

The Contribution of Institutional Resilience to Ecological Resilience in Kalimantan, Indonesia: A Cultural Perspective

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I. Introduction

DAYAK. For many people, this word means Borneo/Kalimantan, Headhunting, Hornbill and the beautiful Dayak women dancing following every beat of Dayak music which is sometimes interrupted by the male dancers' cries of war. The richness, beauty, uniqueness and exoticism have become a trademark for Kalimantan ever since the colonial time. Unfortunately, most people deny that the richness and the unique of Kalimantan could only exist by the presence of a supporting system that allows a culture and environment exists for thousand of years.

Sasak Behundang, Arai Beikan, Hutan Bejaluq (There are shrimps under the leaves sunk on riverbeds, there are fish in the water, there are animals in the forests). The above saying from Dayak Jalai who lives in Ketapang District, West Kalimantan describes briefly their vision and dream about living in happiness and prosperity. It also represents the Dayak's view in general. Living in harmony with nature as the basis for their living, the Dayak have developed a distinct management of natural resources. The nature, especially land, river and forest are the three most important elements that allow a person to live as a real Dayak. For centuries, these three nature's elements together have formed a unique identity that we now recognize as Dayak Peoples, Dayak Culture, Dayak Customary Laws, and Dayak Religion etc. The Dayak are able to maintain their existence and their distinctive way of life by applying 7 principles in their management of the natural resources. **1. Sustainability. 2. Collectivity. 3. Biodiversity. 4. Subsistence. 5. Organic. 6. Rituality. 7. Customary Laws.**

The above seven main principles could be found in all aspects of Dayak management of natural resources. They consistently apply the above seven principles in the management of natural resources, and practicing what has become the present most popular jargon: **sustainable development**. Many experts say that sustainable development must at least meet three criteria: first, economically beneficial; second, ecologically sound; third, culturally not destructive. It is obvious that the indigenous peoples especially the Dayak have been practicing sustainable ways of extracting natural resources for ages.

This paper will describe past and present Dayak self-governance in the context of its relationship to Indonesian government; give examples of how Dayak cultural values and resource management have supported ecosystem resilience in the face of changes; give examples of how Dayak communities have built solidarity to resist concessions and other specific incursions; and offer advice on interventions that revitalize traditional social and ecological resilience.

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I. Ketapang: Home of the only King of the Dayak

I.1. Brief Description of Ketapang

The area of this study is called Ketapang, a District located in the Southern part of West Kalimantan Province. It covers 35,809 km² or 24.39% of the total area of West Kalimantan Province. This district is divided into 14 Sub districts and the Dayak live in 11 Sub districts out of those 14 sub districts. The research on ethno linguistic carried out by Institut Dayakologi in this District shows that there are 109,703 Dayak people live in this District that consists of 46 sub ethnic groups. Since the total number of population in Ketapang District is 397,597, it means the Dayak comprise of 27.59%².

Ketapang is well known for its timber product especially iron wood. It is also the main producer of rubber. This district is also very rich in minerals especially bauxite, gold, Kaolin and Quartz Sand (See: Table below). Big companies such as PT. Alas Kusuma have carried out the timber exploitation since late 60s to early 70s. Massive mining activity has not been started yet. However, **PT. Alcomin and Alcoa from USA** had been conducting exploration activities in early 70s for bauxite in Marau Sub district. Gold mining in Tumbang Titi sub district is now exploited by individual miners and destroying thousands of hectares areas. In general, logging operations, palm oil and industrial tree plantations, transmigration and uncontrolled individual mining activities has heavily degraded the environment in this district.

According to the latest data from the Provincial Government, major mining reserves in West Kalimantan could be seen in the table below.

Table 1
Major Mining Reserve in West Kalimantan³

Minerals	Reserve (Million tons)	Area Detected
Coal	181.65	Ketungau & Melawi, Sintang Bunut Hulu, Kapuas Hulu
Bauxite	858	Ketapang , Sambas, Bengkayang & Sanggau
Gold	590.90	Sambas, Bengkayang, Sanggau, Sintang, Ketapang
Diamond	6.2	Ngabang, Kuala Behe & Air Besar (along Landak River)
Kaolin	235	Sambas (Sebawi, Pajintan, Sempadang, Monterado, Goa Boma) Ketapang (Padang 12, Belangiran, Matan Hilir, Air Hitam) Pontianak (Mandor, Simpang Kasturi) Kapuas Hulu (Selimbau)
Feldspar	2.23	Sanggau (Gunung Buduk)
Quartz Sand	341	Sambas, Bengkayang, Pontianak, Ketapang

² Sujarni Aloy, et al., "Keragaman Bahasa Dayak Di Kalimantan Barat Berdasarkan Epistimologi Tradisional", 1999, pp. 3,46.

³ BAPPEDA Tkt. I Kalbar, "Informasi pembangunan Dengan Lembaga Perguruan Tinggi, LSM dan Dunia Usaha Dalam Rangka Persiapan Rakorbang Tk. I Kalbar", Pontianak 3 September 1999, p. 20

A.2. Culture and Local *Adat* Institution in Ketapang

One of the special characteristics of the Dayak of Ketapang is that they have no headhunting tradition. Although, in the southern part of Ketapang, there is one village that had the headhunting tradition but this is most likely to be due to the influence from Central Kalimantan as it is located close to Delang-Lemandau area in Central Kalimantan. The village, called Sumanjawat, is the only village where its community had the headhunting tradition in the past. The *adat* institution structure in this village was also specific in which there was a kind of village-level “king” called Gehara who had a very dominant power in his village. The Gehara acted as the highest leader of the village government as well as *adat* institution. He owned all the village property and wealth and even slaves.

Another special characteristic is the Dayak King (see: below) who has the territory that is known as *Desa Sembilan Demung Sepuluh* (Nine Villages, Ten Customary Chiefs). This king is the only one found in the Dayak communities. He is better known as Raja Hulu Aiq (The King of the Upriver).

All of the Dayak languages in Ketapang, except Simpakng, fall into the category of Melayic group. Simpakng language is what is known as Bidayuhic. Therefore, Simpakng culture and languages is close to those in adjacent district: Sanggau especially with the Pompakng Dayak, rather than with its fellow Dayak in the rest of Ketapang District. This relation is very important to understand why the Simpakng Dayak has different *adat* institution structure compared to other Dayak groups in the rest of Ketapang. One of the most significant differences is that in Simpakng, the Dayak has a paramount leader called Petingi who oversees several lower level *adat* territories. It is much like the structure in Kanayatn Dayak in Pontianak district.

On the other hand, other Dayaks in Ketapang have no such structure. A village has its full autonomy with its own *adat* institution and leaders. In Jalai Dayak, for example, a village was led by a Damung—the chief of village government. Kepala Bantan as the *adat* chief of the village assisted a Damung. In exercising its job as the chief of village government, a Kabayan assisted a Damung and a *Ketuhag* assisted a Kabayan. While a *Kepala Bantan* as *adat* chief was assisted by a *Pemukah Lucung*, a *Pemarang Buluh* and a *Pehuyang Tentabus*. These three assistants of the *Kepala Bantan* are responsible for various materials needed in rituals performed in the village.

However, this structure has been changed and co-opted by the Indonesian government. The government has changed this structure by the so-called Village Regrouping policy. Administratively, several villages, usually 5, are grouped into one under the leadership of a Village Head (*Kepala Desa*). A head of this village group controls several village heads (*Kepala Dusun*). And a village, which was called *kampung* before, is now called *dusun*. Although every village/*dusun* has its own *adat* chief and still independent from each other within the same one village group, but the appointment of an *adat* chief now must be legalized by the District head through an SK (Decision Letter). *Adat* chief is now included as the member of what is called Village Community Welfare Body (LKMD) headed by the head of village group, which is the subordinate of the government at the sub district level. And in practice, the head of the village group and sub district head have the authority to intervene with the *adat* chief's decision. A case of this kind occurred in Tangerang Village, Jelai Hulu Sub District last year. The head of village group asked the *adat* chief to cancel the *adat* ritual concerning an extra marital pregnancy

that was to be performed in the village⁴. Being the subordinate of the village head, the adat chief had not enough courage to object to the instruction. In this very same sub district, to perform a ritual, the people have to get the license from the police office at the sub district level under the regulation on mass gathering. Adat chief, who was formerly called *Kepala Bantan*, is now called *Damung*. It is very clear that the government has been trying their best to create confusion in order to be able to co-opt the *adat* institution.

Apart from the village head and *adat* chief, there is another group that has a substantial power within the community. They are called *Mantir* or the Elders. These are people who are well known for their wisdom, experience and skill and therefore awarded with certain title by the *adat* chief⁵. However, the *Mantirs* have no functional position and are not involved in *adat* institution. Their roles are more in a consultative and advisory manner when *adat* court or assembly is held. A big gathering is described as *Damung Betatai Mantir Bebaris* or a Damungs' gathering, Mantirs line up.

Belian or shamans are another prominent figure in the village. Unlike a village head or *adat* chief, the authority of a shaman to perform shaman ritual is beyond the limit. While a village head or *adat* chief has the authority within his/her own village, a shaman could perform his/her own ritual everywhere he/she goes to help the patients. Unlike a shaman who could perform his/her own way of rituals and laws anywhere, a village head or an *adat* chief could only exercise his authority and laws in their own village, but if they go to other village, they have to obey the laws of others.

As mentioned above, one of the special characteristics of the Dayak in Ketapang district compared to other Dayak groups is that there is a Dayak King called Raja Hulu AiQ (RHA). Unlike other kings we know, RHA has no political power. It is not a King with a feudal government. In fact, RHA has no government at all. RHA is the highest spiritual leader of the Dayak. Although he has a territory called *Desa Sembilan Demung Sepuluh*, but it is not a territory of a state. It is more a territory of cultural binding that recognizes him as the highest leader of *adat*. RHA is believed by all the Dayak in *Desa Sembilan Demung Sepuluh* as the one who was chosen to become the guarantor of the Dayak's good fate, especially in relation to farming activities. Therefore, a special tribute is always paid to RHA by mentioning his name in every prayer the Dayak performed during farming rituals.

The name of the present RHA is Singa Bansa. He is the sixth RHA and replacing his eldest brother who was holding the position temporary until Singa Bansa was old enough to become RHA. Singa Bansa was only 25 years old when he was sworn in as RHA on June 25, 1997. The RHA position is the position that goes to the youngest son in the king's family.

⁴ This case was motivated by the personal sentiment of the head of the village group to the adat chief who did not support him in his re-election to his next term of office as head of village group. By saying that the ritual was too late for the accused couple as the girl had given birth, which was groundless according to adat laws, the head of the village group used his power to humiliate the adat chief and showed his superior authority over the adat chief. This head of village group won during the election but there was a small group of people in the village, including the adat chief and the head of the village/dusun, who lodged a protest to the District government and accused the head of the village group of corruption and using various government subsidies for his personal benefits. Although his re-appointment was postponed for almost one year, but due to his strong lobby, which include bribery of the authority at district level, he finally sworn in as the head of this village group again.

⁵ The writer himself was awarded this honorary title by the Jalai Dayak in Tanjung with the title of *Urang Kayaq*, the third highest level after *Keputut* and *Cendagaq* titles.

RHA performs a special ritual called *Meruba* every year to honor the sacred *pusaka*, which is inherited from generation to generation by the king's family. Only a RHA that has the right to take care of the *pusaka* which consists of a yellow gold keris, a box and a plate. The *pusaka* is stored in a special room with a lamp that must always be lit. RHA carries out regular meditation in this room. Except RHA, nobody else is allowed to touch or look at the *pusaka*, not even get into the room where the *pusaka* are stored. Even RHA himself is not allowed to look at the keris when he cleans it during *Meruba* ritual, or else he would go blind.

The *pusakas* are believed to possess the power of determining the course of the nature. When the *Meruba* ritual was held in 1997, RHA found dry sand in the *pusaka* that gave him a sign that there would be long dry season and people would face hardship in their life. In the *Meruba* ritual the following year, the *pusakas* were full of mud and water and the keris was felt very hot. This was believed that the weather would be dominated by rainy seasons and the keris had given a sign to the people that they would face riots and disturbances⁶.

The keris itself is the main element of the *pusaka*. It is believed by the Dayak that it can even determine the state of the world. Djuweng said, "This piece of metal, according to Ajim, is about one hand span long (*jangkal*, about 20 cm) and about as broad as a *lalang* leaf (*Imperata* grass; about 1 cm). Oral [tradition] has it that, at the times of Tamongkong Ria Bansa, the Koling Stick was broader, but it grew thinner and as the years passed and more and more sins were committed. When the Koling Stick finally wears out, tradition states, the whole world will come to an end." (Djuweng: 1999,3).

It is then very understandable why the RHA was highly respected by the Dayak people. Considering his role as the owner of those *pusaka*, the Dayak oral traditions in Ketapang tells that even the Malay sultan highly respected him too. But it was also very clear that RHA was not a king in political sense, but more as the highest leader of *adat*.

In an interview, Raja Singa Bansa, the present RHA, said that the territory of *Desa Sembilan Demung Sepuluh* in facts covers the whole island of Borneo, including Sarawak, Sabah dan Brunei Darussalam. Those *Desa Sembilan* are Buliq-Belantiq (now Central Kalimantan Province), Puring-Katingan (now also Central Kalimantan Province), Kayung-Tayap (now in Ketapang District, W. Kalimantan), Jalai-Pesaguan (now, also in Ketapang), Jekaq-Laur (now, also in Ketapang), Desa Darat Pantai Kapuas (along Kapuas River and its sub rivers), Bihaq-Krio (now, also in Ketapang), Mahap-Sekadau (now Sanggau District), Sabah-Sarawak (now in Malaysia, including Brunei Darussalam) (Thomas Tion Sution: 1998, 1)

A.3. Dayaks in Politics

Similar to the fate of other indigenous peoples in other part of the world, the history of the Dayak is also dominated by colonialism, oppression, and violation of their basic rights and marginalisation of their existence. The richness and beauty of Kalimantan Island has made it worse as other people keep coming, not to develop the island and the people, but to make money out of its richness and the honesty of its people.

Before colonialism came, the Dayak had already had its own share of problems. Although not all Dayak sub ethnic groups were involved in an ethnic war, but it is an undeniable fact that several Dayak sub ethnic groups were facing quite serious problems

⁶ Kalimantan Review, No.36, Agustus 1998; Jakarta Post, September 1998

with fighting each other. Dayak sub ethnic groups who have headhunting tradition such as the Iban, Kayan and Kenyah were often fighting each other in the past. The British in Sarawak, properly used this situation for example, to use the Iban warriors as shock troops against their Malay and Chinese opponent⁷.

On the other hand, the Dayak were also experiencing double colonialism by the rule of the Malay sultanates. In most cases, the Malay did not treat their Dayak brothers equal and just. In Ketapang for example, the Dayak had to become the Malay sultan's slaves and provided the sultan with food such as rice, chicken and eggs regularly as tribute for the Malay who colonized them. Every village had to send 10 men to work for the sultan for the period of 6 months' shift. In the sultan's house, they had to do housework such as getting water from the river, collecting firewood, carrying the sultan when he traveled, or raising his chickens and cows. The Dutch supported the sultan's oppression on the Dayak by maintaining the existence of those sultanates. Although the Dutch initiated the Dayak Assembly in Tumbang Anoi, Central Kalimantan in 1894 to eliminate the headhunting and slavery practices within the Dayak communities⁸, but they did not do anything to the Malay who made the Dayak their slaves. Moreover, the Dutch made use of the Malay sultanate as their extensions to maintain their existence and colonialism over the Dayak.

Along the history, the Dayak had to fight for better conditions for themselves. When the Japanese took over the colonialism from the Dutch, thousands of Dayak were forced to work in *romusha* and were beheaded by the Japanese *kempetai* after they finished digging their own graves. Majang war is only an example of how the Dayak had to fight the Japanese who treated them as slaves alone. In Ketapang, the *Kamit* or the slavery by the Malay sultan, was lifted not by the Dutch or Japanese, not even by the Dutch Catholic Missionaries who converted the Dayak into Catholic but by the Dayak themselves who met the sultan and asked him to stop the practice.

As the Dayak's oral traditions in Ketapang refer, the first Malay Sultan was the first Dayak King's younger brother. This story was believed even in the era of the last Malay sultan called Panembahan Saunan in which he refused to be saluted by the Dayak King and when they met and offered him to sit next to him. Concerning the *Kamit* practice, most probably, the Dayak King was not aware of this practice, or did not want to interfere and it is again more proof that RHA did not want to involve himself in the political issues.

In the era of Soekarno, after Indonesia got its independence, there was a revolt in Kalimantan that was known as PGRS/Paraku. This revolt was part of Indonesian Communist Party's movement to create a Communist Indonesia. After the failed coup in 1965, the communist members in Kalimantan created what they called PGRS/Paraku and continued their arm struggle by conducting guerilla war. Most members of communist party in Kalimantan were Chinese who got direct support from Beijing. To eliminate the communist party members in Kalimantan and to stop the guerilla movement by the PGRS/Paraku, the Indonesian army (under Soeharto's government), engineered an ethnic

⁷ Cleary & Eaton, 1992: 52-53, 57

⁸ Tabloid Bebas No.007/Juli 1999

conflict that confronted the Dayak against the Chinese⁹. The conflict resulted in thousands of Chinese dead, among who were members of the communist party. The Dayak were victimized and used by the ruler.

During the so-called Old Order government under Soekarno, the Dayak had more space to take part in political life. It was supported by the Soekarno government's policy that allowed people to form any political party they want and take part in general elections. The Dayak in West Kalimantan established Dayak Unity Party and was able to elect a Dayak governor with several Dayak district heads. But the golden era of the Dayak in their political life did not last long. As soon as Soeharto took the power in 1967 and allowed only 3 political parties in Indonesia, the Dayak Unity Party had to merge with PDI that had no significant political power in Indonesia.

During Soeharto's regime, the Dayak has never been able to have one governor, not even a district head. In 1995, S. Jacobus Frans Layang, SH was 'elected' as District Head of Kapuas Hulu. Many people believe that the election of Jacobus was highly motivated by the Golkar's political game to regain the Dayak's support for the General Election in 1997 rather than the real fact of the raise of the Dayak's political power. Jacobus, who was then the Chairman of Dayak *Adat* Assembly, was considered as the right person to hold this position. Although there was suggestion and demand especially from Dayak younger generation that he reject the appointment, but Jacobus decided to accept this position. During his office term as district head, Jacobus was not free from demonstrations and protests especially by the Malay groups who accused him of practicing KKN (Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism). However, among the Dayak popular groups, he was the symbol of the Dayak's pride as he was the only Dayak who became district head during Soeharto era. The Dayak's positive attitude towards him was clearly seen when he was trying to calm down an angry mass in the 1997 ethnic conflict between the Dayak and Madurese.

The Dayak's lack of political power during Soeharto regime was the result of the government's success in centralizing its power in Jakarta and marginalizing the local power. Compared to the situation in other islands such as Irian Jaya, Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Maluku. The political role of the Dayak as the indigenous peoples of Kalimantan and as the majority in West Kalimantan (41%) is at its worst, at least in terms of the number of Dayak people that hold a position in government.

The state hegemony through various policies formulated by a government that was full of corruption, collusion and nepotism has protected the interests of the business conglomerates, Soeharto's families and cronies and the military rather than the interests of the people. The government's policies on forest management, on religion, on education, on people's political activities and on other aspects that directly touch the life of the people have created a disempowerment process for many decades. And for the Dayak in Kalimantan it caused the destruction of their environment, the lost of their land and forest, the disempowerment of their local *adat* institutions, the destruction of their culture that create uncertainty for their future as indigenous peoples in Kalimantan.

The disempowerment and marginalization process has turned the Dayak's cultural values upside down and created society unsafe. What was good in their culture before, now become bad, what was right become wrong, what was wise become unwise. In the situation of

⁹ Kadarusno,

uncertainty for the future, the Dayak have become very vulnerable and over sensitive. When the culture interacts with another ethnicity that coincidentally has opposite cultural values with the Dayak such as the Madurese, violence is easily chosen as a problem solution. It becomes worse when there is no law enforcement and political games have mingled themselves to the various ethnic conflicts that occurred.

A. Threats/Crises

B.1. *Dewan Adat* (*Adat Council*) as the government's vehicle to disempowerment of the Dayak *adat* institutions.

When the land become rare and the Dayak become more critical, especially because there had been many cases and bitter experiences with government's programs on plantations and forest management, the government engineered the establishment of what they called *Dewan Adat* or *Adat Council* at District Level. The *Adat Council* is an institution that claims itself as a representative of the Dayak and fighting for the Dayak's rights. However, this council's establishment was never consulted with the Dayak people at the grass root level, not even involving the real Dayak *adat* chiefs. The government elected their own *adat* chiefs by appointing Dayak government officers and politicians to sit in the *Adat Council* complete with their title.

However, after several *Adat Councils* were established and started their works, it became very obvious that their mission was not to empower the Dayak but to fight for the government's interests especially in taking the land from the Dayak for various government's programs. The works of the *Adat Council* included to organize the meeting with the Dayak people whose land would be taken and to persuade them to give their land for palm-oil plantation project. *Adat Council* also made a formal statement in front of high level government officials to condemn the indigenous farming activities and promised on behalf of the people to stop the practice as it destroyed the environment and was an unproductive economic activity. It was also the *Adat Councils* that gave *adat* honorary title to several ministers, governors and district heads and appointed them as Dayak paramount leaders.

These actions taken by the *Adat Council* have created anger among the Dayak. In Ketapang District, when the Tolak Bala ritual was held in 1998, the Dayak King (RHA), on behalf of the Dayak peoples from *Desa Sembilan Demung Sepuluh*, stated the Dayak people's rejection on the existence of the *Adat Council* and disbanded it. This attitude, partly caused by various disappointments with the *Adat Council's* actions, was also triggered by the *Adat Council's* attitude toward the Tolak Bala ritual itself. Which the *Adat Council* fined the coordinator of the ritual according to '*adat law*' for not involving or informing them about the ritual being held.

It was very naïve and childish attitude since the legitimate representatives and Dayak *adat* chiefs and shamans from all over Ketapang to protect the people from chaos and rioting held the Tolak Bala ritual. That at that time occurred almost everywhere in Indonesia as the direct impact of the economic crisis. The rituals itself was also the Dayak King's first appearance in public after being marginalized by the government for 40 years. Therefore, this ritual has two important meanings: to show the Dayak's commitment in rejecting violence and to re-affirm the Dayak King's role and existence in

the Dayak's life. These two meanings had also political effect that strengthened the existence of the Dayak in general.

Within this context, it is then understandable why the government has been trying its best to marginalize the role of the Dayak King by introducing new structure of *adat* institutions. As the paramount *adat* leader, RHA could become a serious treat to the government, as the Dayak's *adat* is still very strong. On the other hand, during the Soeharto government the Dayak was also aware that maintaining the role of the King in their life could be easily accused of being unfaithful to the government as it was easily turned into political issues. From the King's perspective, he did not have any personal interest to maintain his roles since it was up to the Dayak people whether they still wanted to maintain the tradition or not. The King believes that his role as the *adat* paramount leader of the Dayak and as the keeper of the *pusaka* is a given situation that he could not reject or expect. He had no government or political power. All he had was the *pusaka* and its power to determine the harmony of the nature with the people in which he was destined to look after it. Therefore, during Soeharto era, the King still regularly visited the Dayak in Meliau-Sanggau District where he still received fair treatment and homage. During Soeharto era, for most of the Dayak, the King only existed in history, not because they did not want to accept his role anymore but because he just suddenly disappeared from their life.

Therefore, in the King's first public re-appearance in Tolak Bala Ritual, all the Dayak in Ketapang District re-affirm their commitment to revitalize the role of the King. By rejecting and disbanding the government-sponsored *Adat Council* and deciding that the only valid *adat* institution is those that are found in every village with the RHA as the *adat* paramount leader. Therefore, the Dayak in Ketapang will not support any actions or activities taken by the so-called *Adat Council*.

A few years before Tolak Bala ritual in Ketapang, the government supported the establishment of what is called *Majelis Adat Dayak* or *Dayak Adat Assembly (DAA)* by several Dayak academicians, government officers and politicians in Pontianak. The DAA was aimed at a central body that provides umbrella to all *Adat Council* in West Kalimantan. The first chairman elected was S. Jacobus Frans Layang, SH who was then appointed by the government as the District Head of Kapuas Hulu.

2. Big Religions – protestant, catholic, and Muslim

Big religions, especially Catholic, Protestant and Islam are the three religions in Indonesia that contribute significantly to the destruction of Dayak culture. Verbally, the Dayak Beliefs were accused of being superstitious, demon worshipping, backward and uncivilized. According to JJ. Kusni, PhD, "The Christian proselytizers, shouldering what they called *la mission sacre* of civilizing the savage peoples, saw the Dayak culture as "obsolete yeast", worth disposing of. The "obsolete yeast" concept tends to drain the Dayak of their culture and fill them with new values."¹⁰. At the performance level, those religions claimed themselves not only as savior but also the symbol of modernization and thus converted the Dayaks into their religions. The case became worse when a Dayak is converted to Islam because afterwards he/she tends to deny

¹⁰ Kalimantan Review, English Version, No.1-1999

his/her identity as a Dayak and called himself/herself as a member of Malay ethnic group. In West Kalimantan, the Malay is not only those who came originally from another island but also the Dayak who have become Moslem followers.¹¹

Compared to the Catholic, the Protestant is more intolerable with the Dayak culture. In most cases, the Dayak who has become Protestant follower has to leave all his culture and traditions behind because it is considered as pagan, although they do not change their ethnic identity as the case with the Moslem. A protestant is not allowed to hold a wedding or funeral ritual anymore. In a village used as a base by a Protestant mission, posters are plastered at the local church building to intimidate Dayaks from practicing their cultural traditions. One such poster illustrates a path branching in two. The left is "the road to hell", with a picture of a traditional Dayak ritual at the end of the road. The right is "the road to heaven", with a picture of modern life portrayed at the end of that road.

What the Catholic does is more sophisticated and diplomatic. The Dayak ritual held to bless the paddy seeds and ask for good harvest from the spirits is changed into bringing the paddy seeds to the Church to be blessed by a priest in Sunday Mass. A practice that lacks the Dayak's philosophy of being an integral part of the nature. The wedding ritual of a Dayak couple who have become Catholic should be carried out after the wedding at the Church and not before it as the Dayak wedding ritual is considered invalid. However, some part of the ritual such as the smearing chicken blood to the forehead and cheeks of the married couple, which is the core of the ritual that validates the wedding, must be ignored since it is considered pagan practice. The cemetery for the Dayak who died as Catholic is different from those who did not, even if they were members of the same family.

School opportunities and better health care is also used as the media to convert the Dayak into Christians. In fact, the first activities of the Christian missionaries are always either: building schools or health care center/hospital. With services provided free of charge at one end, and creating independence at the other end. Scholarships were also provided for the Dayaks to be better educated including outside Kalimantan with first priority studying at seminary, which is university level with undergraduate degree, to become priests. In many cases, since the main motive is to be able to continue studying at higher level rather than to become priests. Many Dayak priests resign after a few years of their service or never become a priest at all since they withdraw their prior commitment soon after completing their study at the seminary.

The Indonesian government makes use of the issue of religion very well for their political interests. Passing the authority of even God himself by stating that there are only 5 religions that are true and must exist in Indonesia, the government has been using religions as a tool of taming the people's political activities. The Dayaks have also to choose one of those 5 religions. The one who is not the follower of one of those religions is considered atheist or communist. By using those religions, the government has successfully controlled the political activities of the people that tend to be very co-operative and avoid non-violence activities to channel their aspirations and disappointment toward government policies following the teachings of their religions. Indonesia has even a Department of Religions, one among the few in the world. Afraid of being accused as atheist or communist, many Dayak will say that they are Christians whether or not

¹¹ It is believed that the Malay's unusual behavior during the conflict with the Madurese in early 1999 in Sambas District in which they also ate human flesh and drank human blood like what the Dayak usually do, is an explanation that those Malay were the Dayak generation who had become Moslem followers.

they believe in or obey its teachings. The great oppression is thus the law that makes indigenous people embarrassed, or scared, to profess their true faith, their indigenous beliefs.

This government's policy on religions, combined with the attitude of the religious proselytizers, had great impact on the Dayak. The number of shamans who are the ones that are keeping the spirituality of the Dayak decreased significantly as shamans due to being accused of lying and acting as demon-worshippers. This accusation is spread through all means: schools, Sunday mass, church meetings etc that make people's confidence in the role of shamans as the people who could solve their health problems less secure.

One encouraging fact is that not all Christian pastors and priest have this negative attitude especially when there are more and more Dayak who become pastors and priests. Aware of the fact that many Dayak cultural values and teachings are compatible with Christian teachings, some Dayak pastors and priest are quite adaptive with Dayak culture and traditions nowadays.

3. Formal & informal education

School is another institution used by government to marginalize the indigenous peoples in Indonesia including the Dayak. Formal education in Indonesia is cultural domination imposed by outsiders over the Dayak people since it lacks of local cultural base and drives the pupils to become technocrats and adopt modernization as the only option for human beings' better future. The cultural erosion process that has been happening within the Dayak community is believed to be one of the real products of formal education system that lacks of local cultural base thus uprooted the pupils from their own culture.

Moreover, formal education in Indonesia has been engineered by the government to become an effective tool to spread the political propaganda through various extra upgrading courses such as *Penataran P4 (Pancasila/State Philosophy Upgrading)* that become obligatory courses in every level of formal education in Indonesia during Soeharto regime. The subjects such as civics, history, including the extra subject of the history of the nation, have been used to spread lies and the cult of Soeharto. Therefore, education at school does not result in analytical and critical thinking for the students but on the contrary has become a process of colonization of mind and awareness.

Therefore, formal education has created a gap between the recipients and their cultural roots. Children learn about trains, horses, fertilizer and pesticides, and foreign folk stories designed to make them believe that the Dayak culture is primitive and obsolete. Thus the understanding about what is a job and not, what is employment and unemployment, also changes. A job is defined as being government officer or employee of a company and being a farmer or rubber taper is never considered as a job. This creates independency rather than self-supporting and brain drains Dayak villages as more and more younger generation look for jobs in towns or cities as hard laborers. In Pontianak, dozens of Dayak girls end up working in the bars, *karaoke* joints and hotels.

Up to 1994, the school curriculum was so homogenized and centralized that no local contents were allowed to be taught to the pupils. In 1994, the Government introduced a new school curriculum, which required that there must be 20 % Local content taught at schools. However, it has been seen that Local does not always mean the local cultural heritage of the Dayak peoples, but Local as it suits the agenda of a centralist Government with its own propaganda agenda. Consequently, the lifestyles of many Dayak youth have been significantly changing. Their way of thinking has been badly co-opted. They are intrigued and swayed by

modern, novel things from outside cultures, but on the other hand, they are not in a strong position to understand how harmful these novel things may be to Dayak values.

There have been many complaints from the eldest that the younger generations who have studied at higher education do not respect the culture and traditions anymore. Coming back from school, the younger generation bring with them new and foreign concepts that see Dayak culture and way of life as being obsolete thus have to be left behind. *Adat* laws that keep the Dayak cultural values alive has been translated using money values rather than moral guidelines. It is very clear in the case of pregnancy that occurs out of wedlock, for example, in which *adat* laws has defined certain rules and procedures that have to be obeyed. Due to the decreasing power of *adat* institution and the change of behavior of younger generation toward the *adat* laws, *adat* fines in this case is often measured in term of money values rather than cultural binding. Thus, a man who makes a girl pregnant could escape from his moral responsibility by paying a certain amount of money equal to the *adat* fine and thus allows hidden prostitution within the Dayak community.

4. Media – influence on values & desires

The influence of media especially television is astonishing. It is not only replacing the community communication that occur during their leisure time in the evening, but it is also introducing new culture of modernization that change people's perception about life. In the villages where electricity is not available, people would be willing to walk for 5-7 kilometers to the neighboring village just to be able to watch television programs in the evening. Armed with a flash light or a torch or in extreme cases even walking in the dark, people, old and young, men and women would rush to the neighboring village as soon as they come back from their farm.

On the other hand, television programs are full of distortion and lies. Violence is introduced through movies as the only solution; TV Series as a symbol of modernization and happiness introduces glamorous and luxurious lifestyles. Through the forced commercials that are inserted in every favorite program, the audiences are introduced to many "new needs" and increased consumption as a condition for living as modern people.

The impacts are obvious. New culture arrives such as birthday parties which was unknown in Dayak culture, *karaoke* which is changed into erotic dances, cheap low quality chemical food, cosmetics, perfumes, are displayed in the local merchants' shops and bartered with rubber sheets or any valuable forest products they could provide. The perception about happiness and prosperity is changed. It is the possession of those things promoted by the commercials that would bring happiness and prosperity, not living in harmony with the nature anymore. Consequently, more villagers own chainsaws to get timber that is very valuable, gold mining activities are adopted by using unsafe ways of exploitation, and the younger generation are beginning to involve themselves in crimes or end up as hard labor or prostitutes in nearby towns or cities.

The television becomes a very effective media to brainwash the Dayak. The provincial state-run TV once broadcast a Dayak farmer who sings in his farm regretting his destiny as a Dayak farmer that practices "shifting cultivation" that brought him and his family into suffering and misery. The policy of the government to encourage the Dayak to stop their indigenous farming system is also carried out by condemning this practice through other media such as newspapers and radio. By accusing the Dayak's farming system as unproductive, traditional, and

destroying the forests, the government want to stop the Dayak's dependencies on their surrounding areas so that the government could successfully encourage them to give up their land to be converted into various government project especially plantations.

Although Soeharto himself in 1997 had stated that the forest fires in Indonesia was not caused by "traditional" farmers but by the plantation companies, West Kalimantan local government still put the blame on the Dayak.¹² Even this year, when the smog covers Kalimantan again, the local government was still blamed the Dayak farmers although no farmers had started the burning yet when the smog came.

5. Longhouse destruction.

The Longhouse is the basic element that supports the existence of the Dayak culture. The lifestyle in longhouses keeps the spirits of solidarity, collectiveness, and automatic transfer of knowledge from older generation to younger generation occurs. Living in longhouses, people would easily gather together to discuss various issues and problems they encounter in their everyday lives. The collectiveness is guaranteed and restitution of their culture is secured. One very simple example, coming back from their farm, the inhabitants of a longhouse would gather in the verandah and start discussing the problems and challenges they face; the eldest would automatically transfer their knowledge to the younger generation in weaving, dancing, story telling and other indigenous knowledge. When they have visitor(s), everybody would easily take part in welcoming the visitor(s) including a dinner together since the inhabitants of a longhouse could easily bring their food directly from the kitchen and serve it together. Entertainment would follow to introduce the visitor(s) to the culture of the community.

When the Dayak still lived in longhouses, the spirit of solidarity was very strong because communication had no barrier. Every important moment in life such as a newborn, sickness and death was shouldered together automatically as if they were a real big family. The case was also similar in time of happiness such as a wedding or when one member of the longhouse caught an animal from hunting activities. The meat would be shared to all longhouse members. The spirit of working collectively such as in the farm was also much stronger than in single houses.

Another important benefit of living in longhouse is better safety and works as a community defense system from outsiders/intruders. Although there is no more threat from headhunters nowadays, but with the coming of outsiders through government-sponsored transmigration or spontaneous migration activities, there are more property hunters (thief and robbery) now than in the era of headhunting. Longhouse that is constructed with long columns/pillars (high from the ground) offer much better protection for the people living in it. Living in single houses which tends to be closer to the ground, has reduced the safety and defense system very much.

Unfortunately, since 1960s the Indonesian government destroyed the longhouses. Afraid of the strong solidarity and unity spirits that lived in the Dayak's longhouses, the government accused the way of life in longhouses of being unhealthy, immoral and similar to those of the communist. Then the destruction started with no power of the Dayak to stop it, especially since there were communist issues involved in it. In Ketapang, Sambas, Sanggau, and Sintang district

¹² It was resulted in a demonstration by the Dayak in Pontianak in (date). The Head of the Municipality's Forestry Department, Ir. Karsan Sukardi, was then fined according to *adat* laws by several Dayak *adat* chiefs in West Kalimantan due to his false accusation.

no longhouse can be found now. The only longhouse in Pontianak district that is maintained is in Sahapm, for the sake of tourism. There are still several longhouses in Kapuas Hulu since it is located more in remote areas and longhouse tradition in those Iban, Kayan and Kenyah Dayak are stronger thus could not be easily persuaded by the government to be destroyed.

The result of the change in the lifestyle from longhouse to single houses is very clear. The solidarity and unity within the Dayak people is now very weak. The cultural preservation is weakening since it is very difficult now for the Dayak even to get together in one family. As communication technology especially television with parabolas are now spread all over Kalimantan including in remote areas, the Dayak has changed their tradition from getting together in the verandah of a long house to the verandah of their neighbor's house to watch television programs. In some villages where electricity is not available yet, the villagers are willing to travel 5-7 kilometers to the neighboring village to watch the television, which is full of foreign culture and commercials that encourage consumerism. Most of the commercials they watch create new needs for them and carry messages that they could not be happy or be human if they do not buy certain products that are commercialized. This in turn encourages consumerism and changes in understanding what is prosperity and happiness, not according to Dayak values but according to Western view.

With the destruction of longhouses in West Kalimantan, the *adat* institution was also affected. The chief of a longhouse who acted as the head of the village government disappeared. This in turn changed the whole system including the ways that decisions in resource management were made. Therefore, the destruction of longhouses not only affected the spirit of solidarity, the transfer of indigenous knowledge and culture and the village defense system but a total change to the livelihood of the Dayak.

6. Government policies on forestry, logging, plantations, transmigration, mining; include information from Ketapang about impact on *adat* and environment

6.1. Logging Concessions

The development policy in Indonesia has been designed to achieve the highest economic growth. This policy has resulted in development programs that ignore environment, and cause heavy social and cultural costs with a lack of people's participation and democracy. Since Soeharto took over the government from Soekarno, the economic development in Indonesia was fueled by foreign loans and paid by massive exploitation of natural resources, especially timber.

During the Soeharto regime, Indonesia's foreign debt accumulated at the amount of US\$144,021,000 with the total net transfer/deficit of US\$38,784,429 for the period of 1991-1998 and Rp. 8,959,000,000 for the period of 1966-1990¹³. It means Soeharto's mismanagement of Indonesia's economy and development paradigm has resulted in a deadly trap that forced Indonesian people to pay the foreign debt which has turned into a capital flight to the borrowing countries at the amount of hundreds of billions of US\$.

The foreign debts have consumed 48% of the State Budget in 1992 on the expense of the Indonesian poorest by the cutting off of various subsidies. On the other hand, the

¹³ Roem Topatimasang, " Hutang Itu Hutang" , Insist Press, 1999, p. 57.

foreign debts have also caused a massive deforestation at a rate of 1,314,700 hectares annually (Walhi: 18). Kalimantan, which is very rich in timber, had become Soeharto's main target. In 1990, there were 575 logging concessions (HPH), which covered 60.36 million hectares forest with total production of 26 million cubic meters of wood. Of that number, 301 HPH operated in Kalimantan, occupying 31,150,400 hectare (Mubyarto et al. 1992: 259) or more than 50 percent of the total forest concessions in Indonesia. The total forest area in Kalimantan alone is 44.964 million hectare. This means that 69.2 percent of the total forest areas or 91.7 percent of the total production and conversion forest areas have been given to logging concessions.

In West Kalimantan, there are 75 logging concessions operating since 1968. Of the 9,204,425-hectare of forest area in West Kalimantan in 1967, twenty years later (1987) the forest areas have decreased 30.19 percent. This is understandable since the logging concessions hold 74.32 percent of the total forest areas of West Kalimantan or 46.6 percent of the total area (Alqadrie 1992: 18). Ketapang District shares 535,184 ha logging areas operated by 7 companies (Kanwil Dephutbun Kalbar , May 1999).

However, this condition will not last long if the current policy is not changed. Data show that the log production in West Kalimantan has decreased by more than 50% in 1996 compared to ten years before. This trend, according to JICA & BAPPENAS, will put an end to West Kalimantan forests by the year 2020¹⁴.

The impacts of logging operations are tremendous. In Ketapang district, logging activities have caused heavy soil erosion, flood, pollution and the logged over areas are very prone to forest fires.

6.2. Oil Palm Plantations

This is not the end of the litany, after most forests in West Kalimantan was cleared by logging operations, the government invite investors to convert West Kalimantan remaining forests for oil-palm and industrial tree plantations. West Kalimantan local government has reserved 3.2 million hectare areas for plantation projects to achieve the target of 10.9% annual economic growth for the period of 1994-1998. All the areas reserved are the Dayak's customary land. Although there has been several warnings including from JICA Research Team that this policy will result in heavy environmental load especially the chemical pollution that will flux into Kapuas River¹⁵, but the local government seemed not to turn a hair. The Table below shows JICA's prediction of the environmental load that West Kalimantan should shoulder if 871,807 ha of the total 3.2m ha was converted to palm-oil plantations¹⁶.

Table

AREA OF OIL PALM ESTATE AND LAND SUSTAINABILITY AND ESTIMATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL LOAD

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 7-15

¹⁵ The JICA's concern is also with the fact that being the longest river in Indonesia with 1,143 km long, Kapuas River is very flat with only 50 meters in elevation between Kapuas Hulu and Pontianak. The deforestation that has been carried out by logging operations and followed by the planned 3.2 million ha for plantations will bear a tremendous impact in the form of heavy soil erosion, flood and chemical pollution to the river.

¹⁶ JICA,

UNIT: Ha

ITEM	WEST KAL.	CENT. KAL.
Oil Palm Planted Area*		
Immature	120,155	75,807
Mature	88,483	14,103
Subtotal****	208,638	89,910
Planned Area*		
1)	3,246,103	1,700,000
2)	1,592,856	1,557,752
3)	871,807	675,285
Land Suitability for oil palm**		
Suitable Area	2,306,300	3,281,000
Less Suitable Area	4,001,600	1,751,100
Unsuitable Area	8,189,200	9,848,500
Total	14,497,100	14,880,600
Estimation of environmental Load***		
Erosion Amount (million ton/year)	57-1,500	44-1,200
Nutrient Amount leached out from fields:		
N (thousand ton/year)	6	5
P2O5 (thousand ton/year)	267	207
K2O (thousand ton/year)	113	88
Application amount of Pesticide		
Insecticide (1,000 l/year)	145	113
Herbicide (ton/year)	5,449	4,223
Fungicide (ton/year)	43	33

- 1) Area offered by Provincial Government
- 2) Area approved by the Director General of Estate, Ministry of Agriculture
- 3) Area to be planted, an estimation of the JICA study team

**** : calculated based on the area of 3)

Source:

* : Dinas Perkebunan Tkt. I Kalbar & Kalteng

** : RePPPProt

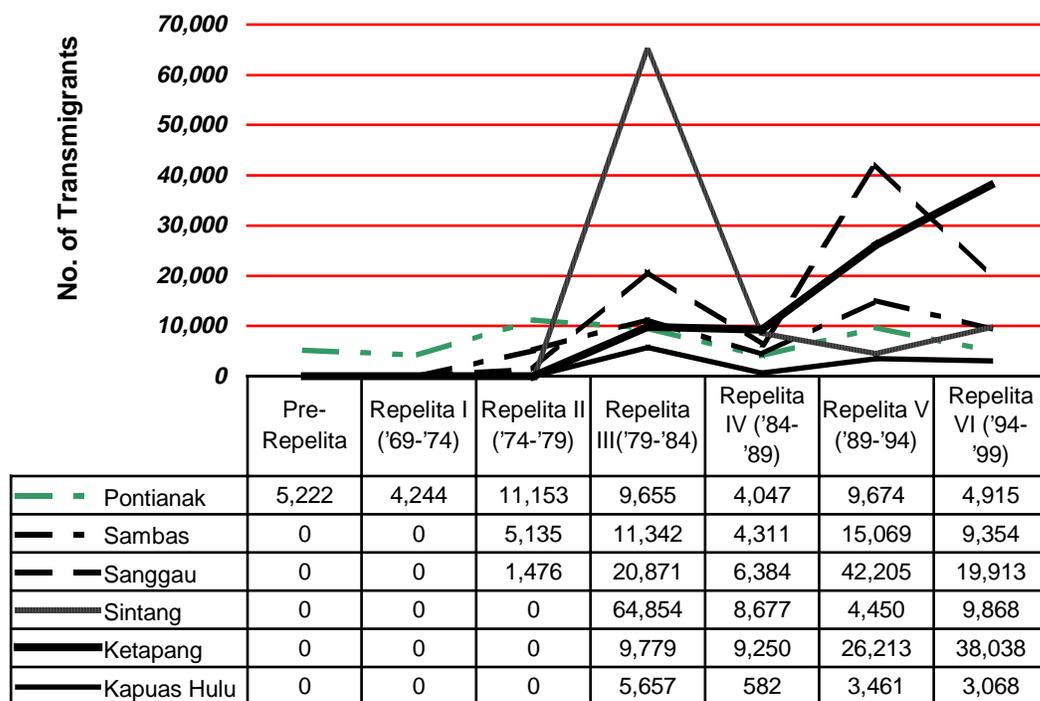
****: As of 1996. In 1998, according to the Provincial Government of West Kal. the total areas planted with palm oil have grown to 269.412 ha.

6.3. Transmigration

Transmigration programs also contribute the deforestation, which since the World Bank stopped its support on it, has combined with plantation projects to provide chief labor for plantation companies. The number of families that moved to West Kalimantan since Repelita I have totaled 133,055 (see: Figure). Through the PIR-TRANS scheme, every transmigrated family will be given 2.5 ha of land--in which 2 ha is cultivated with palm-oil and another 0.5 ha for settlement--and life allowance for one year. Although this policy is failed by the fact that

many transmigrants have sold out their plantations to local businessmen¹⁷ but the government shows no indications at all to change this policy. On the other hand, the Dayak people have to give up 7 ha of their land to the company of which 2.5 ha will be returned to them. However, they have to pay credit for 20 years to cover the operational costs the company had spent for the plantation. This injustice and discriminated treatment by the company to the transmigrants and the Dayak peoples has created disappointment and social jealousy among the Dayak who joined the plantation. On the other hand, the total number of Dayak's land taken by logging, plantation and transmigration alone has been amounted to 143,170 ha(see: table)

Figure
Number of Transmigrants by Repelita in West Kalimantan
(unit: persons)



Ketapang District that shares 75,766 ha oil palm plantation of the total 208,638 ha in West Kalimantan, has received 83,280 transmigrants, which is 9.5% of the total population. Although Ketapang started receiving transmigrants since Repelita III (1979-1984), but in the last Repelita (VI) this district receives the biggest share with 44.7% or 38,038 transmigrants (see; Table). JICA's comments on Transmigration Program and its impacts to the local people:

¹⁷ Pontianak Post, September 9, 1999

“The typical scheme of transmigration [consists] of about 2,500 families (1 Settlement Unit-SP constitutes of 500 households and 5 SPs form one Area Development Unit-SKP), which occupies more than 10,000 ha of land. Since the existing village [*dusun*] is usually formed of 50-100 households, the impact of transmigration on the local villages is excessive.

Some transmigration sites also have been established by sacrificing the lands and lifestyle of the local people. There is a major negative and probably irreversible impact on indigenous [peoples] particular those who depend on the forest for their economic and spiritual livelihood. Some seek shelter in other places, others find employment opportunities in private companies, and still others are subsisting in small enclaves between transmigration sites and rubber plantations belonging to local smallholders or oil palm plantations. Since Repelita IV, the responsibility for land acquisition for transmigration sites has been given to the Governor. Though the system for land acquisition has been developed, there are still some unsettled problems over land between the government and the local people.”¹⁸

These disappointments have manifested in the protests, demonstrations and violence against the plantation companies all over Kalimantan. Attack on companies’ offices, barracks and equipment by the local people have been occurring almost in every plantation company in West Kalimantan¹⁹. In Ketapang, several cases occurred such as the protest of Krio Dayak in Sandai Sub district against PT. Lingga Teja Wana—an industrial tree plantation company, which included burning the company’s barracks, bridges and equipment in 1994. Their protest against PT. Alas Kusuma—a logging company in 1999, which was manifested in *adat* fines to logging companies in Simpang Hulu Sub district has occurred several times. The protest of the Dayak in Manismanata Sub district against PT. Hasil Sawit Lestari; even a protest by the transmigrants against PT. Polyant Sejahtera in Tumbang Titi Sub district.²⁰

The protests occurred because the operation of logging, plantation and transmigration appropriate around 1,150,000 ha of Dayak’s land (see: Table) and destroy their environment. In many cases, the companies not only take their land for farming but also destroy their rubber gardens, fruit gardens and even cemeteries²¹. On the other hand, logging and plantation activities violate the Dayak 7 Principles in the management of natural resources as stated above. The plantations, which are monoculture, market-driven, individualistic, depended on chemical substances and do not involve *adat* in its activities have destroyed the very basic element of the Dayak’s identity: their culture. The position of the farmers as workers for the company has also weakened and decreased the role of *adat* institution. When the Dayak practice their own natural resources management system, it’s the *adat* that governs their life based on their own culture and traditions. However, when they live as plantation farmers, it’s the company that governs them.

Table

¹⁸ JICA & BAPPENAS, The Development Study on Comprehensive Regional Development Plan for The Western Part of Kalimantan, Interim Report-Sector Paper, March 1998, p. 3-21.

¹⁹ Various reports on these cases have been reported regularly by Kalimantan Review(KR) such as in KR No.

²⁰ See KR No.

²¹

Estimation of the total number of Dayak Land Appropriated by Logging,
Plantation and Transmigration Projects in Ketapang District

No	Projects	Total Land Areas (in Ha)
1	Logging Concessions	535,184
2	Plantations	75,766
3	Transmigrations	532,220 ²²
	TOTAL	1,143,170

6.4. Forest Fires

The haze havoc caused by forest fires in 1997 has got international attention due to its regional effect and length. Protests were lodged by most Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, Thailand and Philippines to the Indonesian government who was considered the problem maker. It is quite understandable since fires destroyed 177,285 ha of forests in which 13.05% occurred in West Kalimantan. The data shows (Table...) that in West Kalimantan province alone 23,136 ha was destroyed by fire in 1997.

The data quoted by Kalimantan Review from Kadisbun Kalbar is even bigger. According to KR, until September 1997, the total number of burned areas is 183,339 ha in Indonesia and 71,777 were in Kalimantan.

Although President Soeharto at that time stated that the traditional farmers were not the party responsible for the fires, in West Kalimantan, the Head of the local Department of Forestry accused the farmers as responsible. This triggered anger amongst the Dayak farmers who later fined the official, Ir. Karsan Sukardi, with adat law²³.

Table
Area of Fired Forest in 1997

Unit: Ha

	Before	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Total
West Kalimantan	0	0	16	18,469	4,651	0	23,136
Share (%)	0	0	0	30	5	0	13
Whole Kalimantan	46	505	491	36,927	21,569	125	59,663

²² This figure is calculated based on JICA & BAPPENAS' statement that 2,500 transmigrants families occupy more than 10,000 ha of land.

²³ They demonstrated in Karsan's office two times to lodge their protest and asked 7 adat chiefs representing all districts in West Kalimantan to fine him with Kanayatn's adat law known as Capa Molot or blasphemy. See: Kalimantan Review No. 26/Th.VII/October 1997, p. 14

Share (%)	1	16	7	60	22	2	34
Whole Country	3,165	3,078	7,380	61,629	96,457	5,575	177,285

Source: Ministry of Forestry

The National Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) reported that there were 600 hot spots detected since March (in 1997) in Sumatra, Kalimantan and Java. In West Kalimantan those hot spots were found in areas belong to logging concession, plantation, national park and transmigration settlements (Table...and).

Table
Areas of Fired Forest in West Kalimantan (July-August 1997)

No	Name	Type of Land Use
01	PT. Finantara Intiga	Logging
02	PT. Multi Dayap	Logging
03	PT. Inhutani II	Logging
04	PT. Antar Mustika	Logging
05	PT. Lemba Jati Mutiara	Logging
06	Plantation (OECF)	Plantation
07	PT. Inhutani III	Tree Plantation
08	PT. Lahan Cakawala	Tree Plantation
09	PT. Meranti Laksana	Tree Plantation
10	PT. Rimba Equator Permai	Tree Plantation
11	PT. Inhutani II	Tree Plantation
12	Gunung Palung	National Park
13	Danau Sentarum	Wild Life Sanctuary
14	Baning	Recreation Forest
15	Transmigration	Transmigration areas
16	Bukit Sehak	Other forest

Source: Regional Forest Office of West Kalimantan

Table
Number of Hot Spots By Land Use in West Kalimantan in 1997

Land Use	July	August	Total	%
Oil Palm Estate				
Implemented Area	0	1	1	

Approved Area	7	5	12	
Proposed Area	5	3	8	
TOTAL	12	9	21	28.76
Industrial Tree Plantations	17	11	28	38.36
Transmigration	5	2	7	9.59
Others	9	8	17	23.28
TOTAL	43	30	73	

Table ... shows that Industrial Tree Plantation areas contributed 38.36% or the majority of the hot spots found in West Kalimantan, followed by Palm Oil Plantations with 28.76%. This is understandable since for the state-owned company, PT. Inhutani III alone, the local government has targeted 530.000 ha to be converted into Industrial Tree Plantation by the year 2000. The total areas reserved for Inhutani III is 1.8 million ha in West, South and East Kalimantan.

The local Forestry Department (Disbun) stated that until July 1997, there have been 13 palm oil companies that will conduct land clearing, which covers the area of 27,000 ha. One could imagine if the 27,000 ha forest is burnt all at once in a land clearing activity for oil palm plantation.

The haze has caused a tremendous impacts to the economic as well as the health of the region. In Ketapang district (the site of the case study), forest fires have caused more hardship to the local population as it caused a grasshopper plague (see 6.5 below). The dust particles which was 123.72 microgram per cubic meter in July increased to 1,890 microgram per cubic meter in October, or 37.8 times bigger than the normal level of 0-50 microgram per cubic meter. This data also means that the haze effect for a human being is equal to smoking 189 cigarettes a day! The Table below shows the visibility recorded in October 1997.

Table
Visibility in October 1997

Time	Visibility
before - 09.00	5-100 m
09.00 - 14.00	100-400 m
15.00 - 19.00	100-200 m
19.00 - after	- 500 m

Source: KR No. 26/Th. VII/October 1997

The condition of the villages around the burned forest was far worse. Although there is no research conducted to measure the dust particles in the villages, but we could imagine how the condition was far worse than in towns and cities. A research conducted to measure the impact of

the forest fires to the economic livelihood of the villages shows that.....Fires had destroyed thousand of hectares of rice field areas, primary forests, rubber gardens, fallow forests, sacred sites, grave yards and fruit gardens.

In Pontianak, the capital of West Kalimantan province, Supadio Airport was totally closed from September to October 1997 due to poor visibility. The loss caused by the closing of the airport was predicted around Rp1 billion per day. The haze also created problem for sea and water transportation. This further caused losses to the business of the travel agencies, hotels, restaurants, and entertainment including tourism.

As Kalimantan suffered the severe forest fires, the Malaysian side of Sarawak and Sabah also got a direct impact, Like major cities in Indonesian Kalimantan which had put schools in holidays, the government of Sarawak also did the same. The federal government of Malaysia had even planned to evacuated its 2.3 million people in Sarawak to the Malaya Peninsular if the haze condition did not change for the better. A very strong protest had been lodged to the government of Indonesia by the Malaysian followed by sending 1,400 personnel of their fire brigade to help Indonesia overcome the fire. This action by the Malaysian government is understandable since the dust particle in Kuching-Sarawak was reported to reach the level of 800 microgram per cubic meter.

Due to poor management of the forest in Indonesia, forest fires occurred again in 2000. In March 2000, NOAA detected at least 50 hot spots in West Kalimantan. The Standard Index of Air Pollution reached 280 microgram per cubic meter and the visibility dropped to 100-800 meter. Although there were no flights cancelled, the haze had postponed flight schedules especially in the morning when the haze hit its peak. The local government so far found 8 logging concessions and industrial tree plantation companies that had hot spots in their areas (Table....).

Table

Recapitulation of Hot Spots Areas In West Kalimantan from February 28 to March 6, 2000

No	Companies	Type	District
01	PT. Bumi Pratama Khatulistiwa	Tree Plant	Pontianak
02	PT. Aria Jaya	Logging	Pontianak & Kapuas Hulu
03	PT. Kayu Pesaguan	Logging	Ketapang
04	PT. Tanjungpura Bhakti	Logging	Sambas
05	PT. Tawang Meranti	Logging	Kapuas Hulu
06	PT. Tri Kaka	Logging	Kapuas Hulu
07	PT. Hutan Raya Utama II	Logging	Pontianak
08	PT. Sinar West Kalimantan	Logging	Ketapang

6.5. Grasshoppers Tragedy

Although there had been similar plague in 1968, the grasshopper tragedy in Ketapang district hit its culmination after fires, logging and plantation companies destroyed the forests in this area. The plague that originated from Kendawangan sub district, in the southern part of the district, according to the local people was triggered by PT. Alam Kendawangan Indah that cut down the forests for chocolate plantation in 1980. However, one year later, after the areas had been deforested, the company stopped its operation, claiming that they had gone bankrupt. The same thing happened again in 1997, when PT Kertas Basuki Rahmat also left its area to become imperatta grass less than one year after they cleared the forests. Since 1980, the grasshoppers' population become uncontrollable and destroyed all productive crops belonging to the villagers.

However, the plague remained in this small concentrated area until end of 1999, after fires destroyed most of areas of Ketapang district in 1997, 1998 and 1999. The grasshoppers of *Locusta Migratoria* species which could fly 900 miles per hour and reproduce 300 young grasshoppers, has been spreading to 8 of the 15 sub districts in Ketapang district. The opening of the forests by plantation companies that used burning for land clearing activity, has destroyed the remaining forests and gives ways for the locust to migrate to the surrounding areas. The elimination of the natural predators caused by fires has caused the reproduction become uncontrollable.

The harvest failure suffered by the local farmers due to forest fires and long drought as the result of the El Nino effect in the previous years (1997-1998) have resulted in a food crisis in the entire area by the time of the attack of the locust in 1999. Although the local government has tried some efforts to control the locust by spraying insecticide of Mivsin 50WP type in some areas. The grasshoppers are too large in number and too fast in reproduction that the government was unable to give proper treatment to the very wide areas covering the overall 8 sub districts. The local government has also been trying to use other method by encouraging the local people to catch the grasshoppers manually and provide Rp1,000.00 per kilogram as incentives for the effort. About 25 tons of grasshoppers have been killed so far using this method but still unable to control the locust.

The local people themselves have been using cultural method they know such as performing various rituals. Most of the rituals require solid co-operation from the whole community since they involve fasting, taboos, and several activities are forbidden during and a few days following the rituals. However, this method is not always effective anymore since the members of the communities are now heterogeneous due to the coming of migrants from outside the community who do not always abide the local belief. On the other hand, the government's wrong and misleading policy toward the life of the indigenous peoples in Indonesia which have been practiced for decades, have destroyed the community livelihood and caused some a decline in the indigenous belief by the young generation.

The grasshopper tragedy in Ketapang is a very good example of how nature has reacted toward unfair and unfriendly treatment by the human being due the lost of forests, the destruction of natural resources by fires and the loss of indigenous belief. Yet, most of the Dayak in Ketapang believe that this plague is one of nature's ways at revenge. For the Christian Dayak they believe this tragedy is somewhat like what happened to the Israeli when they had to face the 10 tulaḥ in their journey back to the land of Canaan.

7. Infrastructure building.

Road construction on one hand has opened more access both for the Dayak peoples to interact with outside world and vice versa. This contributes to the transformation of Dayak culture and allows the Dayak to communicate with other people easier. However, new infrastructure, especially roads has accelerated the destruction of their culture and natural resources. The road construction is made to allow companies and investors to come more easily to the remote areas and do their business. It is made for company's trucks, bulldozers, cars, and other heavy equipment to be able to carry out the exploitation activities. Or at least it is made as compensation for company's operation in that area. It is never made for the Dayak because the Dayak do not own cars or trucks. Even the majority of them don't own bicycles or motorbikes. However, they have to give up their land and natural resources for the roads.

The other negative impacts of the road construction are various accidents that occur in logging or plantation areas. Heavy machineries that are operating everyday to transport logs in logging areas have their own traffic rules that are different from the standard ones in the country. When an accident happens, the company is not always willing to pay the *adat* fines.

Of course, the constructions of primary health care centers, schools or electricity contribute significantly for the Dayak to be able to increase their conditions. However, as I mention above, they also contribute to the decreasing of the number of Dayak shamans, as medical treatment by nurses or doctors is seen as the symbol of modernization, not merely as the other alternatives for solving health problems. Schools have brought new values and uprooted the students from their own culture. Electricity comes along with television and parabolas that promote consumerism and modernization and block communication process in which the transfer of knowledge and culture by the elders to the younger generation occurs.

B. Responses

1. Pre-1980.

Before Indonesia's Independence, the Dayak in West Kalimantan had established a state called Madjang Desa. There are at least three battles in which the Dayak fought directly against the Japanese : Pinoh/Melawi War under the command of Pang Semangai, Sidas/Ngabang War under the comand of Pak Kasih and Meliau War under the command of Pang Suma. The victory in Meliau War in 1942 resulted in what was called The State of Madjang Desa with Pang Suma as Head of State, Panglima Sulang as the Minister of Defence and Order and J.A.M. Linggie as State Secretary. However, the founding fathers of this country decided to join the Republic of Indonesia when it was proclaimed in August 17, 1945²⁴.

Catholic, and later followed by Protestant churches are the two most important institutions that facilitated the Dayak in getting formal education. As formal education was one of the symbols of modernization, the Dayak was very proud of becoming a schoolteacher. Therefore, many parents sent their children to teacher's training schools and many Dayak teachers were produced. The education received by the Dayak had opened new perspective that

²⁴ KR No. 35, July 1998

to struggle for better conditions, they had to do it in the political arena as well. Although the Dayak Unity Party was officially established on October 1, 1945, the embryo of the party was initiated through the agreement made by Dayak schoolteachers in a meeting in Sanggau in 1941.

The Dayak Unity Party won the 1955 General election (40%) and brought J.C. Oevang Oeray, the DUP's Chairmen, to the governor's seat. Along with him, M.Th. Djaman, G.P. Djaoeng, A. Syahdan and A. Djaelani were elected as District Heads of Sanggau, Sintang, Kapuas Hulu and Pontianak respectively. The Dayak's success in political arena did not last long. In 1959, the president of Indonesia produced a regulation called Penpres No.7/1959 in which all political parties in Indonesia must have branches in at least 7 provinces in Indonesia. DUP could not meet these criteria and thus disbanded. Some of its members joined Indonesian Parti (Partindo), some others joined Catholic Party. It was the beginning of the death of the Dayak's role in politics. After completing his term as governor in 1966, J.C. Oevang Oeray was the only Dayak who became governor in West Kalimantan up to now.

The conditions were even worse during Soeharto's New Order government. Not even one district head was Dayak until 1995 when Jacobus Frans Layang was elected as district head of Kapuas Hulu (see above).

Since there was no political freedom under Soeharto's government, some Dayak politicians tried to play the roles in social and educational aspects. However, they could not do much due to lack of clear vision and mission, lack of unity and resources. Yayasan Mandau Perisai (Mandau Perisai Foundation), for example, which was established by Dayak politicians including those previously involved in DUP, could only establish some boarding houses for the Dayak students in Pontianak. The Catholic and Protestant churches that were very close to the Dayak tend to avoid political issues and thus only established formal schools, boarding houses and hospitals.

There is one NGOs that was established by the Diocese of Ketapang. From its Justice and Peace program, Yayasan Triu Keadilan was established 1992 because the Diocese was afraid that advocacy works done by YTK would threaten the existence of the church in the government's eyes. Although YTK's works were very significant, especially in facilitating the local people who became the victims of plantation companies, but this foundation collapsed in 1998 due to lack of financial resources which was provided by the church before. The dependency on the church as well as lack of human resources who could build strong networks and lobbying for fund seems to be the cause of YTK's death.

2. Response from/supported by Dayak NGOs

Similar to DUP, which was initiated by schoolteachers, the birth of Pancur Kasih Foundation (PK) in 1981 was also established by teachers who were teaching at some church-run schools in Pontianak. It was A.R. Mecer, a Krio Dayak from Ketapang who was the most important figure behind the establishment of PK. With several other fellow teachers and a priest, Mecer believed that the struggle for the Dayak's better condition had to be done within the spirit of solidarity, self-reliance with strong cultural base.

Although the first activity of PK was also classical, namely establishing a formal school, as there was no other alternative under Soeharto's strong political oppression, however, the spirit

within the establishment of the school was to struggle using the Dayak's own potentials as teachers to build the Dayak's critical awareness rather than to generate income from the school fees. So, it was the Dayak empowering the Dayak. There are two key principles in it: self-reliance and solidarity. The PK founding fathers believed that thinking critically was key to freedom and empowerment.

This spirit of self-reliance was the only asset owned by PK when it was established. Although they established a junior high school, they did not have the school facilities yet. They ran the schools at an elementary building school owned by Catholic Brothers Mission in Pontianak in the afternoon after those elementary school finished their school activities. Of course the teachers of the school did not receive any salary since all of them were PK founders and the entire fund they got from the school fees were saved for constructing school building in the future. They earned their income from the salary they got from teaching at other schools.

In 1985, Pancur Kasih facilitated the establishment of six other schools in interior areas. Instead of running those schools directly under its umbrella, PK chose the policy of facilitating the schools to become self-reliant and to be able to run on its own.

The second field in which PK intervened was the economic field. It started in 1987 when they established Credit Union Pancur Kasih. Initially the CU was established to meet the demand of PK's activist for easy-to-access credit with low interest. However, in later development, CU developed into a very vital financial institution not only for PK but also for the people in West Kalimantan.

In fact, the CU movement had been initiated by Catholic Church since 1975. The church established around 80 CUs all over West Kalimantan and within 5 years in 1980, only 5 CUs remained. Others collapsed and gone bankrupt due to bad management and wrong understanding about CU. This left a traumatic experience in many Dayak communities that caused a lot of difficulties for PK to bring back people's trust and confidence about CU.

When it was first established, CU PK had only 61 members with the total asset of Rp617,000.00. Now, after 12 years it has 10,723 members with total asset of Rp8,469,258,391 and monthly income of around Rp150,000,000 in average.²⁵ Although CU PK is not the first CU established in West Kalimantan, but it has become the most successful CU not only in West Kalimantan but in Indonesia. The reputation of CU PK as the biggest and one of the most successful CUs is not only recognized by NGOs but also by the government. It could be seen through the legal standing of this CU as well as the statement of the head of the local department of Co-operatives in the members' annual meeting in February 1998 in which he stated himself that CU PK is the healthiest credit co-operative. The heavy demand for facilitation by PK from various communities in Kalimantan as well as other parts of Indonesia cannot be separated from PK's reputation in running its programs successfully such as the one shown by this CU.

With its program called the Empowerment of Community-Based Economy, PK has been facilitating the establishment of 15 CUs in West Kalimantan since 1995 with the accumulation of assets to around Rp12b with 17,000 members²⁶. All of those CU are not run by PK but by the community themselves. The role of PK is only facilitating the local people in skills and consultancy. Now PK is also facilitating other indigenous peoples outside West Kalimantan and

²⁵ Data as of August 1999.

²⁶ As of July 1999

2 CUs have been able to established by the local people in Siberut-Sumatra and Siang Murung-Central Kalimantan.

The core of CU movement is not managing money but an education process that aimed at mental and attitude change. It is an education process that leads to strong spirit of solidarity and togetherness among its members in solving their financial problems. The key word is thus EDUCATION and the motto is that, CU started, developed, controlled and depending on EDUCATION.

The role of CU as a supporting institution for PK movement is central. In 1992, a Rural Bank (BPR PAN BANK) was established by more than 200 CU members. They borrowed money from the CU as the initial asset of the bank. BPR PAN-BANK (*Bank Perkreditan Rakyat Pancur Banua Katulistiwa*) provides small business loans to the rural community to facilitate the empowerment of the people's economic livelihood. Although, as with all banks, it comes under the authority of the Central Bank, with total assets in excess of Rp1billion it has received a clean bill of health in recent reports and avoids the threats to other banks from the IMF reforms as it is only involved in local lending.

In late eighties, under its Department of Research and Development, an informal study group was established by Pancur Kasih to discuss cultural and political issues as they affected the Dayak peoples. As the subjects discussed by the study group attracted so much attention within Dayak communities, especially the impact of various Government Development programs on the livelihood of Dayak peoples, there was a public demand to formalize the study group into an official institution. Therefore, in 1991 Pancur Kasih established the Institute of Dayakology Research and Development (IDRD). However, considering that IDRDR might touch a wide range of issues including those critical to the government, the Institute was established under LP3S-Jakarta's umbrella. There was an agreement between IDRDR and LP3S that LP3S only provides legal standing to IDRDR. Although, IDRDR serves as LP3S's branch board for West Kalimantan, in all its programs and policies IDRDR is independent from LP3S. This is a strategy PK applied in its struggle so that if one unit of its struggle is affected by the government's repressive policy, other unit would not be affected directly. IDRDR was established to struggle for Dayak culture and knowledge in order that it be acknowledged, respected and valued by outsiders, and certainly by the Dayak communities themselves. The focus is on culture as this is what relates directly to the identity and dignity of the Dayak. IDRDR which has changed its name to Institut Dayakologi, runs programs on documentation of Dayak oral traditions, researches on Dayak culture, publication of books and monthly magazine Kalimantan Review, facilitating the tutorial of oral traditions at schools by local experts, and radio program in Dayak Kanayatn languages.

PK was also responsible for the establishment of Lembaga Bela Banua Talino (LBBT) in 1993 in West Kalimantan, and Lembaga Bina Benua Puti Jaji (LBBPJ) in East Kalimantan. In establishing these two institutions, PK co-operated with IDRDR, Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) Jakarta. These evolved out of a researched need for community legal empowerment, particularly with respect to Lands Rights Cases. These institutions aim at the revitalization of indigenous laws systems and empowering the community through paralegal training and community organizing activities.

SHK (Community Based Forest System Management) is another Dayak organization that was initiated by Pancur Kasih, IDRDR and LBBT to promote indigenous sustainable Dayak practices for community forest management. This institution focused on the advocacy of the Dayak natural resources management system and their rights over the management of their territory. As the government's policy on resource management has proven to be destructive and unsustainable,

SHK offers other alternatives from indigenous knowledge and wisdom. SHK has established a network at the national level to join hands in carrying out the advocacy works.

Communities have also been strengthened through participative mapping projects. Pancur Kasih facilitates community mapping which documents Dayak land and natural resources use based on indigenous knowledge and indigenous wisdom. Community mapping enables the Dayak to speak out with greater clarity, greater strength, about their natural resource rights, demanding that they be respected and protected. This is essential to guarantee environmental conservation and prosperity, both now and in the future. Up to present time, PK has facilitated the mapping of 112 villages all over Kalimantan. In carrying out the mapping activities, PK through its unit called PPSDAK conducts 10 steps which enables the local community participate fully in the mapping process of their village territory. Through the Community Mappers (CM) which were selected and trained among the local community and spread all over West Kalimantan, PK socializes the program and facilitates all necessary preparation in carrying out the mapping process. In the future, the implementation of this project will be handed over to the local communities through their respective CMs while PK will only take the role of quality control of the mapping produced. They plan to establish at least one service point in every district so that the mapping program could be fully handled by the local community themselves.

Tapang Sambas is one of many villages, which might serve as an example of how this mapping activity has contributed to the empowerment of the local community in the management of their natural resources. After making 8 types of map of Tapang Sambas Area (land use, animals, trees, rivers, sacred areas/cemetery ground, settlement, topography and 3 dimension), the local community found out that they are already lack of land area to be used for dry paddy field. On the other hand, from the maps they made, the people realize that they have a great potential of developing wet paddy field. Being aware of their inexperience in wet paddy management, the people asked PK to facilitate them to carry out apprenticeship program in two different agricultural areas in Pontianak District. In Senakin they learned how the people carry out the modern farming system using chemical substances, while in Sidas Daya they learned how the people developed their indigenous technology using non-chemical substances in their agriculture. They chose the non-chemical system and started developing it in Tapang Sambas. Now they have already two farmer groups, which consist of 40 families working on non-chemical wet paddy field.

The role of the maps for future empowerment of the Dayak is very significant. As the Indonesian government now has lunched a project to recognize the existence of the indigenous peoples provided that they had *adat* territory, *adat* institution and *adat* laws, the role of the map as a tool to prove the existence of *adat* territory is very important contribution to the recognition of the Dayak's indigenous rights.

In 1986 PK co-operated with the World Vision International (WVI) of United States to provide scholarship for school children. Up to present time, PK has provided scholarship for about 300 children in Pontianak District. It is interesting how PK manage the scholarship, which is not given directly to the children but as a saving in the CU. The saving is in the parents' names so that the family could borrow money from the CU either for paying the children's school fees or for doing other business to increase the family incomes. There are at least two benefits resulting from this management. First, the scholarship is not spent at once but accumulated as a saving. Second, both the children and the family benefit from the fund. The scholarship amount varies from Rp3, 000.00 for pre-school children (4 years old), Rp3, 500.00 for elementary school, Rp5, 000 for junior high school, Rp6, 000 for senior high school students and Rp15,

000.00 for University student. Up to now, this project has funded 5 students studying at university level. This project with PK is seen by the WVI as the most successful project, therefore in the last project they have signed the contract for 10 years up to the year 2006.

Another program that PK manages in scholarship field is called Critical Education Program. The program has two objectives: to provide scholarship for studying at universities and to join various courses provided by PK for empowerment purposes such as social analysis, critical thinking, paralegal training, CU management, Mapping activities etc. The fund for the scholarship is collected from its members with extra financial support from donor for the management of the fund.

PK has also been involved in the establishment of Pancur Dangeri, a West Kalimantan wide cooperative for Dayak rubber farmers. This program aims to organize 30,000 Dayak farmers into the Co-operative for the purpose of establishing a sustainable forest management program based on the rubber local production. The vision of this program is to recover the economic dignity and sovereignty of the Dayak people and to establish a permanent model of community control of natural resources from the growing to the extraction, processing and marketing process. At the same time, this project will also prove that the indigenous Dayak ways of managing natural resources are both sustainable and productive.

Rubber is considered the primary commercial crop to most Dayak in Kalimantan and is the main source of cash income. Although the tapping of rubber has provided opportunities for Dayak communities to enjoy necessary social benefits otherwise denied to marginalized peoples, such as enabling their children to obtain higher education, the industry is controlled by outsiders who pay the Dayak very little for their labors.

At the same time, managing the natural rubber gardens is in line with the indigenous Dayak ways of extracting natural resources. Natural rubber trees can grow together with other natural trees and plants that are useful for the Dayak people. Given that the Dayak are socially, culturally and economically dependent on the biodiversity of their surroundings, any attempt to increase the income from rubber marketing would also protect the biodiversity of the naturally managed rubber gardens.

PK and inter ethnic relationship in Kalimantan

The ethnic conflict in West Kalimantan, especially between the Dayak and the Madurese has become a latent conflict over the years. In late 1996 until early last year, the world was shocked by a tragedy in which hundreds if not thousands of people were killed in the worst Dayak-Madurese conflict in West Kalimantan. Triggered by the burning of Pancur Kasih and CU office in Pontianak and the killing of Dayak by the Madurese during a road block set up by the Madurese in Peniraman (about 45 km from Pontianak), the war began as the Dayak in the villages, for the eleventh time in history, declared a war with the Madurese.

While many people believed that the conflicts has proven that the headhunting culture of the Dayak, which only occurred until a century ago, still exists, others argued that the economic disparities between the indigenous Dayak and the migrant Madurese has become the cause behind the conflict. Whatever the analysis is, it is obvious that the relationship between the two ethnics is so vulnerable that a conflict could emerge any time.

It is interesting how PK has become one of the targets of attack by the Madurese while on the other hand, PK has never involved itself in any conflict that occurs, directly or indirectly. One thing for sure, PK has been seen as the symbol of Dayak existence in West Kalimantan

therefore, an attack to it could be seen as an attack to the Dayak peoples as a whole. This shows how PK has a very strong root in the Dayak communities.

Ever since it was established, PK--with other organizations it initiated--have chosen a non-violence principle in its struggle. This principle is clearly seen in the consortium's vision that stresses the word LOVE and SOLIDARITY. Yet, all the programs have been formulated based on respect on human dignity and the protection of human rights and tolerance.

This spirit of love and solidarity is reflected in PK's struggle in people-based economic development such as the CU and its programs in education such as the formal schools, ADP with the WVI and the scholarship programs. None of its programs encourage ethnic exclusiveness, although even until now there is no Madurese yet involved at the decision making body of the organization. However, other ethnic groups such as Javanese, Flores and Chinese can be found within this organization.

Although A.R. Mecer was summoned by the police following the attack by the Madurese to PK office, there was no evidence at all which might connect PK with the emerging conflict. Even PK got involved in the forum set up by NGOs in Pontianak to open a dialog between the Dayak and the Madurese intellectuals and prominent figures to find the peaceful solution to the conflict, although later on it was obvious that the forum could not do much in regards to such a wide scale conflict.

2. Cross – Scale

Although the institutions PK initiated have all been legally independent (ID, LBBT, PAN BANK, CU PK) and stand as a separate institutions, PK has the obligation to ensure that those institutions work within the same vision and not against it.

Therefore, in 1996 all these institutions including PK, founded KPMD (*Konsorsium Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Dayak*) or the Consortium for the Empowerment of Dayak Peoples. This consortium functions as coordination and networking body for its members in their struggle. A vision was then formulated together stating: *the indigenous peoples, especially the Dayaks in Kalimantan, are able to determine and manage their own social, cultural, economic and political lives, towards self-reliance in solidarity, under the spirit of love, to regain their identity, dignity and sovereignty.*

Since its establishment, the consortium has five members: PK, ID, LBBT, BPR PAN BNK and CU PK. AMA Kalbar, CU Keling Kumang, YBSD and Yayasan Hatan Tiring in Central Kalimantan later joined in. The consortium has the obligation to monitor the programs and policies of its members so that they are in line with the vision of the consortium, not against it. The consortium would cancel the membership of a member institution if it violates the vision. And when it happened, the expelled member could no longer access various services provided by the consortium.

In the future, the consortium hopefully could manage various welfare programs, which are now still handled by PK such as the Dayak Solidarity Fund, Health Insurance, Scholarship Program and Pension Plan. Up to present time, the consortium is still limited to become the forum where various policies concerning these programs are taken. Consortium is also the forum where various members' programs are coordinated so that they inter link to each other in their implementation.

The role of PK in developing the NGO movement in Kalimantan and even in Indonesia is quite significant. At the West Kalimantan level, PK co-founded the establishment of the Consortium for Empowerment of Dayak Peoples (KPMD). On a Kalimantan level, PK was involved in the establishment of Dayak Dynamic Network (JDD) and Kalimantan Human Rights Network (JAHAMKA). PK also co-founded the Borneo Indigenous Peoples Networking Program (BIPNP) that links NGOs working for Dayak peoples in Indonesian Kalimantan and Malaysian Borneo. While at the national level, PK co-founded the Network for the Advocacy of Indigenous Peoples' Rights (JAPHAMA), the Consortium for Supporting Community-Based Forest System Management (KPSHK) and leading the Participatory Mapping Network (JKPP) in which Kristianus Atok (the Director of PK's Participatory Mapping Project) is the President of the network.

In the political arena, PK facilitated the establishment of West Kalimantan Indigenous Peoples Alliance (AMA Kalbar). AMA members are *adat* chiefs that represent Dayak from all over West Kalimantan. With other indigenous peoples from all over Indonesia, AMA Kalbar established AMAN or the Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago. The first congress of AMAN was held in Jakarta in April 1999 as the first gathering of indigenous peoples from all over Indonesia in history. AMA Kalbar has also initiated a plan to establish a political party for indigenous peoples in Indonesia to accommodate the indigenous peoples' interests and to struggle for their rights through political channel.

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