (funds, means and human resources); 2) non-tradition among Dayak of paying for information, making it hard for magazines, TV or radio to become financially self-sufficient; 3) rapid development of information technology, causing competition for audiences; 4) more open political condition, which means limited scoops or exclusive news that can be gathered; and 5) presence of vested interests that are not in line with the GPPK vision and mission.

Important Lessons Learned

There are mainly three indicators of success in organizational work: a rise in society's awareness, mass mobilization and development of mass organizations. If these three aspects have not been realized, organizational work can be said to have largely been unsuccessful.³⁴

GPPK is aware that in the development of community radios (including reconciliation community radios), the phases of organizational work were not implemented adequately in the field. This is evidenced by the earlier cited factors on why various community radios had to shut down. The 1-year duration of assistance was also insufficient to develop the community's awareness that would enable them to mobilize and organize themselves, including in managing a radio station.

One year was found too short to make a community radio strong enough to stand and operate on its own.

3. RUAI Television: A New Strategy in Setting Change in Motion

The Reformation period in Indonesia resulted in the amendment of numerous laws and regulations, including those on broadcasting that loosened the government's tight grip on media. Print media no longer required an SIUP, and local television could be established through Regulation No. 32 Year 2002, which provides space for the growth of local television. This regulation, which is boosted by regional autonomy (Regulation No. 22/1999),³⁵ broadens the TV industry that under the New Order was concentrated in Jakarta.

Motivations for Setting Up TV Station

Despite the space provided by Regulation No. 32/2002 and the general democratic space that allowed for mobilization for social change in West Kalimantan, GPPK felt that it was not yet feasible to put up a TV station. Towards the end of 2004, however, a GPPK meeting raised the importance and benefits that the movement could gain by having its own TV station. Its advocates reasoned that TV would provide a means for critical education, help in practical efforts towards peace and reconciliation, and produce television presenters and managers among the people of West Kalimantan.

At the time, the idea to open a TV station was quite alien because in the past, it was mainly wealthy people in Jakarta who owned a television set. After the idea was thrown out however, some GPPK program units started to make plans towards this direction. POR-PK took the initiative to make it happen, as one of its programs is to develop popular media as a pillar for developing people's autonomy.

On 5-8 September 2005, POR PK members, S. Masiun, V. Vermey, and Damian Siok, made a study visit to TV Kendari in

Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi. The visit, initiated by environment activists who joined *Yayasan Cinta Alam* (Love for Nature Foundation) in 2004, reinforced the dream to establish a television station in Pontianak. Upon their return, they presented their observations and learnings about Kendari TV to key GPPK activists. They wanted to set up a TV station to be named Citra Utama Television, with the channel name CUTV, in keeping with the intention to make it serve the credit union /movement.

In order to provide a more local content, however, it was agreed after a series of discussions to name it Ruai Television instead, *ruai* being a term of strong local import.³⁶ Ruai is a species of bird indigenous to Kalimantan, but people more commonly know the hornbill as the West Kalimantan mascot.



Photo credit: ID

For the Dayak people, ruai is the part of the longhouse where they conduct social activities, such as dining, entertaining guests, holding parties and shows and discussion of customary issues.

PT. RUAI Television was subsequently registered on December 28, 2005.³⁷ A business plan workshop for Ruai Television, attended by all POR PK activists, was conducted in Pontianak by Dwi Roosdiyanto, head of PT. Elektrindo Nusantara Jakarta's Broadcasting Division and Erlan Hidayat, managing director of Tusk Computing Services PTE LTD. The discussion and exchange of experiences with the two television practitioners dealt with technical issues, broadcasting, programming, human resources, finances, and weaknesses in the Notary Act relating to funds. The workshop also designated the crew members who would work with Ruai Television.

Despite the two-day business plan workshop, however, a feeling of doubt still lingered. The entire management of Ruai Television thus held a study visit of Bali TV in Bali. Conducted towards the end of May 2006, the study group included A.R. Mecer, S. Masiun, Erma S. Ranik, Aleks Kunwardi, Salvinus (Iping), Y. Ivie, and A. Kisworo.

Obtaining a Broadcast License: the long and bureaucratic process

Ruai TV went through a long process of bureaucratic requirements and delays before it could finally get a license to go on air. By April 2006, it had already fulfilled the legal requirements. An updated registration certificate, Certificate No: 06 dated 5 April 2006, was issued by Notary Elisabeth Veronika Ely, SH, MH, MSi. Ruai TV also received the *Akta Pendirian Perseroan Terbatas Ruai Televisi* (Certificate of Establishment of Ruai Television) issued by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights through Number: C-21094 HT.01.01. TH. 2006 dated 19 July 2006.

With these legal requirements, Ruai TV applied for a Permit for Television Broadcast with *Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia Daerah Kalimantan Barat* (KPID or Indonesian Broadcasting Commission of West Kalimantan region. KPID conducted the obligatory administrative and factual verifications, culminating in an Evaluation of Public Hearing (*Evaluasi Dengar Pendapat* [EDP]) on 8 September 2006 attended by 80 people from all sectors of society. Ruai Television was the third local TV station to conduct an EDP after Kapuas Citra Television and Media Khatulistiwa Television.

Following the EDP results, KPID West Kalimantan issued a Recommendation Letter of Feasibility on 20 September 2006. The *Izin Penyelenggaraan Penyiaran*

Sementara (IPPS) or Temporary Broadcasting License was issued only on 24 September 2008, and IPPS Ruai Television was signed by the Minister of Communication and Information on 30 December 2008. The Temporary Broadcasting License (*Surat Ijin Penyelenggaraan Penyiaran Sementara*) based on Regulation 32/2002 was submitted no more than 60 days after KPID issued the Letter of Feasibility to the Central Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia/KPI). The process, however, dragged on due to a conflict between Central KPI and the Ministry of Communication and Information, and a Joint Meeting Forum was eventually carried out on 24 September 2008. The IPPS of Ruai Television was finally signed by the Minister of Communication and Information on 30 December 2008.

The prolonged conflict between the Ministry of Communication and Information and the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission ended with a lawsuit filed with the Constitutional Court, which caused a delay in the licensing process of local televisions in Indonesia. The Evaluation of Broadcasting Trial (*Evaluasi Uji Coba Siaran* [EUCS]) that should have been conducted after IPPS ended could not be held immediately. The EUCS, which is a requirement for a Broadcasting License with a period of 10 years, was only carried out on 10 August 2011 by a team from the Ministry of Communication and Information, Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, and KPID West Kalimantan. On that day, after a series of EUCS, PT. Ruai Television passed the evaluation and received a 10-year Broadcasting License.

Vision and Operations

The fundamental motivation for establishing Ruai Television was the desire to:

1. Promote dignified social, cultural, economic and political dynamics as well as good human resources;
2. Cultivate West Kalimantan pride, appreciation, exploration and promotion of social and cultural richness. West Kalimantan is Indonesia's window to the international world;
3. Put up a television station that can be a channel for the aspirations and creativity of West Kalimantan people;
4. Support a mass medium able to bond civil society movements in general and credit union movements specifically in Indonesia;
5. Contribute in building reconciliation and peace on the earth's equator.

These are affirmed in the vision of Ruai Television, which is to “become the longed-for local TV and give inspiration to West Kalimantan people.” Its mission is to be “a channel that broadcasts shows that make our viewers smarter, happy, enlightened, inspired and agents of change.”

Ruai TV promotes itself as “the best information television and favorite business partner in West Kalimantan.” It looks at viewers as a smart audience who are seeking information, involvement and entertainment and who desire honesty and accuracy.

To become a distinctive local television, Ruai TV defined a number of characteristics for its shows, in keeping with its name Ruai, which implies: *riang*, *unik*, *aktual*, and *intelek* (cheerful, unique, actual, and intelligent). Its programs, which focus on news and culture,³⁸ provide new perspectives to its viewers, hence its slogan, “the Window to your Inspiration.”

Ruai TV planned to go on air on 28 October 2006 on the occasion of *Hari Sumpah Pemuda* (Oath of the Youth Day), which would have been an interesting coincidence since its address is Jalan 28 Oktober Pontianak. Due however to a number of obstacles including a delay in obtaining a license, Ruai TV finally decided to broadcast officially on a day sacred to the Dayak people—7 July 2007 (the 7th day of the 7th month in the year 2007). To the Dayak, seven is a number of victory; and in creation stories, the number of perfection. Because the number seven has such a deep meaning, it was decided to launch Ruai TV on that day.

Ruai TV started with 2-hour broadcasts from 19:00-21:00 everyday. After a year, its broadcast time extended to seven hours, from 15:00-22:00, and since October 2008, to 10 hours with morning and evening broadcasts. Morning broadcasts last from 06:00-09:00; and in the evening, from 15:00-22:00.³⁹

Ruai TV is consistent in its desire to provide a local West Kalimantan flavor and to contribute to peace and reconciliation. A special program unique to Ruai TV is *Warta Ruai*, a news show aired in three local languages: Dayak Kanayatn,

Melayu Pontianak and Tiocu every Sunday at 19:00. It also presents *Senandung Lagu Daerah* or Show of Local Songs in a variety of local languages. Other distinctive programs are Mandarin Night, *Dendang Melayu*, (Malay songs) Pop Dayak as well as reports on customary ceremonies and local wisdom in managing natural resources.

Ruai TV has started to gain viewers' appreciation. News programs have received a highly positive response, especially Warta Ruai, a news segment awaited by viewers everyday. There are no rating bodies that rank local television shows in Pontianak, but the amount of public response it has gotten is evidence enough that Warta Ruai is the best news segment among local TV shows in the city.

At the end of 2009 or by early 2010, Ruai TV is expected to air via satellite. The satellite will make Ruai Television broadcasts accessible throughout the entire Asia Pacific region.⁴⁰ Following the timeline for its development, its expansion,⁴¹ set for 2010 and beyond, may be accomplished.



News anchors of RUAI TV. Photo credit: ID

Future Challenges

After several years of service, Ruai TV still faces a number of challenges. One is the development of reliable human resources. Ruai TV's future foundation lies in its human resources. Having professional and committed crew members with strong management, including high leadership and technical skills, will ensure quality shows.

Ruai TV must also formulate policies and standard operational procedures that will improve its work system and operations. This includes rewards and sanctions, a fair system of compensation and promotions and other related matters. A good operating system will make crew members work according to clear standards and guidelines and provide a foundation for good corporate governance.

Further Ruai TV should be built up as a good broadcasting institution with a good organizational culture. The development of this culture will foster worker productivity and creativity, but it will require long-term commitment and time. Only with a strong organizational culture will Ruai TV be able to exist as a station within the national television industry.

Another important step is the formation of a strong organization. This helps to produce committed and loyal crew members who will make Ruai TV operate at peak performance. Ruai TV, along with Kendari TV, Bengkulu TV, Gekko Studio, Buton Raya, and Tifa TV, has formed *Asosiasi Televisi Kerakyatan Indonesia* (ASTEKI) or Association of Indonesian Peoples' Television and *Kantor Berita Televisi Kerakyatan Indonesia* (KB-TEKI) or Office of Indonesian Peoples' News Television. These networks must be strengthened to have a strong bargaining position with other concerned parties, including the government, television service users and television equipment vendors. With ASTEKI and KB-TEKI, Ruai TV is expected to generate new enthusiasm in the world of Indonesian television.

The long-term development of Ruai Television requires learning and experience as well as deriving the lessons from

the success of similar organizations. Even as it starts to air through satellite, it will need to continue implementing comprehensive improvements in its systems and operations.

Endnotes

¹ Written by Stefanus Masiun and Andika Pasti.

² Alloy, et al. 2008, 10.

³ Pasti 2007, 19.

⁴ Edi Petebang, written interview, Pontianak on 10 July 2009. Permission for citation.

⁵ Bamba 2006, 23.

⁶ John Bamba, interviewed at his office, Pontianak, 26 June 2009. Permission for citation.

⁷ Ngiuk et al., *op. cit.* p.7.

⁸ Petebang and Ngiuk 2008,1.

⁹ Based on questionnaires handed through KR in December 2008; a copy of KR was read on the average by 2-5 people.

¹⁰ Petebang and Ngiuk. *Loc. cit.*, p. 2.

¹¹ Petebang and Ngiuk. *Loc. cit.*, p. 4.

¹² Ngiuk. et al., *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹³ Subro, activist for peace, interviewed at his house, Pontianak on 5 August 2009. Permission for citation.

¹⁴ Petebang and Ngiuk. *Loc. cit.*, p 7.

¹⁵ Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Kepengurusan, Institut Dayakologi 2005-2008, p 50.

¹⁶ Ngiuk 2008, slides 6-8.

¹⁷ John Bamba, interviewed at his office, Pontianak on 26 June 2009. Permission for citation.

¹⁸ Elias Ngiuk, written interview, Pontianak on 7 July 2009. Permission for citation.

¹⁹ Ngiuk 2008, slide 17.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Bayer, interviewed at his house, Tanjung, Ketapang, on 10 July 2009. Permission for citation.

²² Petebang and Ngiuk. *loc. cit.*

²³ Vide 2005, 53.

²⁴ This statement was made by Adiran, an indigenous leader and educator.

²⁵ Vide. *loc.cit.* p. 53.

²⁶ This was presented by a citizen during the RKMT Evaluation of Public Hearing, Tanjung 2006.

²⁷ Theodorus Suran, interviewed at his house, Tanjung, on 10 July 2009. Permission for citation.

²⁸ Vide, *Ibid.* p 53.

²⁹ Edi Petebang, written interview, Pontianak on 10 July 2009. Permission for citation.

³⁰ John Bamba, interviewed at his office, Pontianak on 26 June 2009. Permission for citation.

³¹ Vide, *Ibid.* p. 53.

³² Ngiuk et al. *op. cit.* p. 18.

³³ Edi Petebang, written interview, Pontianak on 10 July 2009. Permission for citation.

³⁴ Widjaja et al. 2008, 55.

³⁵ PT Ruai Television Application for Broadcasting Permit Proposal 2006.

³⁶ Report of the POR-PK Comparative Study on Kendari TV Results, September 2005.

³⁷ The registration is contained in Certificate No: 44 issued by the Notary Elisabeth Veronika Ely, SH, MH, Msi on 28 December 2005.

³⁸ Perfected Ruai Television Profile Document, 2008.

³⁹ Ruai Television Schedule, October 2008

⁴⁰ Up to the writing of this book, RUAI TV has not been able to air via satellite due to a lack of financial resources.

⁴¹ Ruai Television Perfected Profile Document, 2008.

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Chapter

8

Participating in Managing the State and Nation¹

Matheus Pilin



The Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement takes part in the pluralist political movement that includes involvement in managing the state through electoral participation. This involvement is defined by nationality politics or engagement in social movements to defend the oppressed and to fight against inequality, among others. GPPK's pluralist politics advances rural democratization, recognition of Dayak communities as a social unit, participatory democratic political process, government transparency and attention to local community needs, legal diversity, gender equality, respect for human rights, and ecological justice.

GPPK participates in managing the “state politic “ through direct involvement in state political processes. This was initially achieved through GPPK members who were elected or appointed to legislative, executive and judicial posts. After 22 years (1982-2004), this involvement has transformed into

institutional political participation, which began as an active response to the opening of political space for social movements and pro-democracy groups.

At the same time GPPK participates in managing the nation through its direct involvement in nationality politics. “Nationality politics” is the active involvement of individuals and civil society groups to empower the social movement through education and advocacy to attain equality for people who are marginalized, oppressed, unjustly treated, deprived of their rights and have limited access and participation in social, cultural and economic development.

In this context GPPK is part of civil society groups that strive to influence decision-making systems and structures by initiating and facilitating the establishment of people’s organizations, alliances, associations, and NGOs for the purpose of realizing genuine autonomy at the popular level as well as to serve as a countervailing force in policy and state administration.



Political Processes

Political struggle is run not only in Parliament but in daily life by all members of society. Political responsibility and action cannot lie solely in elected representatives but should be taken up everyday throughout the community from local to national level. The struggle to realize democracy is intended both to bring about social equality in the country and to strengthen the autonomy of civil society to exercise power and to influence the state to truly represent the interests of the people. Popular democracy must also continuously improve the capacity for self-determination and prioritize the interests of subordinate groups.

Five problems have dominated the Indonesian nation from the Old Order to the current government that moved GPPK to participate in managing the state:

1. The economic life and welfare of the people are deteriorating. A people-based economy, which means

an economy managed and developed by the people, is constantly threatened and changed by a capitalistic system, resulting in the people's impoverishment and worsening their economic condition. A people's economy is where the people are the economic actors, and their economic resources, such as rubber plantations, rattan gardens, tengkawang, aloe, local fruits, vegetables, and so forth are grown on land where their property rights are respected and protected.

A people's economy was the choice of the Founding Fathers of the Republic of Indonesia as set forth in Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution. The Constitution recognizes an economic system that is based on the principle of kinship as manifested in cooperation (Hatta, 1957). While land, water and other natural resources are owned by the State, these are to be used for the benefit and prosperity of the entire nation (cf. Marsono 2002; Kusuma 2004).

2. The prevailing political system and culture do not support a just political order and economic prosperity for all people. Political power is only for the elite who use it to enrich themselves and a tool for political rulers, ruling parties and leaders of major parties to stay in power.
3. Mutual help and solidarity among citizens are diminishing; people have become more individualistic, weakening the civic unity of the people of Indonesia.
4. Law enforcement favors the interests of those who have political power and money.
5. The nation's honor and dignity has increasingly declined because of weak national leadership in carrying out the mandate of the people.²

This multidimensional crisis, which is evidenced by increased environmental disasters and poverty, results from the workings of the present oligarchy that uses the political system to advance its own interests. The nation is once again treated as a "riding horse" by foreign countries whose hold over the country's political economy robs the people and the state of their sovereignty. These crises threaten the people's rights to life and livelihood, and thus their general welfare.

The political and economic elites who enjoyed the favour of previous administrations have managed to consolidate back their power in the halls of the current government (legislative, judicial and executive) and even in civil society. This means the people's expectations of the national ideals of equality, prosperity and good governance are still far from being realized.

This situation has caused helplessness in society in all aspects of life. Thus since the 1980s GPPK has endeavored to take part in managing the nation in the broadest sense, by raising critical consciousness and promoting populist approaches to achieve human dignity and independence in the social, cultural, economic, and political spheres of life.



Political Movement for Empowerment and Equality

GPPK's understanding and practice of nationality politics involves the movement for affirmative empowerment through education and awareness, mentoring and advocacy for the rights of marginalized and oppressed groups including access and control over the sources of life and livelihood. This entails breaking false and erroneous notions and beliefs, and creating instead critical consciousness among people to enable them to organize themselves, improve their quality of life, and strengthen the spirit of solidarity, alliance and association to realize true independence.

In its experience and involvement, directly and indirectly, in national politics, GPPK has pioneered many initiatives in fighting for the rights and interests of both the Dayak community and other oppressed people. It took an active role in establishing various populist movements for political empowerment, such as community forums, indigenous organizations and alliances of indigenous people, peasant unions, associations, coalitions, and nongovernment organizations.

Realizing that the political struggle of indigenous peoples requires a more extensive network at national and inter-

national levels, GPPK in 1997 encouraged and facilitated the formation of West Kalimantan Alliance of Indigenous Community, now transformed into the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago or AMAN Kalbar, and through a network of NGOs in Indonesia actively supported the birth of AMAN at the national level. Through AMAN, advocacy work for the rights of indigenous peoples in Indonesia is brought up to the international level.

Setting up Indigenous Organizations

Since 1997, GPPK through its program institutions³ and individuals cooperated in the integrative process of organizing and assisting indigenous communities to establish indigenous peoples' organizations (Organisasi Masyarakat Adat/OMA) in various districts in West Kalimantan. The OMA has contributed to the birth of advocacy organizations at the local, regional and national levels.

Indigenous Peoples Organizations Facilitated by GPPK

Organization	District/ Regency	Objective
LKBM (<i>Lembaga Ketemengguangan Benua Mayao</i> /(Institution of Indigenous territory of Benua Mayao)	Sanggau	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs
GRPK (<i>Gerakan Rakyat Pemberdayaan Kampung/Village Empowerment Civil Movement</i>) ⁴	Sanggau	To conduct intensive political education and advocacy and initiate political processes of local regulations for villages in the district
Stades (<i>Serikat Tani Dayak Desa/Farmer Union of Dayak Desa</i>)	Sekadau	To organize themselves for struggle
Pusaka (<i>Pusat Advokasi Kampung/Village Advocacy Center</i>)	Sekadau	To defend the rights of indigenous peoples of Jawan 't over land and other natural resources
Ketemengguangan Sepan Sungai Mare' Kelampai Ayau (Indigenous Territory of Sepan Sungai Mare' Kelampai Ayau)	Sekadau	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs

Institute of Betang Berimai (LBB)	Sekadau	To defend the rights of indigenous peoples
Forum Masyarakat Adat Wilayah Rawak Taman Mahap (RTM)	Sekadau	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs
Jaringan Muda Manteare/Manteare Youth Network (JMM)	Sekadau	To strengthen the engagement of youth in addressing issues faced by indigenous peoples
Lembaga Tanjung Barai Bersatu (Institution of Tanjung Barai Union)	Sintang	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs
AMA-BN (<i>Aliansi Masyarakat Adat – Benua Ningkau</i> /Indigenous Peoples Alliance of Benua Ningkau)	Sintang	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs
Gerakan Masyarakat Adat Serawai (Gemas)/Serawai Indigenous Community Movement	Sintang	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs
Gema-kami (<i>Gerakan Masyarakat Adat Kabupaten Melawi</i> /Melawi Regency Indigenous Peoples Movement)	Melawi	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs
Permadali (<i>Persatuan Masyarakat Dayak Limbai</i> /Dayak Limbai Community Union)	Melawi	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs
Permadar (<i>Persatuan Masyarakat Dayak Ransa</i> /Dayak Ransa Community Union)	Melawi	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs
JAKA (Jaringan Antar Kampung/Inter-Village/Kampung Network)	Melawi	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs
Sekretariat Masyarakat Adat Dayak Kapuas Hulu (Skakmad-KH)/Secretariat of Kapuas Hulu Dayak Indigenous Community	Kapuas Hulu	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs
Tanah Adat Menua Bansa Iban (TAMBAI)	Kapuas Hulu	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs
Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Jalai Kendawangan (AMA- JK)/Indigenous Peoples Alliance of Jalai Kendawangan	Ketapang	To strengthen indigenous territories and their customs

The birth of these indigenous organizations with their own specific goals was a response to various issues and social changes, including the ability to assert their bargaining position with parties pursuing capitalist development in indigenous territories. They have a strategic role in local governance but it is urgent for them to continue to reform the ideology of their movement and to promote cooperation among them and with other organizations and networks.

Broadening Networks

GPPK has helped in the formation of networks to bring a broader unity and action on specific issues and concerns. One of these is mapping of indigenous territories. Its mapping program in West Kalimantan to strengthen land and resource rights and sovereignty of indigenous communities influenced similar initiatives outside of the province. This eventually led to the establishment of the Working Network of Participatory Mapping or *Jaringan Kerja Pemetaan Partisipatif*.

Another area is local knowledge-based natural resource management of indigenous peoples. In 1993 GPPK, through Institut Dayakologi, LBBT and Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation, Indonesian Tropical Institute and WALHI joined a discourse with NGOs in Indonesia to find alternatives to the exploitative management of natural resources. This resulted in the support of traditional resource management practiced by indigenous groups, such as those in Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and West Papua. To ensure its wider promotion, GPPK participated in putting up the national network, Consortium for Supporting Community Based Forest System Management, in 1998 as a political strategy of the forestry community movement.⁵

On the issue of oil, GPPK also actively coordinates with various networks and strategic coalitions, such as the Consortium of Anti-Illegal Logging, Networks of Coastal and Inland Areas, WALHI, Consortium for Agrarian Reform, and International NGO Forum for Indonesian Development.

Strengthening Credit Union Movement

SegeraK-Pancur Kasih, in coordination with Kalimantan Credit Union Coordinating Body, facilitates the consolidation of the credit union movement made up of 43 credit unions influenced by GPPK. The movement addresses local concerns and economic policies that affect the sustainability of these credit unions, which are spread out across 14 districts in West Kalimantan. However, within the overall empowerment movement to realize social and cultural autonomy, the economic and political role of the credit union is still deemed inadequate.

The consolidation of credit unions is made through meetings organized for credit unions in Sanggau and Sekadau (FK-CUS2), in Ketapang (FK-CUK), in Bengkayang and Singkawang (FK-CUBS). The consolidation forum of Pancur Kasih Credit Union, which has 28 Service Points, is organized through a regional consolidation⁶ of member credit unions in various villages and districts.

Multiethnic Cooperation for Peace

To promote peace and reconciliation among ethnic groups, GPPK established cooperative relationships with individuals and multiethnic institutions. This includes Gemawan in Pontianak and Institute Misem, which work with Malay and Madurese communities respectively as well as influential individuals in the Chinese and Javanese communities.

GPPK's peace initiatives from 2003 to 2009 gave birth to the Alliance of NGO for Peace and Reconciliation. The Alliance assists the peace building and reconciliation programs of the Kalimantan Regional Consultation and of credit unions, such as CU Sari Intugin in Sambas and CU Muare Pesisir at Sungai Kakap whose majority members are Malay.

It further facilitates peace building education and training for credit union activists and students of diverse ethnic backgrounds who are expected to become actors for peace in their own communities and schools.

Another GPPK initiative is the peace campaign through the publication of *Pearls of Peace from Kalimantan* written by Dayak, Malay, Chinese, Madura, and Javanese activists. GPPK has been and continues to engage in the political context of nationality and equality through concrete programs not only for the Dayak community but the multiethnic society in Kalimantan and other parts of the archipelago.

Women Empowerment

In 1994 the Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation, Institut Dayakologi and Institute for Community Legal Resources Empowerment pioneered the Dayak Women's Empowerment Program (P3D). The program entailed organizing women's groups around the city of Pontianak and providing training in sewing, collecting and developing handicrafts in weaving, mat making and other traditional crafts. In mid-2007, SegeraK-Pancur Kasih through the third Regional Consultation for Peace and Reconciliation in Pontianak, raised the issue of empowerment of women and proposed a meeting of women's groups that had been organized by a NGO network in Kalimantan.

Capacity Building for NGOs

At the regional (Kalimantan) and national level, GPPK has taken a major role in building the capacity of NGOs to assist and enable credit unions to carry out the economic struggle. It has undertaken this program in Central, East and South Kalimantan and other areas in Indonesia, such as West Sumatra, East Java, Sulawesi and Papua.

GPPK through SegeraK-Pancur Kasih facilitates consolidation of the credit union movement as an entry point for the movement for social change. To ensure consolidation at various levels, SegeraK-PK and POR-PK cooperate with BKCU Kalimantan and Panarung Dayak Institution to organize meetings of credit unions and various organizations working for community empowerment. Among these are local NGOs

in Central Kalimantan, Palangkaraya Student Organization, Dayak Union Cooperative in Central Kalimantan, Rubber Farmers Union, and primary credit unions in Central Kalimantan (including CU *Batang Asi* in Palangka Raya, CU *Sumber Rejeki* in Ampah, CU *Remaung Kecubung* in Pangkalan and CU *Eka Pambelum Itah* in Sampit in Kotawaringin Timur District) as well as individuals concerned about social issues and empowerment.

The consolidation meetings are conducted every semester in a different place in a consortium forum of the Dayak Empowerment Movement of Central Kalimantan (*GebraK*). The consolidation meetings are strategic, serving as a vehicle to disseminate the ideology of the empowerment movement and to discuss and solve synergistically various problems and social issues of members with regard to culture, law and ecology.

Learning from GPPK's work in Central Kalimantan, the Dayak Panarung Institute initiated the formation of various local alliances, such as the Rubber Farmers Union with members across four districts in Central Kalimantan, namely, Rubber Farmers Union of *Penyang Hapakat* in *Sepang* Sub-district and Rubber Farmers Union of *Manggalang Tarung* in Tumbang Malahoi village, both in Gunung Mas District; Farmers Union of *Nueng Tarung* in Nihan village in Barito Utara District; Rubber Farmers Union of *Kahayan Basewut* in *Petuk Liti* village in Pulang Pisau District; and Farmers Union Rubber of *Dayak Hapakat* in Sampit City in Kotawaringin Timur District.

In an effort to coordinate the work and improve the quality of education for these groups, LDP, CU Special Interest Asi, Dayak Union Cooperative (*Koperasi Persekutuan Dayak*) and Central Kalimantan Rubber Farmers Union agreed to form the Community of Credit Union Facilitators (*Komunitas Fasilitator Credit Union/KFC*). The KFC members are trained facilitators with various skills and abilities. The KFC was established in late July 2009 with the aim of producing training modules to improve and expand the involvement of the empowerment movement in strengthening synergy in the GPPK credit union movement.

State Politics

GPPK has built a consistent movement to fight for local values, democracy and universal humanity. Along with environmental NGO networks, human rights and pro-democracy groups, students, media and other organizations in Indonesia, GPPK advocated actively for the repeal of several laws that have been the root cause of a number of social, economic, political and environmental problems in the country. These are: 1) Basic Forestry Law No. 5 of 1967 (now Forestry Law No. 41 of 1999); 2) Basic Agrarian Law No. 5 of 1960 (now TAP MPR No. IX of 2001 on Agrarian Reform and Natural Resource Management); and 3) Act No. 5 of 1975 on Village Government (changed to Law No. 22 of 1999 and later to Act 32 of 2004 on Regional Autonomy).

On October 9, 2009, Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono approved Act 32 of 2009 on Control and Management of the Environment (UUPPLH). The Act gives formal government recognition to the existence of indigenous peoples, local knowledge and cultural land use.

In the effort to uphold political work, the following theses on the nature of NGO work have been made:⁷

First, the various problems faced by marginalized groups are basically structural, that is, these are essentially rooted in public policies that disregard their circumstances and interests. Second, the work of nongovernment organizations should also be considered as “political work,” as they are committed to the process of democratization, respect for human rights and popular participation in determining the direction and implementation of development. The third thesis, which has been gaining ground for the last two decades, is that the ultimate objective of NGOs that want to advance the movement will not be achieved without direct support or involvement of the groups whom the movement is fighting for. This means the work of establishing and strengthening people’s organizations is a necessity. The strategy thus requires a new paradigm of advocacy for social justice that puts the victim of policy as the main focus.⁸

Indeed, as revealed in the “Intersection Reflection” of NGOs in September-October 1998 four months after Soeharto was pressured to step down from the presidency, NGOs had made several achievements:

First, the number of demonstrations by people to demand their rights is increasing in cases involving land, labor, environment, forests, indigenous peoples, and others linked with non-governmental organizations. It seems that increased political awareness and militancy among the people have opened the door wider to reforms. Second, non-governmental organizations have started to be involved in making various policies and government programs at the regional level in the reform period, although there remains an effort to block them, especially from the military. In general, however, the position and role of non-governmental organizations has begun to be recognized and embraced by local governments and other government agencies. People always await the results of investigations by non-governmental organizations, the space for NGOs is getting broader, and society's expectations of the role of non-governmental organizations are larger. Third, non-governmental organizations are more trusted by people in the facilitation and implementation of programs.⁹

Thus, in the early days of Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation in the early 1980s, A.R. Mecer actively joined certain political parties and was elected and served in the House of Representatives (DPRD) of West Kalimantan province from 1987-1992. Amid the New Order regime's restrictions, YKSPK carried out its mission and negotiated with political leaders for recognition of Dayak rights and protection for its work in the empowerment movement. This proves that the orientation of political work is not power but rather the ideology and values to attain ideal conditions that affect human life.¹⁰

In the post-reform era, the ideals of political sovereignty advocated by GPPK are gaining momentum. Along with a democratization of national politics that began snowballing after Soeharto's fall, some Dayaks won seats in legislative bodies. In 1999 A.R. Mecer was elected as a member of the Representative Assembly of the Dayak ethnic minority for a 5-year term. This

victory was enabled by the advocacy and lobby made by A.R. Mecer and several others with the central government to open up political opportunities for Dayak leaders following the implementation of a system of representation for the Dayak ethnic minority.¹¹ The formal political role played by its main figures certainly became a particular institutional responsibility of GPPK. It also meant involving the interests of other Dayaks across Kalimantan and in other areas and accelerating the efforts for economic and socio-cultural autonomy in the regions of Central, South and East Kalimantan.

Electoral Participation

In the reform era, GPPK continued the effort to realize political sovereignty through participation in regional and national elections (the 1999 and 2004 elections involved regional executive, district head, and national legislative posts; and 2007, gubernatorial posts). In 2007-2008, participation was also attempted in electoral bodies such as the Election Commission at the district/city level. These efforts showed a growing emphasis and more openness by GPPK to political participation.

In 1999 two GPPK activists, T. Arsen Rickson and Paulus Florus, ran for regent and vice regent of Sanggau District, but the candidates of the political parties won. This experience spurred a move to take a more appropriate strategy. In 2004 a number of GPPK activists attempted to vie for regent, governor and legislature seats in West Kalimantan. While this manifested GPPK's seriousness in exploring better strategies to realize people's political sovereignty, its efforts in "formal politics" were more at the individual rather than institutional level or as a movement.

The situation began to change when GPPK engaged in local elections in the new district of Sekadau. In the 2004 elections, political support began to involve wider citizen participation, prompting GPPK members, Stephen Masiun and Peter Lansang, to run as the first regent and vice regent of the new district. Unfortunately they lost. While GPPK programs in critical education, environment, people's autonomy and

economy increased popular support for GPPK candidates, its organizational and development work was not able to be transformed optimally into real political support. This contributed to the failure of the GPPK members to win the votes for the top positions of Sekadau district. In the same year, A.R. Mecer competed for the vice regency in Ketapang, but his attempt similarly failed.

In 2007 GPPK members again took part in the local election. A.R. Mecer¹² and a supporting partner, HM Akil Mochtar, SH., MH, ran for vice governor and governor respectively of West Kalimantan. They were nominated by the Coalition of West Kalimantan People's Unity, which was composed of eight political parties. Although both lost the election, only ranking fourth,¹³ the support mobilized from institutions, program units and activists of GPPK was bigger than ever before.

The legislature offered another avenue for electoral engagement. In 2004 the People's Consultative Assembly was replaced by the Regional Representatives Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah*/DPD), which has similar functions as the House of Representatives), with West Kalimantan province given five seats. Some senior GPPK activists saw this as an opportunity to have a Dayak delegate in the Regional Representatives Council. They approached Evy Flavia, a member of Institut Dayakologi, to run as a delegate representing the Dayak and women sectors. She declined, and the choice fell on Maria Goreti, also an activist and a journalist with the Institut Dayakologi and *Kalimantan Review*. Some GPPK activists helped her through the administrative requirements under the Electoral Act and to get the support of other parties. Goreti won and served as a member of the Council of West Kalimantan for a 5-year term. This position, however, did not offer the best leverage for achieving the ideals of GPPK.

Building partnerships with allied political parties was also explored. In the 1999 elections some GPPK activists had actively promoted the Nation's Love Democratic Unity Party (*Partai Persatuan Demokrasi Kasih Bangsa*/PDKB) throughout West Kalimantan. The GPPK-PDKB agenda was to open access to Dayak cadres to pursue the struggle through electoral politics. The party, however, failed to join the 2004 elections because it did not meet the requirements for participation.

Electoral participation in regional commissions and bodies was also tried, and this yielded more success. In 2008 several activists of GPPK ran and were successfully elected as members of the Regional General Election Commission (KPUD) in several districts; they were:

1. Yohanes Janting (Pancur PPSDAK Love) as member of Kapuas Hulu District Election Commission;
2. Evy Flavia, as member of District Election Commission in Bengkayang;
3. Silvester Lomon (Institut Dayakologi) as member of Landak District Election Commission;
4. Sekundus Ritih (*Gerakan Rakyat Pulang Kampung*) as member of the District Election Commission.

Members of LBBT pursued political engagement in the judiciary. In 1998 C. Kanyan, SH succeeded in obtaining a license to practice as a lawyer (now referred to as Advocate). He was followed by Fubertus Ipur, SH and Agatha Anida, SH, while Abdias Yas, SH (LBBT Director) and Dunasta, SH took the Advocates' test in October 2009 at the Indonesian Advocates Association in Pontianak.

GPPK's involvement in public space included the election of three selected members of Institut Dayakologi in 2004-2007: Edi Petebang as a member of the National Commission on Human Rights in West Kalimantan (Komnas HAM), Elias Ngiuk, S. Sn and Hawad Sriyanto, SH as members of the Regional Broadcasting Commission of Indonesia in West Kalimantan.

An even bigger participation emerged in recent elections. In the 2009 legislative election, 29 men and women activists of GPPK passed the requirements for candidacy to district, city, provincial, and central legislature under several political parties. One of them also ran for the Regional Representatives Council. In the political consolidation by GPPK in January-March 2009, these candidates formulated the following "Political Commitment."

First, on legislation:

1. Encourage implementation of TAP MPR No. IX/2001 on Agrarian Reform and Natural Resource

Management for rehabilitation of social and ecological damage;

2. Encourage enforcement of the 2nd Amendment to the Constitution of 1945, Article 18.b (paragraph 2) on regulations in favor of the people's interests, the environment and human rights;
3. Encourage bigger allocation of State Budget (APBN) for the development of rural areas and rehabilitation of environmental damage;
4. Encourage implementation of the Regional Budget (APBD), 60 percent of which should be allocated for development of rural areas and villages and 40 percent for regular government spending;
5. Encourage legislation on the development of grass-roots financial institutions and credit unions and reject those that undermine and displace small and medium scale businesses and enterprises.

Second, the candidates vowed to act as the initiator, shaper, companion and caretaker of voters in the region and to support organizations that develop and empower residents in political participation; socio-cultural, environmental and economic development, and respect for human rights and gender justice.

Third, they will be the foremost conduit for information on regional issues and development plans and public projects undertaken by the government and private sector.

Fourth, they will defend, assist, mediate, consult and do advocacy in the legislature on any case involving the public interest.

Fifth, they bind themselves to the principle of recall through the mechanisms of each political party if they do not 1) implement the above cited provisions of the "Political Commitment" and 2) behave in accordance with the norms.

This Political Commitment was disseminated through community meetings with voters and publicized through the media, in particular *Kalimantan Review*, RUAI TV and community radios. This common stand aimed to awaken the community to vote intelligently and critically to ensure that GPPK

candidates could continue to fight to make changes through formal political channels. Unfortunately none of the 29 GPPK activists successfully made it to the legislature in 2009.

Political gains nonetheless have been made. Since the time more political space opened the way for freedom and political participation, a number of Dayak politicians and bureaucrats (though not from GPPK) have won contested positions in West Kalimantan. In mid-1999 in the early days of the reform period, four of the seven positions (though not the regent post) in the regency in West Kalimantan were held by Dayaks, and in late 2002 a person of Dayak origin became vice governor.

In the euphoria following implementation of regional autonomy including fiscal autonomy (*Pendapatan Asli Daerah/ PAD*), however, regents competed to give Harvesting of Forest Rights or HPHH to hundreds of cooperatives owned by their cronies to legalize logging in forest and indigenous areas. In West Kalimantan, decentralization and regional autonomy have increased the powers of local politicians. The regents can grant HPHH up to 100 hectares in the remaining forests, which are forests owned by the Dayak people. Expansion of administrative territory (*Pemekaran Wilayah*) is a powerful weapon in weakening remaining social bonds, which facilitates the plunder by companies of natural resources. Most of these resources are in indigenous lands. According to *Kalimantan Review* (Vol. 81/2002: 32), in disregard of environmental impacts, a regent issued 170 HPHHs in 1999, 102 in 2000 and another 176 in 2001 to companies and cooperatives that were partly established by the government as “communities” of the elite.

Both Dayak legislators and top executives could not effectively criticize deforestation activities as they were part of this masked crime of environmental destruction by issuing 100-hectare HPHH forest concessions. Meanwhile, they ignored the urgency of making local regulations to restore the system of village governance in Sanggau in accordance with the local people’s aspirations and social and cultural traditions.

The effects of regional autonomy in the post-reform era obviously are not consistent with the values and ideals of GPPK and even threaten indigenous people’s existence, in

particular, the Dayak. Economist and social activist, Francis Wahono, described the fate of regional autonomy on the district level in Kalimantan:

Local democracy has been hijacked by local elites, while the people are not prepared nor affirmed with education to be “politically aware” and “economically aware,” and the autonomy of district level is way too weak in terms of its resources, leading to a fact that they can easily be bribed by corporates and sell natural resources at their will.¹⁴

GPPK’s engagement in formal politics and the implications of post-reform regional autonomy have provided valuable lessons in the pursuit of the ideals of future political autonomy. At the end of 2009, GPPK organized a reflection: “A look into the way social movements have brought a democratic system in Indonesia.” The discussion led to the realization that NGO activists are in the periphery of the new democratic system and thus cannot bring about expected changes. Social movements, comprised by pro-democracy groups, are not strategic if their work is limited to civil society in a capacity as community activists and pressure groups outside the political system. However this does not mean that the role of the community activist should be left behind; rather community advocacy work by pressure groups should be maintained, strengthened and built in synergy.



Sowing the Learning

GPPK’s successes and failures in political participation have shown that ideology, organization, strategy, tactics, and political role are important in expanding the influence and work of the empowerment movement and of civil society in the wider political agenda. Critically aware people (populist political consciousness) should take part actively in the political arena to act on issues of injustice that are rooted in policies that disregard marginalized and oppressed communities in the country. Through their concerted actions, social justice, human rights, gender equality and ecological justice can be attained.

Political involvement by social movements to manage the nation can offer an alternative force to the prevailing state structure and system that do not favor or support the people's interests. But political involvement should be organized and systematic. And alliances and cooperation should be built and roles shared among indigenous organizations, farmers unions, mass organizations, pro-democracy groups, NGOs, professional groups, and agencies in an integrated and holistic effort. This can be expanded for the movement to gain recognition and space to be able to contribute more greatly to the wider society.

Endnotes

¹ Written by Matheus Pilin, activist of Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement.

² Erros Djarot, Jakarta, 27-28 July 2007.

³ The Institute for Community Legal Resources Empowerment (LBBT), Dayakologi Institute, Civil Natural Resources Management Empowerment Programme-Pancur Kasih (PPSDAK-PK), Forest Systems Empowering Democracy Pancur Kasih (PPSHK-PK), Empowering Civil Autonomy Empowerment-Pancur Kasih (POR-PK), Civil Economic Empowerment-Pancur KasihKasih (PEK-PK), Union for Community Empowerment Movement-Pancur Kasih (SegeraK-PK).

⁴ GRPK at the start was known as Pancur Kasih District Office in Sanggau (DO Sanggau).

⁵ Pilin 2002, ix.

⁶ CU Pancur Kasih divided the Service Points (*Tempat Pelayanan*) in the consolidated areas into regions. Region 1 includes Service Centers in Siantan, Sungai Jawi, Sungai Durian, Sungai Ambawang, and Sungai Pinyuh; Region 2, Toho, Maintaining, Authorship, Darit, Sidas, Pahauman, Aur Sampuk, Sebadu, and Kayutanam; Region 3, Ngabang, Kuala Behe, Serimbok, Jelimpo, Sosok, Kembayan, Bonti, Mongkau, Bodok; and Region 4, Pemangkat, Singkawang, Sibale, Bengkayang, Ledo and Seluas.

⁷ Three theses on NGO struggles and achievements taken from R. Yando Zakaria, *POR dalam Dinamika Perwujudan Cita-Cita Otonomi Politik Gerakan Pemberdayaan Pancur Kasih* (draft). (POR in establishing the Dynamics of Political Autonomy Goals, Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement (draft, nd.).

⁸ Fakih 2000, 5.

⁹ Tim Transformasi GPPK 2009, 61.

¹⁰ The Dayak's aspiration to participate in the processes of social and political life in this country is nothing new; in the early 1950s the term "Daya" began to be popularized. This change was made at a conference in Sanggau in 1956 as a form of resistance against the conception of "Dayak" which connoted negative stereotypes (see Chapter 4). In this context, "Dayak" was seen as a concept of identity of an ethnic group which was inferior, negative, helpless, oppressed and in a losing position, while "Daya" meant power, powerful and capable. Due to the popularity of the term Dayak, the Dayak Unity Party managed to gain the second most votes in the 1955 election and the first major vote in the 1958 election and two years later to place Oevaang Oeray as the first Dayak governor. See M. Djajadi Iqbal, 2007. *Aku Orang Dayak: Surut-Pasang Etnisitas, Identitas dan Politik Identitas* (I am a Dayak: Developments of Ethnicity, Identity and the Politics of Identity), a paper for the Dayak Cultural Dialogue: Past, Present and Future of Dayak Culture: Reflections on the Process and Challenges of Dayak Cultural Transformation organized by the Directorate of Tradition, the Directorate General of Cultural Values, Art and Film, Department of Culture and Tourism Working with the Committee of Gawai Dayak in 2007 in the context of Performance of Dayak Culture Pontianak, May 21, 2007, pages 1-10; Stepanus Djuweng, 1996. "The Dayaks, Development and Official Religion," in Djuweng, et al., *The Story of Kampung Pages: Community Interest, Official Religion and Development*, Yogyakarta: Dian/Interfidei.

¹¹ See Tanasaldy 2007, 461-490.

¹² Akil Mochtar is a popular figure and dedicated lawyer even for poor people as evidenced in his defense of Lingah-Pacah-Sumir in 1993. Akil worked with LBBT in training activities for students of rural critical law in Pontianak. His reputation continued to rise and he was elected for two terms as a member of the House of Representatives. Akil, who comes from the Kapuas Hulu, now serves as a judge of the Constitutional Court, while A.R. Mecer is the son of the Dayak Krio, Ketapang.

¹³ Akil and Mecer gained only 205,763 votes or about 9.7% of the total 2,930,245 votes cast (or 72.7% of total number of voters). They had initially aimed to get 34.10% of the vote. See temporary result of votes for governor, vice governor of West Kalimantan in 2007 version of LPP RRI Pontianak on 25 November 2007.

¹⁴ Wahono 2009, 67.

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GPPK's Position in Social Movements in Indonesia¹

Francis X. Wahono



Tak Kenal Tak Sayang - Not Knowing is Not Caring

If you ask NGO activists and Catholic church leaders in Indonesia if there is anything that stands out in West Kalimantan, the answer invariably is yes. And if you ask what that is, they answer, “the credit union movement.” Today, the Pancur Kasih Credit Union ranks second in total assets and members among all credit unions in West Kalimantan. But this credit union, which one can be proud of, cannot be separated from the name Pancur Kasih; while not too popular in Bahasa Indonesia, being dominated by Javanese speakers, “Pancur Kasih” has become a “trademark” that is not easy to forget.

If you go to the West Kalimantan capital of Pontianak and visit credit union offices, before long you will notice a

bulletin entitled *Kalimantan Review*, which has a circulation of 20,000. After the establishment, however, of the new Puskodit (*Pusat Koperasi Kredit* or Credit Cooperative Center), along with BKCU, KR's circulation declined to 14,000. Nonetheless, with this number, *Kalimantan Review* is still the biggest and only surviving social and current affairs bulletin in Indonesia. Published by Institut Dayakologi, KR is critical, accurate and well-balanced and continues to advocate peace and the interests of the marginalized. Those who competed in the previous election were all given space. Its supplement on Pancur Kasih Credit Union is informative and inspiring.

For these two things that stand out, the credit union movement and *Kalimantan Review*, West Kalimantan must be proud and grateful to the Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement. Without these two things, this writer as someone who has lived in another part of Indonesia in the last 25 years would never know, let alone appreciate, West Kalimantan. If there is something it is known for, it is deforestation, mining, pollution and being the backyard of our neighboring country. It would be a bit of a consolation if reforestation to reduce carbon emissions would be undertaken on Kalimantan's one million hectares of barren and peat land, which have already been squeezed dry.

In the same vein, we would also not know and appreciate the positive contribution the Dayak people have made in Indonesia. It would not be an overstatement to say that Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement is not only becoming an ambassador of West Kalimantan in the archipelago but has contributed to its social and economic progress.

GPPK has come to be known in Nusantara for its village mapping, particularly of customary forests and lands. Managed by PPSDAK, the mapping combines modern technology with traditional adat or customary ways. Furthermore, GPPK through LBBT has promoted adat law and legal awareness among indigenous people in the movement. LBBT's latest involvement is transforming the social movement into a political movement by way of electoral politics. Although most of those who ran failed in their bids, it can be said that they succeeded in educating themselves to pursue a broader arena

and to have more impact in the political movement through participation in political parties.

The emergence of GPPK in operating one of the most modern and influential forms of mass media, television, has expanded its approach in educating the masses. Ruai TV hopefully will thrive just as well as *Kalimantan Review* in raising awareness and empowering the Dayak movement in the universal values of human rights, sustainable environment, pluralism, peace, anti-discrimination and anti-violence, among others.

All these raise the question: what vehicle will GPPK use in its struggle to raise the Dayak people's dignity—the political party or a struggle for human rights and other universal values? Or both. Or is its involvement in electoral politics only a part of the bigger vehicle of universal human struggle? Each of these options has strategic and tactical consequences.

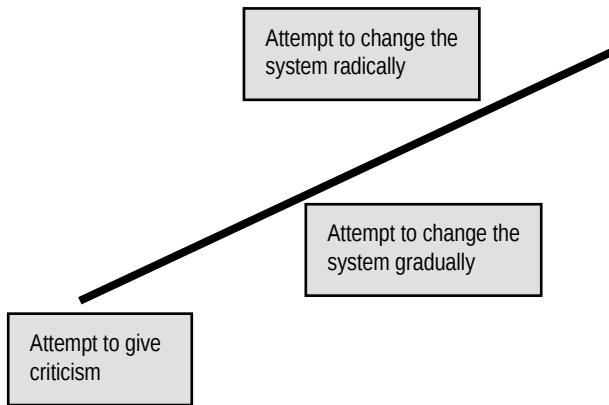


Gerakan Sosial Ada Tiada - To Be or Not to Be a Social Movement

What kind of a social movement is GPPK? This also needs to be answered. To put GPKK in the context of social movements in Indonesia implies two questions: 1) whether there are social movements in the country and, if so, what types are these; and 2) whether it is necessary to distinguish between social movement and new social movement, and between the two, where does GPPK belong?

Defining “movement” is more difficult than defining “social,” therefore we start with a historical sense of the latter. Based on a historical reflection of actions or factual events relating to this term in the western world, “social” pertains to issues of inter-class relations: between employer and working class, between landlord and peasant, between the owner of the means of production and laborer. The word “class” denotes a group of people united by a collective sense about their own situation or circumstance, which threatens their existence.

“Movement,” which is more broadly and flexibly defined, can be characterized by its degree of force or intensity. As illustrated in the following diagram, a movement can be an “attempt to give criticism,” “attempt to provide alternatives,” “attempt at subversion,” “attempt to change gradually” and also “attempt to change radically.”



Voicing out criticism entails advocacy and campaigns, and providing alternatives involves critical education and work on models of action. An effort at gradual change means evolution, while radical change is revolution.

But what has to be changed? Change needs to be made in the way people think, feel or act, the existing system or structure, management and technology as well as laws and regulations.

And for what or whom is change? Ultimately it is about a choice of alignments. In a movement, we can no longer be neutral. If we side with those who are oppressed and marginalized, the direction of change is towards their interests and advancement, and conversely if we side with those who oppress and marginalize, then the direction of change would be to their favor.

Which one is right? This belongs to the ethical and moral realm, ethical because it relates to universal human principles (philosophy) and moral because it relates to such standards as values. If we prioritize humanitarian values (human rights, environment, pluralism and so forth), then the rule to be used is that which is beneficial and the wisest for the oppressed and marginalized, and since it is judicious, then it is not necessarily "the most" beneficial for them but mutually benefiting everyone.

Thus, a social movement can be defined as a group of people who are aware as a class and take the initiative to change the system currently perceived as hampering their existence and advance an alternative system that can liberate them towards the purpose of human struggle, such as respect for human rights, sustainable environment, pluralism, justice, truth and peace. Under this flexible definition, many efforts at change generated by media, students, NGOs, community organizations, scholars, religious figures come under the umbrella of social movements.

In this context, is religious fundamentalism a social movement? As long as they use the methods of social movements, the answer might be yes. Yet if we evaluate it according to the purpose of humanity as cited above, we can explicitly answer no. By this standard, religious fundamentalism fails to fulfill the requirements of a social movement. In addition, its methods are not compatible with those of a social movement. Often these are self-righteous, are not pluralist, against human rights, discriminatory and use violence.

Why is religious fundamentalism raised here? Like religious fundamentalism, there is a possibility of the emergence of ethnic fundamentalist movements which can fall into the same hole for the same reasons: self-righteousness and use of violence. On these bases, *Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement* is a social movement, not a religious fundamentalist or ethnic movement.

Is GPPK a classic social movement or a new social movement akin to the World Social Forum? The new social movement, such as the World Social Forum, is characterized by

awareness and unity around a main issue (subculture) in addition to awareness and unity around fate (class). For example, the main environment issue today, which is the need to reduce global warming, brings together both employer and laborer, landlord and peasant. It has become an issue that involves life itself. Another example is gender, which has united Michele Obama and *Tenaga Kerja Wanita Indonesia* (Indonesian women labor migrants). In the same vein, opposition to oppression of the Palestinians has been able to unite under the World Social Forum the President of Brazil and the Chairman of La Via Campesana from Indonesia.

In the case of GPPK, as long as its struggle is to elevate the Dayak people who are marginalized and oppressed in their own land and to oppose Dayak individuals who export natural resources and rule arrogantly, then it is a classic social movement. But as long as its struggle is on major issues of human rights, environmental conservation, improvement of social and economic conditions, pluralism, truth and justice, anti-discrimination and anti-violence, then it is a new social movement. Why new? Because unity and awareness are no longer only on the basis of class but also on issues: both landlords and peasants, employers and workers are together in the same vehicle for change.

Hence, it is an indication of failure for the Dayaks and GPPK if the struggle is still in the framework of a classical social movement. It means that the class of Dayak exporters of resources and arrogant leaders are basically the Dayaks. Today there are Dayaks who have become businessmen and landlords on Kalimantan soil. In the future, GPPK and the Dayaks should attempt to form a new social movement such as the World Social Forum. It would mean that the Dayaks would already have entered the circle of elite businessmen and rulers who cooperate with GPPK and all people in Borneo who have the will to create a classless New Kalimantan. This means struggling not against our own friends—other Dayaks or other members of society from other racial and religious backgrounds, but against the common enemies: ignorance, poor health and malnutrition, discrimination, violence, deceit, injustice, poverty, uncontrolled exploitation of nature.

The class struggle that relegates Dayak people to one place can quickly be deemed obsolete, fragile or vain, because the use of the word “Dayak” to cover all tribes or indigenous peoples in Kalimantan is a colonial term that conveniently justifies a general treatment for all groups. For the colonizer, anyone who goes against the law can be legally oppressed and wiped out. In fact, the Dayaks with pride and high self-esteem call themselves Krio, Iban, Kenyah, Jalai, Bekatik, Baahe, Mualang, Simpakng, Kayan, Garden, Ngaju, Pompkng, Punan, Salako people, and so forth.

This shows that among Dayaks no one deserves to be oppressed or classified according to racial or ethnic background. But the Dayaks would be more appropriately placed as a “subculture” (awareness and unity around a main issue). And due to their big number and their adherence to universal values of humanity, it would even be more appropriate to put them as a “super culture.” This means building a new Kalimantan with the “Dayak” as the main agent to improve the education, health and work opportunities of Dayak youth and children to place them at par with their counterparts. Scholarship and health insurance programs for children and youth implemented by Malaysia during the time of former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad can be replicated by the local governments in Kalimantan. In this way, they can attain the New Kalimantan where Dayak people themselves will no longer be “classified” on the basis of regional or ethnic origin or as early settlers or later migrants.



Ada Posisi Ada Bukti - There is a Position, There is Evidence

Considering all these, we can count GPPK among the new social movements in Indonesia. If we locate GPPK in a Venn Diagram, its place is among NGOs and community organizations, which however are comparatively smaller social movements. NGOs and community organizations in Jakarta and other parts of Indonesia have only one or two main issues

that bind their organization, while GPPK works on various major issues.

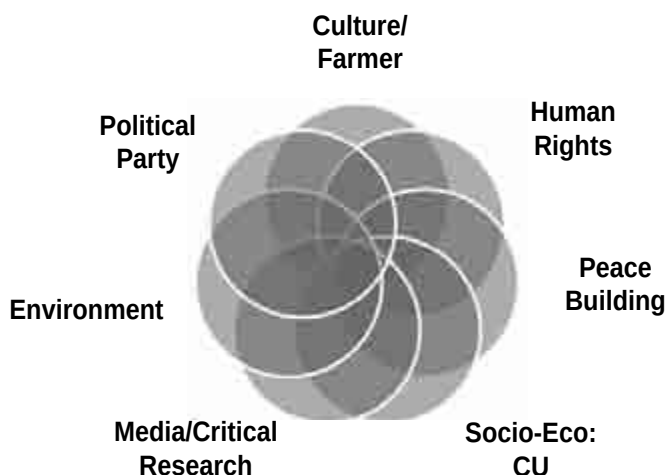
For example, organizations such as LBH and ELSAM are only concerned about the issue of human rights. Kehati, WWF, YBUL, WALHI mainly advocate environmental conservation, and Bina Desa Sadajiwa, Cindelaras Paritrana, Lesman, Field, Serikat Petani Indonesia advance farmers empowerment and work with one or two credit unions. SAFE and other traditional communities work towards making communities stronger; Tempo Press, Kompas, ISAI and AJI advocate a critical press; and the political party Demos, Parliament Watch and ICW promote cleaner and more democratic government. GPPK goes beyond all these, as its programs embrace social, economic, political and environmental aspects of life.



Issues Fought For and That Bind GPPK as a Movement

Is there, however, any other issue more basic than all these that unites GPPK as a movement?

This may be the search for the “New Kalimantan.” In the New Kalimantan, Dayak traditional values combine with



universal human values. The former need to be transformed to suit the times, and in the same manner the latter have to be translated to make an Indonesian Dayak, or if we consider the contribution of the credit union movement that has spread throughout the archipelago, a Dayak-ed Indonesia. The GPPK Manifesto, from an Indonesian perspective and the universality of human values, is a preface to the attempt to formulate the New Kalimantan. It is a door to open the discourse to define it.

The involvement in democracy through electoral politics is only part of the struggle to universal humanity that guides GPPK to find the New Kalimantan. A strategic consequence would be that GPPK will have to engage with the government, Kalimantan business sector and other people to establish a Dayak Youth Affirmation Movement for better education, health and employment opportunities. Ten years hence, there would be many Dayaks in the New Kalimantan who would be more than politicians and NGO activists. By that time should emerge from the GPPK movement 45 doctors, law experts and accountants, 17 medium to large scale entrepreneurs, eight professors with doctoral degrees. They would all be gainfully employed, in good health and morally upright and fighters and champions for the poor and oppressed.

Endnote

¹ This chapter was written by Francis X. Wahono, Ph. D., a social activist-economist who also holds the following positions: chair of the Cindelaras Paritrana Foundation, Yogyakarta; chair of Trustees of Bina Desa Sadajiwa Foundation; member of Kehati Foundation, Jakarta; and head researcher at the Mahatma Paritrana Institute. It was originally delivered as a paper at a seminar to introduce publicly the "Manifesto of Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement" held on December 22, 2009 at Hotel Kapuas, Pontianak. Francis Wahono lives in Yogyakarta.

With this book we introduce ourselves to the public, both inside and outside the country. We, people of the Dayak world in Kalimantan participate in the great celebration and effort of the global community to gain recognition for the existence and dignity of the indigenous peoples who have long been marginalized by governments, corporations and the culturally dominant.



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