



Fair enough?

***Women, men, communities
and ecological justice in Indonesia***

***DTE Special Edition Newsletter
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No, not fair enough...

"If women are given the space to participate actively, they can analyse the social, economic, cultural and political problems they experience and come up with recommendations that are clear and strong"

(Poso Women's Congress Press Release, March 2014)

This statement from the Poso, Sulawesi, captures the aspiration of women in one region of Indonesia to participate fully in the life of their community and country. They, along with tens of millions of women across the archipelago, face the obstacle of gender injustice in addition to the multiple social, economic, and cultural barriers faced by their communities as a whole.

Challenging gender injustice is not just about empowering women, but recognising the imbalances between the roles society assigns to men and women and the imbalance of power, recognition of rights, prosperity, health, education and opportunity this brings with it.

It isn't just about Indonesia either, but in a globalised world, gender injustice is globalised too. For example, a British-based coal mining company (whose board is run mostly by men) invests in a coal-mining project in Kalimantan. It fails to take into account the impact its activities will have on the lives of women in the project area; it doesn't even have any language about

women or gender in its community relations policies; it negotiates the contract with the male-dominated authorities in Indonesia, and its environmental impact assessment ticks its boxes by holding a couple of village meetings attended almost exclusively by men. The coal is extracted by men (who are paid for their labour). Where are the women in all of this? Women in consumer countries benefit from the electricity generated by the coal, but the local women may lose some or all of the following: their lands and livelihoods, their homes, their clean water supply, their health, and the cohesion of their community.

This newsletter hopes to add to the momentum for tackling gender injustice. Focusing on rights to land and natural resources, we bring together accounts of the deep injustices faced by women in their gender roles, as well as news of how gender injustice is being tackled. We had also hoped to publish stories about how gender injustice affects men, but we found hardly any work that has been done on this - certainly a gap that needs addressing.

We start with an overview, and a run-through of the basic concepts and then make room for just a few of the many, varied voices speaking about gender injustice in Indonesia. We are deeply grateful to our contributors for sharing their words, time and efforts and hope the readers of our 100th edition, feel inspired to support the campaign for gender justice!

"...gender justice can be defined as the ending of – and if necessary the provision of redress for – inequalities between women and men that result in women's subordination to men..."

(Anne-Marie Goetz, in *Gender Justice, Citizenship and Development*, Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay and Navsharan Singh Eds, Zubaan 2007)



Solidaritas Perempuan protest (Photo: SP)

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Women river market traders, South Kalimantan (DTE)
Front cover: woman in boat, Paya Rumbai, Riau, Sumatra

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The need for gender justice

What is the state of gender justice in Indonesia? How does it relate to communities and their natural resources management systems? What happens to gender justice when investors move in? What about climate change and the efforts to mitigate and adapt to it? In this introductory article we set out some of the challenges to gender justice in Indonesia today.

Women and men interact with the environment and manage natural resources differently. In some communities these differences may be more marked than in others - ongoing research is showing complex patterns of resources management and gender influences.¹ According to the World Bank, women in forest communities derive half of their income from forests, while men derive only about a third; meanwhile CIFOR's Poverty and Environment Network (PEN) has found that men's activities are more likely to generate an income, whereas women are more involved in subsistence activities.²

Women in rural Indonesia, as contributors to this newsletter show, are often positioned as food providers by their traditional gender roles, as well as being mostly responsible for caring for the children and maintaining the household. Men are often perceived or described as the main job-holder (where jobs are available) and commonly are more likely to play a leading role in decision-making over natural resources. Women in rural areas may cultivate food crops on their land,³ as well as gather different food items, medicines and other daily necessities from forests (or a combination of both in agroforestry systems). They may be involved both in the subsistence as well as the wider economy, providing food for their families plus additional cash income. Their roles may also require them to safeguard cultural knowledge, ensure the sustainability of community life and make decisions about social affairs in their communities.⁴

These highly variable, often fluid and continually evolving divisions in roles and responsibilities between men and women do not necessarily imply gender injustice. As pointed out by Sawit Watch and Solidaritas Perempuan (Women's Solidarity for Human Rights) in their book about women and oil palm plantations, such division is not an issue "as long as it doesn't cause injustice."

"For example in traditional Javanese agriculture, men hoe and women harvest using 'ani-ani'; in domestic living, women use knives to cook and men use machetes to cut wood. This becomes a problem when the roles and responsibilities are restricting women's rights to access and control. For example women are not involved in decision-



A woman oil palm plantation labourer spreads fertiliser - chemical health hazards are more of a threat to women than men due to the different gender roles on plantations. (DTE)

making, both in the household or the village realm because the decision making is done by the men as head of the household, and village meetings are only attended by the men as the head of the household." (The Oil Palm Plantation System Weakens the Position of Women, Sawit Watch and Women's Solidarity for Human Rights, November 2010.)

Indeed decision-making about control over land and resources is often not a feature of women's traditional gender roles

in rural Indonesia. This means that the importance of women's roles and resources to the sustainability of the life of community may be downplayed or even ignored altogether when communities' lands and resources are taken over for commercial production. As a result, women may well end up worse off than men.⁶

"In the community, grassroots women are the ones that are most often ignored, not listened to, and considered unimportant. However, grassroots women are the ones that maintain the social, cultural, economic and political life in the community." (Poso Women's Congress, Press Release, 2014)

Basic gender data

The achievement of gender equity in Indonesia is patchy and variable across an archipelago which is culturally and religiously extremely diverse.

- ♦ On the UNDP's Gender Inequality Index, Indonesia ranked 100 out of 146 countries (2011).⁷
- ♦ According to ADB figures, the average annual income for women was US\$2,289 compared to US\$4,434 for men (2003).
- ♦ The literacy rate for women is 89.6%, and for men 95.6%, and women have fewer years of schooling than men (6.5 years for women, and 7.6 years for men).⁸

When the investors arrive...

There are also gender differences in the experiences of environmental degradation when large-scale natural resources exploitation is established in area previously controlled or accessed by local communities. This is happening in areas affected by the rapid expansion of coal-mining in Kalimantan, for example, and the advance of large-scale oil palm plantations in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, Papua and other parts of Indonesia. These experiences centre around

loss of livelihood, water and food security associated with the changing use of lands. Here, women in their domestic provider roles may feel the loss of resources more directly than men. These losses are compounded by new negative impacts: pollution of water used for cooking, washing and drinking, for example; pollution of remaining farmland; and threats to health from air pollution.

In forest areas, where formal control and ownership rests in the hands of the state, the loss of control over land, trees and other assets are devastating for men, women and whole communities, when investment moves in. As noted by CIFOR in a gender analysis of its international forestry research, where such assets are owned by women, the position of women is

strengthened in households and in communities and provides them with incentives to sustainably manage their resources. "However, a narrow focus on ownership overlooks women's access to, and use of, these resources. While understanding customary laws and de facto rights are important, much more focus needs to be paid to 'in-between' spaces that women have access to; spaces that are between men's crops, trees, or on degraded land where women can collect fuel wood or wild foods."⁹ CIFOR notes that there are "huge benefits" in engaging both men and women in forest management policies, and that involving women in forest-related decision-making at the community level has been shown to have beneficial effects on a range of forest

management issues, including the capacity of community groups to manage conflict.

"In many forests and countries,...greater gender equity is one of the keys to sustainable forest management." (CIFOR CGIAR Factsheet, Gender analysis in forestry research)

In Indonesia, Sajogyo Institute researchers Mia Siscawati and Avi Mahaningtyas have called for gender justice principles and actions to be incorporated in the reformulation of the legal framework for forest lands and resources and systematic capacity building on gender justice and forest tenure and governance among government institutions, civil society organisations and donor agencies.¹⁰

Indonesian women and oil palm plantations

- ♦ Indonesia plans a significant expansion of oil palm plantations from around 11 million hectares today to up to 20 million hectares by 2020. Tanah Papua is among the frontier target areas for developing new plantations (see previous articles about the MIFEE project¹¹ for example, plus separate article in this issue about East Arso, on page 10). Oil palm expansion is linked to the demand for biofuels in Europe,¹² the international trade in palm oil and other palm products, as well as domestic energy and cooking oil markets. The expansion of plantations into forest and peatlands is a major trigger of land conflicts as well as a source of alarming levels of carbon emissions.

- ♦ According to Indonesia's Ministry of Women's Empowerment, the impact of oil palm plantations on rural women can include: loss of land ownership, an increase in time and effort to carry out domestic chores through loss of access to clean and adequate water and fuelwood; an increase in medical costs due to loss of access to medicinal plants obtained from gardens and forests; loss of food and income from home gardens and cropping areas; loss of indigenous knowledge and socio-cultural systems; and an increase in domestic violence against women and children due to increased social and economic stresses.¹³

- ♦ Work in oil palm plantations is hard for both men and women, though different. It is not uncommon that women help their husbands in the plantations to meet demanding production quotas, and are expected to do this unpaid. Apart from that, women have to take care of the children, provide and prepare the food and collect firewood and water, which may now be located at a greater distance due to destruction of the forest to make way for the oil palm plantations. In cases where women work on a hired basis, they often receive

lower wages than men. Such wage discrimination is justified by claims that their work is less arduous than that of men.

- ♦ Women heads of households may be excluded from joining oil palm schemes offered when community lands are taken over, because only male heads of households may be recognised by them.

- ♦ Often the work undertaken by women is more dangerous in terms of health impacts, eg. spraying pesticides and herbicides. These can be washed by heavy rainfall into streams and rivers which provide the only source of water for all household needs - including drinking - for villages around the plantations.

- ♦ The establishment of oil palm plantations and their attendant time-consuming work regimes can lead to more limited opportunities for women to meet and engage with other women (women's cultural space), given that they still need to complete their domestic/reproductive work in a shorter amount of time.

- ♦ A study by Sawit Watch and Solidaritas Perempuan illustrating how the oil palm industry affects rural women found that oil palm plantations amplify the injustices experienced by women. *The Oil Palm Plantation System Weakens the Position of Women* includes the results of field research in East Kalimantan and Central Sulawesi, where gender-related problems included longer working hours, health and safety, impact on children, denial of right to information, loss of land tenure, unequal pay and erosion of women's culture. It traces the inception of palm oil development, and describes the systematic discrimination against women inherent in the transmigration programme (the notorious state-sponsored project which shifted millions of villagers from Java, Madura and Bali to less densely populated 'Outer Islands', and which supplied labour for agricultural schemes including oil palm plantations).¹⁴

- ♦ Julia and Ben White's 2011 study, *The gendered politics of dispossession: oil palm expansion in a Dayak Hibun community in West Kalimantan, Indonesia*, found that the expanding plantation and contract farming system undermined the position and livelihoods of indigenous women in an already patriarchal community. Women's rights to land were eroded and they were becoming a class of plantation labour.¹⁵

- ♦ In 2014, activists from eastern Indonesia gathered in South Sulawesi, where they issued the Makassar Declaration, setting out the problems of women and children facing large-scale oil palm development and calling for their human rights to be upheld.¹⁶

- ♦ The Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO), the industry-dominated body that sets standards and certifies 'sustainable' palm oil, pays some attention to gender justice in its principles and criteria. These are accessible on its website, though there is hardly any readily accessible information about how gender-related principles and criteria are being implemented by RSPO members. In its Principles and Criteria document, the RSPO prohibits any form of discrimination based on gender (6.8), and they include language on harassment or abuse in the workplace, and the protection of women's reproductive rights (6.9).

The indicators for the Principles and Criteria refer to the need to take into account gender differences when assessing impacts on local communities, and in the power to claim rights when calculating compensation for legal, customary or user rights. They also include policies to prevent sexual and other forms of harassment and violence and to protect reproductive rights, especially of women; and stipulate that pregnant and breastfeeding women should not work with pesticides.¹⁷



Traditional weaving by indigenous woman, Tana Ai (AMAN/DTE)

Rural women and land ownership

More than twenty two million households were engaged in agriculture in Indonesia in 2003, of which 20% were female headed.¹⁸ In rural areas, women play an important role in agriculture, rural development and forest use/management, yet have little involvement in decision-making. Land ownership patterns also tend to disadvantage women: Article 35 of the marriage law (1974) provides for joint ownership of property, but most property is still registered in the name of the husband.

From 2000, government policy on agriculture introduced a gender perspective, and the Ministry of Agriculture is one institution where gender budgeting is being piloted. However, it is generally thought that the government commitment to improving the lot of rural women deteriorated between the development plans of 2004-9 and 2010-14.

The 2012 National legislation programme introduced draft laws relating to rural women, but the Ministry for Women's Empowerment and Protection of children was not involved in discussing them.

Gendered jobs

There may be worse consequences for women than men when companies recruiting workers for the incoming investment further complicate and overlay the existing gender division of labour. In mining and other extractive industries projects, there are rarely any direct jobs for women at all, whereas in plantations, the women's jobs, where these are available, tend to be lower paid, less secure and more hazardous. (Companies often boast that they are creating jobs for a community, quoting impressive numbers of posts, but they don't make clear, if they calculate them at all, existing occupations, paid or unpaid that are obliterated by the changes they introduce.)

At the same time, traditional gender roles persist, so that women still struggle to provide food and care for the family in a degraded environment, where all or almost all of the resources have disappeared.

"Women, who are traditionally responsible for gathering food for the family, now have to leave their children and husbands from dawn until dusk in order to find forests where they can gather enough roots, sago, and vegetables to last a few days..It creates problems inside of the family. The men are angry and the children are left alone all

day" said one local woman.'

(Conflict in Indonesia's Papua region, GOHONG 28/Mar/2014 (IRIN))

In the case of plantation workers, there is an expectation that they should combine both the domestic/reproductive work as well as contribute long hours on the plantations. Research has found that the limitation of opportunities from land-based livelihoods can diminish women's status within the family and society whilst simultaneously increasing their work burdens. In some instances, the swift changes brought about by incoming investment projects are linked to an increase in sexual harassment and/or violence against women.

Gender sensitive Free Prior and Informed Consent

Gender sensitive FPIC involves ensuring the both men and women obtain full information about a project, or programme affecting them; that consultation meetings are organized in ways suitable for women's schedules, they use appropriate terminology and allow enough time and opportunity for discussion. Crucially, women should have the right to withhold their consent for projects or programmes affecting their communities.¹⁹

Climate change

"Climate change will not only endanger lives and undermine livelihoods, it will also exacerbate the gap between rich and poor and amplify the inequities between women and men" ('Women and the climate change', Lynda K. Wardhani, *Jakarta Post*, 5/January/2010²⁰).

The impacts of climate change affect women and men differently as do interventions around climate change mitigation and adaptation. Globally, women are the main producers of staple crops, so when food production suffers in changing climate conditions, their work, working time, and ability to feed their families is affected. If rural women depend on forests for more of their income than do the men in their communities, it follows that any negative impact on the availability of forest resources linked to climate change, will also affect women more.

As described by Lynda Wardhani in 2010, women are more vulnerable to climate change too, because they tend to have less income-earning opportunities than men. They manage households and care for their families, which may limit their mobility and increase their vulnerability to sudden weather-related natural disasters.

"Drought and erratic rainfall force women to work harder to secure food, water and

Political representation in Indonesia

The issue of representation is addressed in the legal system by a 30% reservation quota established for women on the election lists of parliamentary parties in Law No. 10/2008 on legislative elections. According to the General Elections Commission (KPU), of the 6,607 candidates competing for the 560 national parliamentary seats in this year's elections, 37% or 2,467, were women.

However, when compared to the percentage of candidates, the number of women actually making it into the national parliament (DPR) is low. Women filled just 94 of the 560 seats in the newly elected national parliament, the DPR, meaning women's representation is just 16.8% - less than half the percentage that stood. This puts Indonesia in 90th place on the list of countries compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union.²⁹

Moreover, there are fewer women in the new parliament than in the previous one. The highest percentage in Indonesian history of female lawmakers taking up parliamentary seats - 18 percent - was seen in the 2009 elections.

*energy for their homes. Girls drop out of school to help their mothers with these tasks. Such a cycle of deprivation, poverty and inequality undermines the social capital needed to deal effectively with climate change.*²¹

Moreover, as climate change means more extreme weather and associated disasters like floods, landslides and droughts, there is a likelihood that women will bear a disproportionate impact here too: studies show that women are more vulnerable to disasters than men in societies that are already inequitable. This is true both in terms of a disproportionate number of deaths of women compared to men in disasters, but also in terms of their living conditions and vulnerability after the disasters.²²

Women's active involvement in managing forests and other natural resources mean that they should be considered key actors in mitigation and adaptation efforts²³ including the management and use of mitigation and adaptation funding.

Safeguards to counter-act the further marginalisation are needed in all climate change mitigation and adaptation policies, programmes and initiatives, including finance, through funding mechanisms such as the Green Climate Fund, but their development has been sluggish through the years of climate change negotiations. They only really achieved serious consideration in the Cancun Agreements of UNFCCC COP 16 in 2010. These Agreements recognize women and gender equality as integral to effective actions to mitigate and adapt to climate change. They include eight references

to women and gender across seven sections of text.²⁴

REDD+

Women are more likely to be disproportionately affected by REDD+ policies and initiatives because of their gender roles which mean they are often more dependent on forest access and resources for their livelihood and subsistence needs than are men.²⁵ Potential risks for women include restrictions on livelihood activities or forest access, which can lead to higher workloads or loss of income, and exclusions from benefit sharing mechanisms.²⁶

REDD+ initiatives in Indonesia have thus far failed to be sufficiently (if at all) inclusive of women and women have limited access to decision-making about projects planned in their area, or about policy-making on REDD at national or regional level. In a study of gender and REDD+, the UN-REDD Programme, for example, acknowledges that its Indonesia Programme was designed without any consultation of women's groups and gender experts, and that its National Programme Document failed to incorporate gender perspectives or include women-targeted activities - a shortcoming that was only addressed three years later. From 2012, the programme started involving 'women champions' in programme implementation and to inspire other women to be more actively engaged, as well as inserting gender as a topic in training for gender-responsive FPIC, and engaging women's organizations at local level. However, as its own document states, "these initiatives alone are insufficient. Efforts for gender mainstreaming should be more comprehensive and institutionalized."²⁷ The UNREDD study states that gender should be integrated into REDD+ based on two main arguments: rights (ie CEDAW, UNDRIP, Cancun Agreement) and efficiency - because engaging women in REDD+ is likely to increase the programme's efficiency and long-term sustainability.²⁸

Indonesia's own National REDD+ Strategy, and its PRISAI (Principles, Criteria and Indicators Safeguard) contain several references to gender and women, thanks in part to input from civil society groups (see also separate article, page 21). But according to the UN-REDD study, two important elements have not been included in the safeguards: women's secure control over forestlands and resources; and gender sensitive FPIC implementation (see box).

Gender Equality and Justice Bill

There is a Gender Equality and Justice Bill before parliament at the moment, but this has been held up by this year's elections. Mired in controversy about clauses which some religious groups say go against Islam and

Indonesian culture, the bill might end up weakened as a result of this, if it is passed at all. If it is not, work on a new one will have to start at the beginning of the next parliament. The proposed bill covers 12 areas including citizenship, education, employment, health and marriage. Provisions include equal rights for women and men to work in all sectors, equal pay for the same work, the right to determine the number and spacing of children, being able to choose husbands and wives without force, and fair treatment before the law.

The clauses on marriage are a particular bone of contention for some Islamist groups.³⁰

CEDAW

Indonesia signed the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1984 and ratified it through Law No.7 of that year. However, implementation has been piecemeal and weak. The definition of discrimination against women has not been included in the constitution, laws, and regulations.

Indonesia submitted its last report to CEDAW in 2012 and the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women met Indonesian government delegates to discuss this in July 2012. Here, Indonesian delegates highlighted, among other points, the country's National Action Plan on Human Rights for 2011-2014 which provided facilities for women to lodge complaints of violence and discrimination; a draft bill on gender equality; and gender mainstreaming at the national and local levels among legislators and policymakers. All of which, said the delegates, showed the considerable progress Indonesia was making in women's rights. However, the committee's questions to Indonesia were critical of the lack of progress, particularly on representation and quotas for women, human trafficking and migrant workers, decentralized laws that violate human rights conventions, violence against women and female genital mutilation (FGM) which is still legal in Indonesia.³¹

A number of shadow reports from civil society organisations submitted to the Committee, included one by Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia (KPI) focusing on the rights of rural women,³² as well as a combined report by leading women's organizations in Indonesia.³³ Concerns in this report include women in rural areas, coastal areas, mining, palm oil plantations, and climate change.

This year, 2014, the government signalled its intention to ratify CEDAW's optional protocol, but at the time of writing this had not gone ahead.

National Gender Laws & Regulations in Indonesia - a selection

The state has gender mainstreaming policies in a number of ministries and a gender equality law is under discussion. However few national and even fewer local laws have been harmonised with CEDAW. Implementation of laws and policies to improve women's equality is uneven and in some parts of the archipelago, particularly areas where there is enforcement of sharia law, women are finding that their freedoms are becoming more restricted rather than less.

- ♦ 2000 - Presidential instruction on Gender Mainstreaming
- ♦ 2004 - Law on elimination of Domestic Violence
- ♦ 2004 - Law on placement and protection of Indonesia's migrant workers (39/2004)
- ♦ 2008 - Ministry of Home Affairs Reg. 15/2008 on Guidelines for implementation of mainstreaming gender in the regions issued.
- ♦ Decree 84/2008 gives guidelines on implementation of gender mainstreaming in the education sector.
- ♦ Since 2009 gender budgeting has been conducted in seven ministries
- ♦ Gender Equality and Justice Law (RUU KPG) - in draft: there are fears it won't be passed during this legislative period.³⁷
- ♦ Laws in 2011 and 12 requiring political parties to have a 30% quota for women on their central and regional executives and electoral slates.
- ♦ According to Komnas Perempuan, there are 342 regional regulations that discriminate against women (2013).³⁸

National Machinery

- ♦ 1978 - State ministry for Women's Empowerment established - now called State Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection
- ♦ Main role to further gender mainstreaming, the improvement of women's lives, women's protection, child protection and community empowerment.
- ♦ It has been criticised for being insufficiently visible and lacking in decision-making power and financial and human resources.
- ♦ SMWC developed a national development master plan for women's Empowerment (RIPNAS 2000/2004) and the Development Policy On Improvement of Women's Lives 2010-2014 that is aimed at enhancing women's status in education, health, economic activities, political participation and society and culture.
- ♦ The National Commission on Violence Against Women, known as Komnas Perempuan, was established in 1998 and promotes the elimination of violence against women.

Gender based violence

Violence against women (VAW) remains a persistent problem in Indonesia and absorbs much media attention. A total of 54,425 cases of violence against women were reported to the National Commission on VAW (*Komnas Perempuan*) in 2008. Ninety percent of these involved husbands/personal relationships.

Polygamy and early marriage are still issues in Indonesia, and in some parts of the country, violence against women is institutionalized. Here, there is also flagrant abuse of women's rights on inheritance, dress and public participation. Although a 2007 law was introduced to address it, trafficking is also a problem, as is violence against women migrant workers (particularly domestic workers) (see box, page 21).

Violence against women (and children) in Papua has caused heightened concern, due to the high level of reported incidents there. In 2011, the Asian Human Rights Commission said indigenous Papuan women reported high rates of domestic violence, perpetrated by husbands and partners, with little protection from police or state agencies.³⁴ According to Komnas Perempuan, Papua province recorded 1,360 cases of gender-based violence per 10,000 women in 2012, though reporting levels are believed to be low in Papua. Alcohol is widely recognized as a contributory factor in domestic violence here (see also separate article, page 10).

Tanah Papua (which includes Papua and Papua Barat provinces) is a resource-rich region, but the years of political, cultural repression and resource-grabbing plus military and police-perpetrated violence

against indigenous Papuans in the territory, have contributed to its human development rankings being among the lowest. The adult literacy rate is only 64% here, and, on average, pupils attend less than six years of formal schooling.³⁵ The state security forces have also been responsible for acts of violence, including sexual violence against women in this province. Cases of violations have been documented by publications such as *Enough is Enough*, based on the testimonies of women victims themselves,³⁶ as well as Papuan campaigners such as Yosepha Alomang.



Papuan women participants at community workshop, Bintuni, 2012 (DTE)

The Deputy chair of the Papuan People's Council (MRP), Angelbertha Kotorok, described the gender-based violence and economic oppression faced by women trying to provide for their families in Mimika, location of the giant Freeport-Rio Tinto copper and gold mine:

"Besides the daily work in their gardens and the panning for gold, women have to face violence from their husbands, as well as acts of violence from members of the security forces... They also face pressure from the security forces who demand from them money earned from panning gold. And moreover, they are forced to sell the results of their gold panning to members of the security forces for a very low price." (*Bintang Papua*, 3 January 2012, abridged in translation by TAPOL)

Men's changing gender roles

Economic and social change in Indonesian society over the past three to four decades has also led to changes to men's traditional gender roles. It is not a simple matter of men's decision-making power diminishing commensurately with the increase of women's. Sometimes everybody's roles mutate when there are dramatic changes to economic and agrarian production. And we should not make assumptions as to their attitudes to those changes, which also vary.

How are Indonesian CSOs addressing the issue of men and gender justice? Gender considerations can often come across as an outside imposition, or, in the case of foreign-funded development initiatives, as a box-ticking exercise rather than a transformational project. This might be observed particularly on the part of CSOs

that don't directly deal with gender issues, but who may, either voluntarily or less than voluntarily adopt gender policies/incorporate gender perspectives into their work. This is something that Solidaritas Perempuan for example, has witnessed in its work on gender and natural resources.

Assumptions challenged

Recent research by the Poverty and Environment Network (PEN) led by CIFOR, has questioned assumptions about the relative roles of men and women in forest management. A global study found that, against expectations, men played an important subsistence role in the households studied. The study found that in Africa, as previously assumed, women do tend to play a stronger subsistence role, but in Southeast Asia men and women tend to share more responsibilities in forest management and agricultural production.

"For a complete picture of the dependency of any rural society on natural resources, it's not enough to consider the role of men or women. We need both," said Victoria Reyes-Garcia, co-author of the report.³⁹

In preparing this newsletter, DTE came across very few references to men being engaged in gender justice programmes. One of these is the Feminist School, run by the National Network for Women's Liberation (JNPM), since 2008. The schools are attended by women, but also by men (at the first school there were 67 men to 101 women and 1 transgender). It also counts six men among its 149 members.⁴⁰ Solidaritas Perempuan and Jurnal Perempuan also have active male members.

Ultimately, gender justice needs to be presented and understood as a powerful tool for the whole community. When women are empowered, the whole community gains. Men who acknowledge and act to address gender injustice recognise that they, their families and communities will gain from women being better able to contribute their wisdom and insights to decision-making processes. Working towards gender justice means supporting all community members - no matter whether they are male or female - to develop their full potential according to their skills and talents, within and beyond traditional gender roles. It frees up the potential of the individuals, families and communities to better face the many social, economic and environmental challenges ahead.

International Instruments

- ♦ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979)
- ♦ Vienna Declaration 1993
- ♦ Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995)
- ♦ Millennium Development Goals (2001)
- ♦ UN GA Resolution 1325
- ♦ UNDRIP (Indigenous women)
- ♦ Cancun Agreement (women and climate change)

Notes:

1. See recent challenges to assumptions about gender roles in forest management for example, by Poverty and Environment Network, CIFOR. 'Study paints nuanced picture of gender roles in forestry, 28/April/2014.
2. CIFOR CGIAR Factsheet, *Gender analysis in forestry research*
3. Women seldom hold formal title to land, though Indonesian law does provide for this. Moreover, indigenous peoples' customary land in forest areas claimed by the state as the state forest zone has denied millions of people formal recognition of their tenurial rights, whether communally held or individually held by men or women. This should change following the ruling by Indonesia's Constitutional Court in May 2013 that customary forests are not part of state forests, but the process of recognising customary land is likely to be slow-paced. See 'Forestry Ministry reluctant to relinquish control over forests', DTE 98, March 2014, <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/forestry-ministry-reluctant-relinquish-control-over-forests>.
4. See 'Indigenous Women's workshop at AMAN Congress', DTE 74, August 2007. <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/indigenous-womens-workshop-aman-congress>.
5. A specialist grain harvesting tool
6. Studies have found that enhanced women's participation in decision-making committees in community forest institutions has been shown to improve forest governance and resource sustainability. See CIFOR CGIAR Factsheet, *Gender analysis in forestry research*.
7. UNDP. 2011. *Human Development Report 2011: Sustainability and Equity: a better future for all*. UNDP: New York, quoted in *Integrating gender into REDD+ safeguards implementation in Indonesia*, UNREDD Programme, November 2012.
8. ADB. 2006. *Indonesia Country Gender Assessment*, quoted in *Integrating gender into REDD+ safeguards implementation in Indonesia*, UNREDD Programme, November 2012.
9. CIFOR CGIAR Factsheet, *Gender analysis in forestry research*.
10. See DTE 93-94, December 2012, The Struggle for Land, <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/dte-newsletter-93-94-full-edition-download>. See also Mia Siscawati's contribution to this newsletter.
11. See <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/campaign/miffee>
12. See DTE 96-97, Special issue on agrofuels, <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/dte-newsletter-96-97-full-edition-download>, and DTE agrofuels campaign page, <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/campaign/agrofuels-and-oil-palm-plantations>.
13. Indonesian Ministry of Women's Empowerment, summarized by FPP, CIRAD and ILC, and quoted in 'Policies and practice: favouring big business over communities', DTE 93-94, December 2012, <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/policies-and-practice-favouring-big-business-over-communities>
14. *The Oil Palm Plantation System Weakens the Position of Women*, Sawit Watch and Women's Solidarity for Human Rights, November 2010. For more information on the transmigration programme, see DTE Special Report: *Indonesia's Transmigration Programme: an Update*. <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/indonesia-s-transmigration-programme-update>
15. *The gendered politics of dispossession: oil palm expansion in a Dayak Hibun community in West Kalimantan, Indonesia*, by Julia and Ben White. Paper presented at the International Conference on Global Land Grabbing, 6-8 April 2011.
16. Sawit Watch, 14/May/2014, *Deklarasi Makasar, Meneguhkan Keadilan dan Kearifan Posisi Perempuan dalam Pengelolaan Kekayaan Alam*. <http://sawitwatch.or.id/2014/05/deklarasi-makasar-meneguhkan-keadilan-dan-kearifan-posisi-perempuan-dalam-pengelolaan-kekayaan-alam/>
17. *RSPO Principles and Criteria for the production of sustainable palm oil 2013*. http://www.rspo.org/file/RSPO%20P&C2013_wi%20Major%20Indicators_Endorsed%20by%20BOG_FINAL_A5_25thApril2014.pdf
18. JICA Indonesia Country Gender Profile 2011 p25
19. See: *Integrating gender into REDD+ safeguards implementation in Indonesia*, UNREDD Programme, November 2012.
20. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/01/05/women-and-climate-change.html> accessed August 13th, 2014
21. 'Women and the climate change', Lynda K. Wardhani, *Jakarta Post*, 5/January/2010.
22. 'Women and the climate change', Lynda K. Wardhani, *Jakarta Post*, 5/January/2010. This article mentions the rape and trafficking of women survivors of the Aceh tsunami, and vulnerability to trafficking of women displaced by the Lapindo mudflow disaster. See also DTE 64. March 2005 for more on the gender dimensions of the Aceh tsunami.
23. See also 'The indigenous women's Meeting - a personal perspective, DTE 91-92, May 2012.

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Gender and development: basic concepts

Gender is a complex variable that is a part of social, cultural, economic and political contexts. It is also relevant for the work of civil society movements. **Gender** refers to socially constructed differences between men and women, whereas **Sex** refers to biological differences between men and women. Being socially constructed, gender differences vary depending on age, marital status, religion, ethnicity, culture, race, class/caste and so on. Sexual differences vary little across these variables.

Development analysts have recognized now for several decades the need to ensure that gender is examined and integrated into development projects. In integrating gender into development, practitioners are responding to the priority needs of women and men, and being aware of what benefits or adverse effects could impact either.

Why is Gender Relevant for Development?

In taking account of gender, development practitioners and social movement activists are looking at disparities that exist in male

and female rights, responsibilities, access to and control over resources, and voice at household, community and national levels. Men and women often have different priorities, constraints and preferences with respect to development and can contribute to, and be affected differently by, development projects and campaigning interventions. To enhance effectiveness, these considerations must be addressed in all program and campaign design and interventions. If such considerations are not addressed thoughtfully and adequately, these interventions can lead not only to inefficient and unsustainable results, but may also exacerbate existing inequities. Understanding gender issues can enable projects to take account of these and build in capacity to deal with inequitable impacts and to ensure sustainability.

When we talk about Gender Equality, we are referring to a combination of legal equality and equal opportunities including opportunities to speak out. More often, this is about making better opportunities in all of these areas for women.

Women's rights are protected by many international instruments and laws. The best known is probably the Convention for

Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979) - a UN Treaty adopted by the General Assembly in 1979 and signed initially by 64 states in July the following year. An optional protocol was later developed setting out a mechanism by which states would be held accountable to the treaty. There have been subsequent international declarations and pledges which have been used as bench marks to measure progress in relation to specific women's issues. These include the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), and the Millennium Development Goals (2001) which include gender considerations in almost half of the clauses. The MDGs have been mutually reinforcing; progress toward one goal affects progress toward the others. But, the third goal addresses gender equality specifically. The successor Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) due to be adopted in 2015 as part of a broad Sustainable Development Agenda, include achieving 'gender equality and empower all women and girls' as the proposed Goal 5.

Historical trends in integrating gender into development

An early approach involved targeting women by project design and interventions which focused on women as a separate group. This

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24. See <http://www.wedo.org/library/cancun-climate-agreements-taking-great-strides-for-women%E2%80%99s-rights-and-gender-equality>.
25. *Integrating gender into REDD+ safeguards implementation in Indonesia*, UNREDD Programme, November 2012. This document argues that REDD+ has the potential to reduce gender disparity by providing ways in which women gain more secure tenure to forestlands and resources, but also points to the potential disproportionate negative impacts on women.
26. CIFOR CGIAR Factsheet, *Gender analysis in forestry research*.
27. *Integrating gender into REDD+ safeguards implementation in Indonesia*, UNREDD Programme, November 2012.
28. *Integrating gender into REDD+ safeguards implementation in Indonesia*, UNREDD Programme, November 2012.
29. See <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> accessed 12 August 2014. For comparison, the percentage of women members of the European Parliament (MEPs) after the 2014 elections was 36.7%; in the UK women make up 22% of MPs and in Germany, 33% of MPs are women. Sources: 'Left parties win gender parity contest in new EU Parliament', *Euractiv*, <http://www.euractiv.com/sections/future-eu/left-parties-win-gender-parity-contest-new-eu-parliament-302608>, accessed 12/08/2014, and

'First MEP for a feminist party likely to win seat in European elections', *The Guardian* 21/May/2014.

30. The diversity of Indonesia's Islamic organisations and communities and their attitudes towards gender relations is discussed in 'Islam and Gender Relations in Indonesia, with a Special Focus on Eastern Indonesia' Kathryn Robinson in *Intersection: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*, Issue 30, November 2012. http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue30/robinson_intro.htm, accessed 19th August 2014.
31. CEDAW/C/SR.1043, 5 December 2012
32. See *Report of Independent NGO Implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) In Indonesia, Fulfilment of the Rights of Rural Women, Article 14, CEDAW*, http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/ngos/KoalisiPerempuanIndonesia_for_the_session.pdf, accessed 19 August 2014.
33. CEDAW Working Group of Indonesia, *Independent Report of Non-Government Organizations Concerning the Implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women in Indonesia*, 2012.
34. 'Tackling domestic violence in Indonesia's Papua Province', *IRIN*, 13/December/2013.
35. 'Tackling domestic violence in Indonesia's Papua Province', *IRIN*, 13/December/2013.
36. See 'Violence against Papuan women - the

- resource extraction link' in DTE 91-92, May 2012. <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/violence-against-papuan-women-resource-extraction-link>, and *Enough is Enough!*, ICTJ, the Women Commission, and the Women Working Group of Papuan People Assembly <http://ictj.org/publication/enough-enough-testimonies-papuan-women-victims-violence-and-human-rights-violations> for the full document.
37. See 'Time running out for Indonesia's stalled gender equality bill', 8 April 2014, *Thomson Reuters Foundation*, <http://protectionline.org/2014/04/08/time-running-out-for-indonesias-stalled-gender-equality-bill/>, accessed 19th August 2014.
 38. 'Komnas Perempuan: Ada 342 Perda Diskriminatif di Indonesia', *Voice of America Bahasa Indonesia*, <http://www.voaindonesia.com/content/komnas-perempuan-ada-342-perda-diskriminatif-di-indonesia/1736465.html>, accessed 19th August 2014
 39. Poverty and Environment Network, CIFOR. 'Study paints nuanced picture of gender roles in forestry', 28/April/2014.
 40. 'Feminist School for Young People and Developing New Facilitator of Feminism 2013-2015', at <https://hivos.org/activity/feminist-school-young-people-and-developing-new-facilitator-feminism-2013-2015>. Accessed 13/August/2014 ♦

was commonly referred to as WID (Women in Development). Critics of this approach pointed out that this did not address men, and a later model usually referred to as GAD (Gender and Development) concentrated more on project design and interventions that were focused on a development process that transforms gender relations. This aimed to enable women to participate on an equal basis with men in determining their common future. The Gender Equality approach is therefore about men and women and is thus a more comprehensive approach to analysis and design of development interventions because it takes into account the situation and needs of both men and women. It aims to involve both women and men in addressing their development problems, to reform institutions to establish equal rights and opportunities, and to foster economic development which strengthens equal participation. Such an approach aims to redress persistent disparities in access to resources and the ability to speak out.

Masculinities

It has also been recognised by specialists and activists in this field that the behaviour of men needs to be addressed in the context of gender work. Unless men challenge themselves as to the ways in which their own behaviour, attitudes and upbringing perpetuates gender inequality, gender injustice and gender violence,¹ nothing will change. For more than two decades now, a growing number of programmes addressing these issues have been developed in various parts of the world and the learning shared and adapted to new contexts. Among the most well known have been the programmes of Puntos de Encuentro and Cantera in

Nicaragua, and its programmes on male behaviour change. Another example, Stepping Stones, a small group intervention using participatory learning to help improve sexual health, began in Uganda but was adapted for different countries across sub Saharan Africa including Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia, as well as for the Philippines. Its community training package "aims to encourage communities to question and rectify the gender inequalities that contribute to HIV/AIDS, gender based violence and other issues" and again focussed on behaviour change.²

Gender and social movements

Throughout the globe people are organising both to challenge and end gender injustice in all areas of our social, economic, political, and cultural lives. To be successful, however, these struggles need to include and prioritise gender equality within their own organisational structures as well as being part of the analysis and methodology for change. This is a deeply political issue at a variety of levels. Although social movements are trying to address this, activists still come up against strong resistance to changing gendered politics and practices even within the contexts of movements and allied organisations. Nevertheless, when it comes to making an impact on transforming gender power relations, social movements are crucial.

Integrating gender perspectives into social movements and activism is not just about 'including' women or 'thinking about' men and gender minorities. It means considering what a gendered politics provides in terms of alternative ways of being, seeing

and doing that in themselves serve to transform patriarchal power relations. Women's rights and gender justice issues have been approached in a variety of ways by different social movements, but some common parameters can be outlined which facilitate a supportive environment for gender-just movement building. For example, affirming the importance of tackling gender inequality and patriarchal power as an integral component of justice and naming this as an explicit priority; engaging positively in internal reflection and action on women's rights and gender justice, providing support for women's leadership and participation in all aspects of social movements, tackling gender based violence and harassment. Ensuring equal role/rank distribution in organisational structures, making sure participation is equal, taking account of caring for family members, taking account of the fact that women may be targeted in retaliation by those in society who feel threatened by gender justice as a change to traditional roles.

Notes

1. See the Bridge Gender and Social movements website and this paper for a comprehensive overview: <http://eldis.org/vfile/upload/4/document/1304/Accountable%20grant%20GBV%20literature%20review%20final%20draft.pdf>
2. Evaluations have shown improved self reported behaviours and attitudes related to gender based violence. See Bott, S. Morrison, A. and Ellsberg, M. (2005) Preventing and responding to gender-based violence in middle and low income countries. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3618 http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer?WDSPIB/2005/06/28/000112742_20050628084339/Rendered/PDF/wps3618.pdf



Men and women working in rice fields in Sembalun, Lombok (AMAN/DTE)

Solidaritas Perempuan: Save the Earth, stop the commodification of nature!

This was the message to the candidates taking part in this year's Presidential elections, issued by Solidaritas Perempuan (Women's Solidarity for Human Rights) in its Earth Day press release, 22nd April 2014.

This slightly abridged version was translated by DTE.¹

To mark Earth Day, Solidaritas Perempuan is appealing to the Indonesian people to vote for a national leader who has the courage to take clear measures to stop the commodification of nature in Indonesia for global interests, and to restore sovereignty over natural resources management to the state, for the greatest possible prosperity of the people, women as well as men.

Solidaritas Perempuan appeals to the Indonesian people to choose a national leader who promotes respect for, the protection and fulfilment of the rights of women, including women's rights to manage natural resources, and who promotes gender justice.

Industrialisation in the name of development has had a huge impact on the environment: on water, minerals, land, living organisms, the atmosphere, the climate and life as a whole, including the lives of women. The growth of industry and the economy is directly proportional to the amount of environmental devastation and the depletion of natural resources to meet the needs of development and industrialisation. And the damage is done by mining companies, transnational or multinational corporations, which have set up in developing countries like Indonesia. The paradigm of pro-growth-orientated development through foreign investment is clearly not leading to improved conditions for the people of Indonesia. Instead, poverty is still very much in evidence throughout Indonesia. This is especially the case for women, whose lives are closely connected to land, water and forests, due to their gender roles, but who continue to be marginalised in their access to, and control over natural resources. When women's access to and control over natural resources is disrupted, then the sources of women's livelihood are disrupted too, and gender injustice becomes increasingly entrenched in this country.

In 2011, Indonesia's national leader, President SBY, put forward a programme that has the potential to increasingly commodify Indonesia's nature: the MP3EI (Masterplan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Economic Development in Indonesia). With this project, the land and nature of Indonesia will become commodities, parcelled up into 6 economic "corridors", focussing on, among other things, mining, oil and gas, plantations, agriculture and fisheries.



These investment projects will have an increasingly damaging impact on the environment, and on Indonesia's dwindling forests. They will mean the further entrenchment of poverty for the Indonesian people, and especially women. Before resolving land conflicts and human rights violations, the Indonesian government, with its commitment to reduce emissions, has commodified the country's forest wealth and has made Indonesia available as a field-test site for climate projects. While Indonesia commits to safeguard its forests through various initiatives, the emitting nations continue doing business as usual, and continue to justify their emissions by providing a small portion of their profits to fund mitigation projects in developing countries.

Every year, more and more Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) projects are being developed in Indonesia. These projects, ostensibly carried out to save the environment, are clearly not working out as planned. A variety of problems has emerged in the demonstration activities development stage, even before REDD+ gets to the implementation stage. The most notorious REDD+ failure project is the Kalimantan Forest and Climate Partnership, funded by Australia to the tune of 30 million Australian dollars. Rather than protecting the forest and repairing the damage to forest, this 120,000 hectare project, begun in 2010, has stagnated for more or less 4 years, causing conflicts with communities, and is not even capable of preventing forest fires in the project area. The communities, particularly the women, didn't get clear, correct or complete information about the project, and the restrictions to their access and control over forest management led to conflict.

The problems that arose with this project, have not discouraged the government from continuing to implement REDD+. In its press release of April 2nd, the REDD+ Management Agency (BP REDD+) said that 11 provinces were ready to implement REDD+, improving forest and peatland governance to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. However, those areas have histories, running up to the present day, of unresolved agrarian conflict. The more REDD+ implementation progresses, the more women will be marginalised, and the longer gender injustice will continue as long as there is no protection for women.

On this Earth Day and in the run-up to the Presidential Elections 2014, Solidaritas Perempuan again calls on candidates for the national leader to:

1. Ensure that women are protected in their management of natural resources;
2. Stop policies that threaten natural resources and the sources of women's livelihood;
3. Stop the expansion of mining and large scale plantations;
4. Settle agrarian conflict by promoting the protection of women's rights;
5. Carry out agrarian reform with gender justice;
6. Press industrial nations to take responsibility for reducing their emissions;
7. Prioritise climate funding for adaptation to climate change, allocating special funds for women to overcome their vulnerability to climate change, and avoid funding from loans;
8. Prevent and take firm action against the perpetrators of environmental destruction, of violations of human rights and of women's rights, and stop the various forms of criminalisation of communities, especially human rights defenders, who are fighting for their resource management rights.

Notes:

1. The full translation is on our website: www.downtoearth-indonesia.org♦

Women and oil palm in an investment region

A view from Suskun Village, Papua

By Yuliana Langowuyo, director of SKPKC Fransiskan Papua, who has been visiting the community in Suskun Village at least once a month since 2011 to carry out research and provide assistance.

Investment in Keerom regency,¹ Papua, officially at least, is aimed at bringing prosperity to the indigenous peoples living there - the Walsa and Fermanggam peoples. Yet it is clearly having a negative impact on people's lives as well as the natural world they inhabit and depend upon.² These impacts range from the loss of forests, where indigenous peoples find food, medicines and other daily necessities; from the dwindling number of animals which they hunt to fulfil their families' nutritional needs, the disappearance of sacred sites, which have a cultural value for the indigenous peoples; to the erosion of positive customary values which uphold the family and ensure a culture of mutual assistance. Now, by contrast, everything is measured in terms of money.

The forest handed over to the company wasn't forest that had been damaged, but productive forest, containing ironwood trees, rattan, various kinds of animals, vegetables, medicinal herbs, and sacred sites. It provided a source of life for the indigenous community; a place for indigenous women to gather all kinds of things to provide for their families.

There have been a lot of changes in the way these indigenous peoples live their lives, not least in the position of women, facing incoming investment and dealing with the ways this affects the life of their communities. This article focuses on those changes for women, and in particular the women of Suskun village, an indigenous Papuan village in East Arso district, where the giant oil palm company, PT Tandan Sawita Papua (Rajawali Group) has been operating since 2008.

East Arso borders Arso Kota district, where there has been oil palm development since 1983, with state-owned plantation company PTPN II being the first to enter the area. It also borders Papua New Guinea. East Arso itself, has only just started to be developed for oil palm, meaning that the forests cleared by PT Tandan Sawita Papua -



Women working in the seedling section of the plantation (Photo: Dok SKPKC FP)

including their highly prized ironwood trees - were productive and served as the main livelihood resource for the community.

The communities living in PT Tandan Sawita Papua's concession were not given any choice over whether or not to hand over their lands and the company's environmental impact assessment was just a formality. Even though some of the community opposed the plantation, the company had already approached the indigenous leaders (*kepala suku*) in advance and the government issued the official permits allowing the company to clear the forests.

Women have become labourers

Women living in areas targeted for investment are typically left in the dark about the land transactions between tribal leaders and investors. These transactions are done by men. The women didn't want their land to be sold. If there is no more land, they thought, their children will have nowhere to live in future.

From an economic perspective, women are disadvantaged by the loss of lands. They have lost the forests which used to provide for their daily needs (all of their forest has now been cleared), and they are now dependent on the company. They have to work as labourers for the company to earn

the money to pay for the cost of living: school fees, food and drink, health costs and so on.

Women are oppressed; they are in a powerless position because they don't want their land to be sold off, but land rights are in the hands of men. They don't want to become labourers, but there is no other choice currently and they must still somehow meet their everyday needs, as well as cope with additional problems, like the conflicts that arise in the workplace between labourers - conflicts between Papuans from different indigenous groups as well as people from other parts of Indonesia, and conflicts between labourers and foremen or assistant managers.

Ever since the company came to their area, almost all of the community has worked for the PT Tandan Sawita Papua. The men have been employed as foremen, security staff and casual day-labourers.³ The women in Suskun village also work as casual labourers; only older women are left in the village.

They work without clear written contracts (only a few of the men who held customary positions were given written contracts for security guard posts with the company); there is no health insurance, there are no other benefits. Also, there is no guarantee that there will be any work for the women: currently, many of the Suskun women aren't working on the plantation because the company has reduced the workforce.

According to the company, the cost of employing people is too high, while the palms aren't yet productive and providing any income. There are too many labourers for the amount of work available.⁴

Infants between two and five years old are usually brought along to the workplace and looked after by older children, while some children older than six years old are also given work on the plantations, in the tree nursery where seedlings are grown. Any spare time after returning from the workplace to the village, is usually taken up with attending to the family (cooking the meal, washing the dishes, washing clothes, bathing the children). This means that women work longer hours and have a greater burden of work than men: they start their labouring jobs at seven in the morning, working through till 3 or 4 pm and then take care of the family and do household chores until they go to bed.

Before working for the company, women spent most of their time in their small gardens, where they planted potatoes for their own family consumption. As most of this land has now been taken over for the plantation, these gardens are now limited to a very small area behind or beside their homes. Some plants, like *pinang* (areca nut) can be sold in the local town, Arso, which is 30 km away. This can take an hour or more to reach by motorcycle, on the unsurfaced road. According to the women, usually there isn't any profit in it. "If there is *pinang* from the gardens, the women will sell it in town, but the money they make is all used to pay for getting there. There aren't any taxis that take passengers from here, so the women have to take *ojek* (motorbike taxis) which cost up to Rp 100,000 for a trip to town and back, while the money they make from selling *pinang* sometimes doesn't come to that, which makes them think twice about selling things in town," said mama Kasmira, a woman who works as a labourer on the PT Tandan Sawita Papua plantation.

In the past, the community always gathered ingredients for their meals from the forest: sago, *melinjo*⁵ - an important plant, as the seeds and leaves can both be eaten, while the bark is used for making *noken*, the traditional string bags used by Papuans. They also hunted game such as pig and ground cuscus for their own consumption, as well as cultivating crops like areca nut, which were taken to town to be sold for a small profit. Since the company arrived, they have no longer been able to get food from the forest because this now belongs to the company, and has been cleared for oil palm plantations. The money they make as labourers for the company is used to buy cooking ingredients in Arso for making the daily meal (usually rice with fish, tofu, *tempe*, and more rarely, because it is expensive, chicken). The older generation prefers to eat traditional Papuan food, when it is available, but the younger generation is

What Mama Kasmira Wants

What Mama Kasmira Wants, is an Indonesian-language video in which a Papuan woman talks about the impacts of the Rajawali Group oil palm plantation in East Arso.

The video is directed by Yuliana Langowuyo of SKPKC and can be viewed at <http://www.papuanvoices.net/2012/07/19/what-mama-kasmira-wants.html>

more accustomed to and prefers rice. There is a small kiosk selling food in the village, but this is expensive and is anyway often closed due to lack of stock.

Families in Suskun get rice when they need it under the government scheme targeting the poorest (the *raskin* scheme), but if the rationed rice isn't enough to feed the family, they will buy some more themselves.

A further problem arises from the means of transport used to get to the plantation. Both men and women are taken to work in a truck which meets no health and safety standards whatsoever. They stand in the open truck, without using masks, so that they breathe in all the dust from the roads, which is damaging to their health. On the plantation itself, they have only recently started using masks when spraying or spreading fertilizer on the palms. Staying healthy is an important consideration for women especially, because of the heavy burden of work both on the plantation and at home requires extra stamina. The women have also reported sexual harassment on the trucks and at the plantation.

Alcohol and domestic violence is a problem which existed before the company came and women have long been the victims of violence. But with the company coming in, the amount of money circulating in the village (money from the regional government as well as from compensation payments from the



Forest converted to oil palm in East Arso, Papua.

(Photo: Dok SKPKC FP)

Domestic Violence, health and HIV/AIDS

Another serious problem arises from the fact that the men often waste the money they get from selling the land, on getting drunk and causing trouble in the villages - for example stopping passing vehicles, threatening the people inside with knives and demanding money from them. Many women become the victims of domestic violence when their husbands are under the influence of alcohol. Women also have difficulties with children at primary, junior and high schools who choose to join their parents at work and earn their own money rather than go to school (sometimes older children also stay at home to look after the younger ones while their mothers are at work). On the one hand, the women are pleased to see their children are helping out and earning money, but on the other hand they fear for their children's future if they don't get an education.

company, and now also wages for plantation work), means that the men responsible for the domestic violence are consuming alcohol more frequently. SKPKC doesn't have any official data, but from in-depth interviews with women in Suskun Village and in the town of Arso, the problem of domestic violence is ever present: "money that the men get as wages from the company, isn't given to the women to manage, but used to buy alcohol and go with prostitutes" said one source who didn't want to give their name. This creates conflict at home which ends up in the violence experienced by many women.

The large amounts of money coming in are beyond the community's very basic financial management capabilities. The community, especially the men, spend their money on things which go against village morality and which, above all, harm women in the village. From interviews with village women, SKPKC learned that on the weekly

payday, there are "women" who come from outside the area and stand and wait for the men to pick up their wages (a covert sex trade). When payday arrives, the women's husbands buy some rice and send it home, but don't appear at home themselves because they have gone off with those "women".

This sexual behaviour increases the risk of transmitting HIV/AIDS. In Suskun village, HIV/AIDS isn't something that is usually talked about and perhaps only a handful of people know about it. The risk is high because the community lacks adequate knowledge: this worrying situation needs the attention of the competent authorities, in this case the regional government (health service), Church, and NGOs. Prevention is better than medication.

Viewed from all these perspectives, women don't derive any benefit at all from the company. Instead, they suffer multiple problems as a result of oil palm development on their land.

In Suskun, there is no place for women to go for protection against domestic violence, and no institution offering legal assistance, apart from relatives in other villages or the church, which will contact relevant institutions who can help. The women don't go to the police because they don't help much. Usually they just tell them to go home and sort it out in the family.

Concerns about the high level of violence against women like these women in Suskun have been raised by Komnas Perempuan, Indonesia's Commission on Violence Against Women and have fuelled the campaigns of local CSOs. As well as domestic violence, Papuan women may also face violence at the hands of the security forces in this heavily militarized region - as has been documented by Papuan women themselves (see also page 7).

Notes:

1. In this article, we translate *Kabupaten* (sub-provincial administrative area) as 'regency', and *Distrik* (sub-Kabupaten administrative area) as 'district'. The term *Distrik* in Papua and Papua Barat replaces the term *kecamatan* which is generally used in the rest of Indonesia. (Usually DTE translates *Kabupaten* as 'district' and *kecamatan* as 'subdistrict'.)
2. DTE note: the author notes that the original Indonesian *keutuhan ciptaan* has a strong spiritual connotation (both from a Christian perspective as well as from the indigenous Papuan perspective which regards nature as a mother figure who needs to be treated well).
3. In Indonesian: *Buruh harian lepas*. This means they are only paid for the days they work: there is no pay for holidays or when they are sick.
4. Information provided by Pa Danang, of PT Tandan Sawita Papua's Human Resources Department, at a meeting on 19th March 2014.
5. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gnetum_gnemon.

Low compensation

The land handed over to PT Tandan Sawita Papua for the company's oil palm investment belongs to two clans (*keret*) in this village: the Bugovkir clan, covering 1,103 hectares and the Konondroy clan, 1,231 ha. Suskun has a population of around 152 households. The community is grouped in three locations: Wambes, Kampung Tua and Kampung Suskun. The compensation received by the indigenous community was very little: 38 Rupiah per square meter of land. This translates into real terms as follows: in order to buy one piece of fried banana costing Rp1000, the community would need to sell 26 square metres of their land including all the ironwood, rattan, melinjo, as well as the habitat for game animals on that land.

Overall, the land taken by the PT Tandan Sawita Papua from several villages in East Arso district covers 18,337.9 hectares,

and compensation for the customary land held by the 8 *keret*, was paid at Rp384,000 per hectare (US\$ 32) - again, just Rp 38 per square metre. The eight *keret* who gave up their land were the Putuy, Kera, Jombori and the Itunggir from Yetti village, the Bugovkir and Konondroy from Suskun Village and the Bewangkir and Enef from Kriku village. (There was one clan who did not sell their land to PT Tandan Sawita Papua, but this land was released to another company in 2012.) They got Rp7.040 billion in compensation, to be divided between the eight *keret* according to the amount of land they have released.

The compensation was not a one-off payment, but was a four-stage payment made over 4 years, and called "Tali Asih" by the communities and the company. The first of these payments was made in February 2010, the second on 25 March 2011, the third on 15th July 2012 and the final one on 27 March 2013. The amount of money received

by each *keret* varied depending on the amount of land released to the company. The money they received still had to be divided among each household within each *keret* whose land was sold to the company, so that for each household, the maximum amount was Rp 2-5 million (US\$ 167-417) for thousands of hectares of land released to the company.

When PT Tandan Sawita Papua's lease on the land ends, the land will not go back to the community, but to the government. Even though last year's ruling in the Constitutional Court establishes a clear legal basis for indigenous community ownership of their forests, it is doubtful that this will work in communities' favour, because of the local government's tendency to favour businesses over local communities. That's why Papuan civil society groups are opposing investors and their own government on the policies which harm indigenous Papuans. ♦



Women are trucked to work on the plantations. (Photo: Dok SKPKC FP)



Forest cleared for oil palm, East Arso, Papua. (Photo: Dok SKPKC FP)

Gender justice on the plantations?

*An interview with Helena Trie, Communication Staff, Serikat Petani Kelapa Sawit (SPKS)
the Oil Palm Smallholders Union.¹*

DTE: Could you tell us a little about SPKS?
Does SPKS represent women smallholders as well as men? If yes, how many women and men are represented by SPKS?

Helena Trie: SPKS has 9 branch organisations in Indonesia: Sekadau, Sanggau and Sintang in West Kalimantan, Paser in East Kalimantan, Labuan Batu Utara in North Sumatra, Rokan Hulu and Kuantan Singingi in Riau, and Tanjung Jabung Barat in Jambi. Through these nine regional branches, we represent oil palm farmers' groups and workers on company oil palm plantations.

There are women as well as men oil palm workers. For day-labourers on plantations which use the piece-work system, involving women (their wives) and children can help them earn more from the company. So, the support provided by SPKS isn't merely for men, but also for the women workers.

Women's groups have been involved in several SPKS meetings, including a meeting at Labuan Batu Utara in North Sumatra, on August 29th, which discussed a road map for independent smallholders.

DTE: Do you think that oil palm development affects men and women's lives differently? If yes, how?

HT: Yes, there are differences. Mostly, Indonesian law still adheres to the patriarchal system; women follow their husbands and men are the heads of households, so women are not considered landowners, except if their husbands die.

As plantation workers, women are often paid less than men. There are also multiple burdens for women because they work on the plantations under the day-labourer, contract system, but must also fulfil their domestic responsibilities at home. It also depends on the company they are working for. There are several palm oil plantations that give women the same jobs as they give to the men: land clearing, fertilizing, spraying and plantation upkeep work. Other plantation companies only employ women to do fertilizing and spraying work.

DTE: Is SPKS running any programmes specifically addressing gender differences and issues currently? If yes, please describe.

HT: Yes we are. Last year, SPKS's branch in Labuan Batu Utara, North Sumatra set up an alliance to push for safeguards for women workers. They want the government to uphold women's reproductive rights by protecting their reproductive organs from the impact of pesticides that may cause cervical cancer.

DTE: Apart from working on the plantation, what other employment choices are there for women when plantation companies enter an area?

HT: They don't have any other choice. Basically, all the workers employed by the company are local people. The company insists that they hand over their land and turn it into palm oil plantations. Previously, the land was used for growing other crops but when the company takes it there is no other choice but work on the plantation.

Notes

1. See SPKS website: <http://www.spks.or.id/> Indonesian language only.♦

Below: Women plantation workers are given little protection when spraying chemicals. (Sawit Watch)



The impact of mining

This article is drawn from a substantial two-part essay by Siti Maimunah, of the Women and Mining Working Team (TKPT), and Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM). It was published in Etnohistori in May 2014.¹

In Indonesia, poverty caused by the extractives industries hits women the hardest. Why is this so? Because mining companies, supported by the government, plunder the places where women and their families live, removing everything productive that is below and above the surface, causing irreparable damage. They also close down women's room for manoeuvre within their communities and within wider society. They confine women's space, from the domestic to the political.

In their everyday lives in the community, women play several roles: domestic, productive, reproductive and social-political, all of which are inextricably linked.

In rural areas, the productive role of women usually involves owning and managing agricultural land. Satariah an indigenous Dayak Siang woman from Puruk Cahu, Central Kalimantan, for example, owns fields totalling 10-15 hectares within her family's customary lands. She also owns a traditional gold mining pit which she inherited from her parents. Before, while she worked in her fields, her husband, Atak Lidi, dug for gold in their mining pit. Satariah harvested more than enough rice from her own fields for her family's needs and didn't need to buy any. She also had the income from gold. As a landowner, Satariah used to be economically independent. But since PT Indo Muro Kencana came to the area, and took over her land and mining pit, she has had less land to survive on, and engages in less economic activity. She has become poor.

Women's domestic role involves the daily supplying of food, fresh water, power and other basic needs, for the family. This role requires women to be closely in touch with natural resources: land, forest and water sources. It can't be separated from women's reproductive role, which includes giving birth to and caring for their children. All this has been experienced by Sofia Ba'un, a woman from Molo in East Nusa Tenggara province.

Sofia Ba'un lives near Mount Batu Naitapan, Tunua Village, Timor Tengah Selatan district. She gets up at 5am, prepares food for her children and goes out to fetch water. She used to go to the nearby water source at the mountain. Local people believe the mountain, which they call Fatu Naitapan, provides water and has a water source within in. It only used to take Sofia 15 minutes to get there and come back again with the water.

But since the provincial governor, Piter Tallo, issued a mining licence to PT Teja Sekawan in 2003, everything has changed. Just



Community natural resources destroyed for mining at KPC coal mine, East Kalimantan (DTE)

four months after the company cleared the trees and started cutting into the mountain, Sofia Ba'un, together with 25 other people, were hit by a landslide. On top of that, marble mining waste contaminated the water around the mountain. She lost her garden used for growing food, and it's now difficult to find fresh water. She must now walk to another mountain, called Fatulik, near the neighbouring village. It takes around two hours to get there and back, every day.

The experiences of Satariah and Sofia Ba'un show that when women's spaces are restricted or disappear altogether, this pushes women who were once landowners and economically independent into poverty, eventually becoming economically dependent on men - whether these are their fathers, husbands, brothers or male relatives. This is also what happened to women living near the PT Kaltim Prima Coal mine, owned by the Bakrie family in Sekerat, Sekurau, East Kalimantan. In 2002, when the community lands were grabbed by the company, the men's way of making a living changed, they became fishermen or loggers. For women, there was less choice: once it was no longer possible to farm, the only livelihood option left was making palm sugar, and when it became impossible to do that, there was nothing left. As a result, they became totally dependent on the men.

"Before, we didn't really mind very much if the men went off somewhere; we could still eat: there was rice, there were vegetables and if we wanted fish, we just had to fetch some from our fishpond, all for free. But since our land has been taken by KPC, we've lost all that we once owned. Women can't eat if the men don't go to

work in the forest or another job that brings in money. We have to pay for everything now. Life is really difficult now." So said Ibu Mar, a woman living in Sekurau Bawah.

Large-scale destruction of productive land, and the disposal of waste over huge areas, destroys women's bodies, impoverishes them and can even kill them. In modern mining, the extraction of minerals from the rocks that contain them involves the disposal of 95% - 99.9% of the processed rock. These tailings can be extremely reactive and carry serious environmental risks, from acid rock drainage and the release of toxic metals and toxic reagents used in the ore processing (Mining Watch Canada 2009).

However, although their water sources are polluted with waste rock, their economic limitations and the distance from clean water sources mean that women have no other choice than to use the polluted water. In Buyat Bay, North Sulawesi, women and children were forced to use the Buyat River, which was muddied and polluted, for bathing and washing their clothes. Meanwhile, the water supplied by the mining company Newmont, was discovered to be contaminated too, with arsenic (Tim Terpadu 2004). The most recent National Women's Commission report on their health condition said the health problems experienced by the Buyat women, included lumps on the breasts, armpits and neck.² Apart from headaches and itching over the whole body, the women fisherfolk also experienced disruptions to their menstrual cycle. One woman, Puyang, died after a lump on her breast ruptured, and this is strongly suspected to have been caused by heavy metals pollution.

Around the PT Freeport mine, women face multidimensional problems, from the company, government, security guards and also from their husbands. When PT Freeport came, the land changed function, became a mining area and the women were displaced. PT Freeport destroyed the women's means of providing for their families. The government never asked women's opinion about this mine and their right to receive or manage the compensation money was denied. Later the women became victims of violence due to the compensation money.

Prolonged protest action which halted operations several times, forced PT Freeport to negotiate. The local Papuans were represented by LEMASA (Amungme Customary Council) whose management was 100% male. PT Freeport agreed to pay compensation equalling 1% of its gross income, which was paid to the male heads of households. Consequently, the compensation didn't reach the home, but was spent by men on getting drunk, prompting an increase in alcohol consumption in Timika. Men visited bars and brothels more often.

"The men got compensation money from PT Freeport. They bought alcohol, got drunk and beat us," said Yosepha Alomang. "Women bore the consequences, when their husbands came home inebriated, having finished playing around with other women, and their homes became a place for violence. The compensation money caused an increase in cases of domestic violence."

In the patriarchal cultural system, women have been impoverished through the marginalisation of their roles. Add natural resources exploitation to the mix and the process of impoverishment is accelerated. If we trace it back, impoverishment starts when people lose their right to manage natural resources in their areas, when the government decides to give a mining concession to a company. Alongside the demolition that happens at the mine site, there is a process of physical change that happens in the ecology of the wider landscape, which destroys water sources, land, rocks, forests, and seas which are governed according to customary values and which now become so damaged that they can't be used any longer.

Next come changes to the economic order: starting with the systems of production, consumption and distribution within families. These changes are triggered by the destruction of the natural landscape, so that the system of natural resources management is lost, and communities are forced into the market. Local modes of production change, from non-cash to the cash economy and dependence on the market mechanism. Meanwhile the high cost brings migrants in, changing the local social, cultural and economic life of the community. A collapse of socio-cultural relations between families and other community members

happens when they are deprived of their land and natural resources. Consumerism takes over, and the community's 'social memory' starts to fade. Health suffers too, either as a result of pollution from mining waste, or because of previously unknown diseases brought in by miners.

Finally, politically, women are confronted with a collapse of the local leadership system. This should provide protection for the community, but now local leaders support the company. Here, women's existence is not recognised in decision-making. Negotiations only allow space for men as heads of households.

The women's movement and natural resource conflicts

Wherever there are natural resource conflicts, there are women who resist, alongside men. One or two of them even take the lead - take Aleta Baun on the island of Timor, who led the successful campaign against marble mining on her community's land, and, together with the Tiga Batu Tungku indigenous people, transformed her resistance into a struggle for the restoration of indigenous peoples' sovereignty.³ Meanwhile, other women resisters are rarely reported by the mainstream media.

There are many more women who voice concerns about mining's destructive impacts while all the men are discussing compensation. Take Satariah who resisted the Australian mining company Aurora Gold in Puruk Cahu, Central Kalimantan.⁴ Also Natasya Rireq, A Dayak woman who was raped by a Rio Tinto manager along with five other women at their gold mine, PT Kelian Equatorial Mining, in East Kalimantan.⁵ Also Surtini Paputungan and Johra Lombonaung in North Sulawesi, who voiced the problems of families and the environment which Newmont, a USA-based mining company, failed to answer.

But these cases are like waves rising and falling, their voices become drowned out by many other issues that emerge, and which submerge the struggle of these women. Meanwhile in the cities, the women's movement, especially at national level, tends to focus on the mainstreaming of women's civil and political rights. The choice of this agenda is based on cases of organised state and civil violence, and domestic violence which are believed to have been triggered by the political and economic situation in Indonesia, especially at the end of the 1970s.⁶

Many women are the victims of violence, at household, community and public level. Even in the process of searching and monitoring the victims of sexual, physical or verbal violence, they are so traumatised that they are not able to identify the perpetrators. Usually, further investigation shows that the violence they have suffered has a clear link to

social and political problems, as was the case in the rape of women during the 1998 riots.

These facts inspired the birth of the Women and Mining Working Team (TKPT) in Banjar Baru, South Kalimantan, in 1999. Early on, TKPT carried out a lot of research on cases of large-scale mining in Kalimantan, especially South, Central and East Kalimantan. More recently, the team has found it difficult to renew itself. Not many activists, let alone women, are interested in working on the extractives industries. Ten years on, their voice can occasionally be heard responding to the issue of mining in East Kalimantan. According to the TKPT- East Kalimantan, investigations into human rights violations with natural resources conflict as a trigger, are still very limited even though there are widespread cases of sexual violence that happen around natural resources exploitation areas.

Clearly there is much work to be done to stop the impoverishment of women by mining. The different impacts of mining on men and women need to be fully researched, documented, understood and accepted by governments, companies, CSOs, and decision-makers at all levels, from the international level to village level, within the communities themselves. Women resisters need to be supported; their concerns listened to; and their right to have say in their own futures upheld.

Notes:

1. Available at <http://etnohistori.org/edisi-genealogi-gerakan-dan-studi-perempuan-indonesia-perempuan-di-wilayah-tambang-melawan-neo-kolonialisme-baru-bagian-1-oleh-siti-maimunah.html>
2. Author's additional note: men were similarly affected.
3. See also 'Women lead mining opposition' section in 'Indigenous Women's workshop at AMAN Congress', DTE 74, August 2007 at <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/indigenous-womens-workshop-aman-congress> for more background to this case.
4. Author's additional note: She took part in actions together with the men and together with the community she performed a ritual to show that people's mining had a history in that place; she also travelled to Jakarta to campaign and join the plaintiffs in a lawsuit.
5. Author's additional note: She spoke up about the rape, revealed that she had given birth to a child as a result of the rape; she spoke to the media and only accepted compensation once she had been promised that her child would receive compensation. She also visited Jakarta at the time of Rio Tinto's mine closure, to challenge the company. See also Perempuan Dayak Korban Perkosaan Berunjuk Rasa, Tempo Interaktif, 02, Dec/2004.
6. Author's additional note: this was a period of high economic growth with the rise of extractive industries like oil, mining and logging. This was the start of the violence against women, because it destroyed women's living spaces. ♦

Paying for Progress:

The marginalisation of indigenous Papuan market women

By Sophie Crocker¹

Fresh food markets in Papua are diverse and colourful affairs where mounds of bright fruit, vegetables and fish are sold by traders from all over Indonesia. Informal markets provide the city with fresh and affordable food and are often the sole source of income for traders. However, urban markets and the livelihoods of those who work in them are being threatened by urban development and policymakers' narrow view of the 'modern' city. Since informal markets in Papua are run mainly by women, they are disproportionately affected by the pace, scale and effects of urbanisation.

For over ten years, a group of indigenous Papuan market women, or *mama-mama pedagang asli Papua*, have been campaigning for a permanent market in the center of Jayapura. In 2002, following the closure and demolition of Ampera market in the city-center to build a public park, they were evicted by the fire services who forced them out with water, a process overseen by the police and the military. Eventually they were relocated to Yotefa market, 30 minutes away by public transport. The rationale from the Mayor's Office was to improve the aesthetics of the city, to make the city more "clean, organised and orderly" in order to attract "big business" that would, in the long-run, bring financial benefits for the whole city.²

Inconvenience, unprofitability and fierce competition in Yotefa forced the *mama-mama* back to Jayapura to sell their wares on a tarmac car park outside a supermarket. For the next five years they refused to move from this location in the "heart" of the city. The *mama-mama*'s visible displacement attracted the attention and support of activists, non-governmental organisations and local media. They organised into a group, SOLPAP, Solidaritas Mama-mama Pedagang Asli Papua. After years of campaigning at the city and provincial level, in December 2010 they were granted a temporary covered market which, unfortunately, was inadequately equipped (water, waste collection, security, toilets).³

They are still campaigning for their permanent, centrally-located market. During this time, the *mama-mama* have established a cooperative, with government funding, to support women to expand or diversify their businesses.⁴

As the capital of Indonesia's easternmost province and the capital of one of six national 'economic corridors' which form the basis of Jakarta's much-criticised 'MP3EI' masterplan, Jayapura serves as a regional barometer of development. For a



Indigenous Papuan market women (Photo: Dok SKPKC FP)

municipal government that aspires to be a modern global city like New York, creating a business-friendly image continues as a policy priority.⁵ Jayapura's cityscape includes international hotels, office blocks, shopping malls, government complexes (plus a Hollywood-esque lighted 'Jayapura' sign overlooking the bay) to accommodate national and international business interests.

Unfortunately, forced relocation, job insecurity, intimidation, increasing competition and even criminalisation is not an uncommon experience for market-traders in Indonesia and elsewhere. From Mumbai to Mexico City, informal traders are cast as both the antithesis of and obstacle to the 'modern' city. They are blamed by politicians, city planners and wealthier urban residents for the very problems caused by rapid urbanisation such as over-crowding, traffic congestion, pollution and higher crime rates.⁶ Furthermore, since traders are often identified by what they lack rather than what they provide to the city's economy, they can become targets of development themselves. The municipal government of Cusco in Peru for example, led efforts to gentrify informal street trade by issuing licences, creating trading zones and regulating prices.⁷ Gentrification of trade created new classes of professionalised traders and tensions arose between those who adapted and those who did not, or could not. In Jayapura, this is visible in the spatial arrangement of trading activity along ethnic lines. The *mama-mama* have been vocal about non-Papuan traders owning shops, market stalls and running wholesale businesses while

they are physically marginalised to the street side selling small quantities of lower value perishable commodities.

This narrow view of the 'modern' city is having a negative impact on the livelihoods of market-traders in Jayapura, with serious implications for indigenous Papuan women. Displacement from the marketplace increases the risk of further economic, social and political marginalisation. Adapting to the rapid and seemingly irreversible structural changes places them under greater pressure to provide for their families and create opportunities for their children. It is all the more admirable, then, that they have found the energy to take political action against their marginalisation. Yet the women's actions are disregarded by policymakers as their inability, or reluctance, to adapt to progress. The Head of Markets for Jayapura City stated, "It will be a long process to change their way of thinking".⁸

Finally, their struggle is not just about access to public space. Their campaign has been infused with cultural meaning, citizenship and claims to land, as a right, based on an indigenous Papuan identity. Demands for a covered market reserved only for indigenous market-women and their vocal resentment towards non-Papuan traders suggest that a market is as much about seeking dignity, respect and cultural sustainability as it is about preserving livelihoods. Like indigenous market women in Peru, the *mama-mama* are "negotiating far more than their economic survival, in the marketplace: they are negotiating the terms of their very lives and cultural identities."⁹

Notes:

1. Sophie Crocker is an independent researcher. She has worked for international NGOs and lived in Jayapura from 2009-2010. She holds a MSc from the University of London where her dissertation research focused on the contested meaning and use of urban spaces with reference to indigenous market-women.
2. SKP, 2008. 'Marginalised in their own land: the story of Papuan women'. Retrieved July 02 2011, from Witness the hub: <http://hub.witness.org/en/node/7902>
3. ALDP (2011). 'Scrutinising the temporary market for indigenous market-women.' Retrieved August 09 2011, from <http://www.aldepe.com/2011/06/meneropong-pasar-sementara-bagi-mama.html>
4. Kommpap, 2011. 'Tawaran bunga rendah untuk mama-mama pedagang asli Papua.' Retrieved September 01 2011, from

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The Neglectful State

By Mia Siscawati¹

This article was prepared for the National Human Rights Commission as part of its 2014 National Inquiry into the Rights of Indigenous Peoples to their Territories in the Forest Zone.² DTE's translation was done with kind permission of the author, and with her assistance.

Banang is a ten year-old girl who lives in a *rumah betang* or longhouse in an indigenous village in the interior of Kapuas Hulu, West Kalimantan. At the moment she is in the fourth year of primary school. Her ambition is to become a teacher. Banang's friend Galu, a girl who lives next door in the longhouse, wants to be a midwife. But the odds are stacked against these girls achieving their goal.

They may well be stopped in their tracks as soon as finishing primary school. The girls' older sisters' schooling stopped after primary school and they were married at a very young age. When they were Banang and Galu's age they too had ambitions. Sadly, there were too many obstacles preventing them from fulfilling their dreams. It takes six hours to get to the nearest secondary school and back every day. Even though the school doesn't charge fees, their families are too poor to pay for either the costs of travelling to the school or for room and board at the school. Their families were also not prepared to let their girls go to secondary school for other reasons: there is a continuing tradition of marrying girls at a very young age. These are the problems faced by Banang and Galu, too.

Banang and Galu's parents and the parents of other girls they are friends with must struggle with poverty and the harshness of life in their village. It is an indigenous village which owns abundant forests and other natural resources: primary forest, mature gardens and groves, including *tembawang* (mixed groves of various kinds of fruit trees as well as trees for timber); rubber trees, dry rice-fields (*ladang*) vegetable gardens as well as a river (which provides fish and water). These agrarian resources have been managed by the people of the village for several generations and sustain the life of the village. Local knowledge, traditions and customary laws form the foundation for regulating and managing them. Women in this village have



Schoolgirls, Kampung Niut, W. Kalimantan (DTE)

their own specialist knowledge and play an important role in managing the village's resources. However, the people don't actually control those resources.

The state has established the whole of this village's customary territory as a state forest area, to be used as production forest (*hutan produksi*). The Forestry Ministry has issued companies with 'licences for the utilization of timber in natural forests' (*Izin Usaha Pemanfaatan Hasil Hutan Kayu dalam Hutan Alam*), previously known as 'forest concessions' (*Hak Pengusahaan Hutan/HPH*). Over time, these licences have been issued to several different companies. The arrival of the logging companies has transformed village life. The women and men of the village can no longer cultivate the same extent of fields, groves, gardens or forests resources within their customary territory that they once did. As a result, the remaining fields can no longer supply enough food to feed their families. Forest destruction by the companies' logging operations has made it difficult for women to find the various forest plants used for making food and medicines. They can no longer access their own gardens and groves where

they grew rubber and various fruit trees as well as trees for timber. These trees were previously a financial resource for the family. Life gets increasingly difficult when a family member falls ill and there are medical costs to pay. Some families are starting to get into debt with moneylenders from outside the village. The closing down of access to the lands and resources that sustain their lives and the destruction of the environment that is happening there is ensnaring the villagers in poverty. Women from poor families, including women heads of households, adolescent and young girls are in a more vulnerable position. Girls from poor families are vulnerable to inducements offered to the families and the girls themselves to leave the village to become child labourers. They are also at risk of falling victim to trafficking in women and children, a problem which is starting to become more widespread.

In order to survive, some of the adult men take low-paid labouring jobs with the logging companies; some leave the village to find work elsewhere; while others try their luck by venturing deep into the jungle to scavenge for any remaining non-timber forest products. With the men being away for long stretches of time, the burden becomes heavier for the women. Things become more complex when people start getting into arguments with the company. These disputes develop into conflicts, to which the company responds by using violence and threatening the safety of the villagers. Poverty and the various forms of social injustice that accompany it, the traditions, perpetuated by poverty and social injustice, which put women in second place or marginalize them, added to agrarian conflict, mean that women and girls are also more vulnerable to gender-based violence.

Stories like this, with different variations, are common to many of the
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- Kommpap blog:
<http://kommpap.blogspot.com/2011/06/tawaran-bunga-kredit-rendah-untuk-mama.html>
5. Thomas, C. (2008). 'We cannot move - mama-mamas face eviction'. *Human Rights in the Pacific*.
 - Bromley, R. (2000). 'Street Vending and Public Policy: A Global Review'. *International Journal*

- of *Sociology and Social Policy*, 1-29.
6. Seligmann, L. (2001). *Women Traders in Cross-cultural Perspective: Mediating Identities, Marketing Wares*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
7. Bromley, R., & Mackie, P. (2009). 'Displacement and the New Spaces for Informal Trade in the Latin American City Centre'. *Urban Studies*, 46(7), 1485-1506.
8. *Suara Perempuan Papua* (2006),

- Memberdayakan Orang Papua: Laporan Utama Tabloid Suara Perempuan Papua 2004-2005. Jakarta: Institut Studi Arus Informasi.
9. Babb, F. (2001). Market/places as Gendered Spaces: Market/women's Studies over Two Decades. In L. Seligmann (Ed.), *Women Traders in Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (pp. 229-240). Stanford: Stanford University Press. ♦

country's indigenous territories, which have been one-sidedly established as state forests, controlled by the Forestry Ministry. Forest village identification data issued by the Forestry Ministry in 2007 (covering 15 provinces) and in 2009 (covering 17 other provinces), shows a total of 25,863 villages within the state forest zone. In 2009, the State Ministry for the Acceleration of Development of Disadvantaged Regions showed that the percentage of poor families living in forest villages was more than twice that of the family poverty percentage for the whole of Indonesia. In April 2013, the Forestry Ministry stated that 21 percent of people living in and around forests were poor. Nevertheless, there has been no significant change in policies relating to forests and forestry. Ninety percent of forest management licences are in the hands of corporations.

A closer examination of the statistics in forest resource-rich regions (or regions which were previously rich), but where control over the forests and the forests resources within them is in the hands of the state and management is in the hands of corporations or government agencies, shows not only that the majority of those areas have a high level of poverty, but also that education levels are low and health is poor. Education and health statistics in 2012 for the *kabupaten* (district below province-level) where Banang and Galu's village is located show that the average time spent in school is 7.18 years. This means that the villagers only attend school up to the first year of junior high school (when they are 13 years old). Among villagers above the age of 10 years old, 6.65% remain illiterate, with the illiteracy rate for girls higher than for boys of the same age. Statistics from the same year (2012) show that the percentage of women marrying young remains high, with 30.34% marrying between the ages of 16-18 and 6.75% under 15 years old. Women's reproductive health in this district is also poor, and the rate of deaths in childbirth has shown an upward trend in the past four years. The rate of neonatal deaths, ie deaths of babies within 28 days of birth, is also quite high in this district. The same goes for the death rate in babies between 29 days and eleven months old.

West Kalimantan is one of the provinces whose figures for deaths of mothers in childbirth are high. In 2012 the death rate for women in childbirth in West Kalimantan was 403 deaths for every 100,000 live births, almost twice the national level of 228 deaths for every 100,000 live births. Two other mortality figures, neonatal deaths and the deaths of babies from 29 days to 11 months are also high in this province. The districts in this province, known to be rich in forest resources, have three high sets of death rates. The province's figures for trafficking in women are also quite high.³

What does all this data indicate? First, it shows that the profile of poverty, social injustice and gender injustice in indigenous territories where the lives of communities depend on forest resources and other agrarian resources, is closely connected with the unequal control of land perpetuated by the state. Moreover, this data, together with various sad stories about indigenous peoples, including the unhappy stories of women and other vulnerable people in the community which aren't covered by the statistics, paint a picture of a neglectful state. A state which is failing in its duty to respect, fulfil and protect human rights, especially the economic, social and cultural rights of indigenous peoples, including women and girls. Different pieces of legislation, including Forestry Law No. 41 of 1999, Law No 21 of 2013 on the Eradication and Prevention of Forest Destruction, plus various regulations flowing from those laws provide a basis for the state to grab the land that people depend upon for their lives, in the interest of corporations and other political actors with different interests. This is the concrete manifestation of a state which is failing in its obligation to respect, fulfil and protect the human rights of indigenous peoples, including women, girls and vulnerable people in those communities.

The Indonesian Constitution contains a series of provisions to protect human rights. These are regulated by Law No.39 of 1999 on Human Rights. There are three state obligations related to human rights. First, the duty to respect human rights. Second the obligation to fulfil human rights - ie the obligation to take legislative, administrative, judicial and practical measures to guarantee the fulfilment of human rights. Third, the obligation to protect human rights, ie the obligation to protect human rights against potential violations carried out by the state itself or by other actors. The Constitutional Court's ruling in Case No.35/PUU-X/2012 which revised several articles of Forestry Law No.41 1999 relating to customary forests and simultaneously recognized indigenous peoples as rights-holders, should be interpreted as opening the door to enforcing the state's obligation to respect, fulfil and protect the human rights of indigenous peoples.⁴ The draft law on the recognition and protection of the rights of indigenous peoples which is being deliberated in parliament is another important entry-point for the state to carry out these three main obligations.

Measures to respect, fulfil and protect the human rights of indigenous peoples, and the special rights attached to indigenous women, have been developed by several countries, including the Philippines. In 1997, not long after the fall of the Ferdinand Marcos regime, the Philippines established the Indigenous Peoples' Right Act (IPRA). In

addition to recognizing indigenous peoples' rights in general, this law also recognized their rights to their customary, ancestral territories. Following this law, a National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) was formed, under the office of the President. This national commission became the main government institution responsible for drafting and carrying out policies, drafting plans and programs to recognize, protect and promote the rights of indigenous peoples in the Philippines. Activists in the Filipino indigenous rights movement who are concerned with indigenous women, are continuing to push to ensure that the recognition and protection of indigenous women's rights is not left out.

Indonesia urgently needs to catch up by drawing up measures to respect, fulfil and protect the human rights of indigenous peoples and the special rights that apply to indigenous women and vulnerable people within those communities. The newly elected President in 2014 must take political action to stop this tradition of the state failing to meet its obligations regarding these people. The legislative, executive and judiciary and various other parties need to work together. The state can no longer ignore repeated human rights violations against indigenous peoples, indigenous women and vulnerable people within indigenous communities. It must no longer close its eyes to, or even destroy, the future of Banang, Galu and girls from other poor and marginal families in indigenous territories throughout the land. The state must no longer fail in its obligations.



Notes:

1. Head of Graduate Program in Gender Studies, University of Indonesia, Researcher at the Anthropological Studies Centre, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Indonesia, and founding member of RMI-the Indonesian Institute for Forest and Environment
2. See <http://inkuiriadat.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Lembar-Fakta-03-Negara-Mangkir.pdf>. For more information about the National Inquiry see www.inkuiriadat.org/
3. According to the 2012 Joint Policy Brief of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Children Protection and the National Planning Agency. (author's note).
4. Mia Siscawati has also written about the gender dimensions of the Constitutional Court ruling. She points out that indigenous women continue to have limited representation and involvement in the struggles of indigenous peoples to reclaim their rights, including the rights over customary territories. See Mia Siscawati, *Pertarungan Penguasaan Hutan dan Perjuangan Perempuan Adat*, *Wacana Jurnal Transformasi Sosial*, Nr 33, Year XVI, 2014.♦

Indigenous Women decision-makers

Too often indigenous women are prevented from making key decision for themselves, leaving them powerless to ensure gender-related injustices which directly affect them, their families and their communities are understood and addressed. The empowerment of indigenous women in Indonesia is a complex task, which PEREMPUAN AMAN, Indonesia's indigenous women's organisation, is keen to tackle - starting with training for decision-making.

The following article is compiled by DTE from information by PEREMPUAN AMAN published in Indonesian on AMAN's website. It has been edited and reviewed by PEREMPUAN AMAN.

Training indigenous women to play their part in decision-making - within their communities as well as in the broader public sphere - is a top priority for the indigenous women's organisation, PEREMPUAN AMAN.

A programme of training sessions in different locations across Indonesia has been underway since April 2013. These Training of Trainer ('ToT') sessions are aimed at creating a strong cohort of women trainers who will go on to hold training sessions for indigenous women in their own communities and regions.

Men and women are equal, but on the road to equality, women are still subordinate, says PEREMPUAN AMAN.

*"From the home, to the public sphere... women are often still considered second in line, meaning that government policies don't value women enough, resulting in women and men not being equal...In every decision taken, you can be certain that only a small minority of women will have dared to put forward their ideas."*¹

Hence PEREMPUAN AMAN's focus is on improving indigenous women's confidence and capacity to step up their participation in decision-making. The sessions began with a two-part, six-day ToT session in April 2013 and May for women from the AMAN membership regions of Java, Sumatra, Bali-Nusa Tenggara, Kalimantan, Maluku, Papua and Sulawesi. The training on indigenous women and national-level decision-making, was guided by Mia Siscawati from Sajogyo Institute,² Nur Amalia from APIK, Devi Anggraini from Sajogyo Institute, and Rena Herdiyani from Kalyanamitra, with the first part held in Ciptamulya, Sukabumi (West Java) and the second in Toraja, South Sulawesi, in May.

This national-level training was attended by PEREMPUAN AMAN members and board members from 7 regions, with more than 30 participants plus several participants from the Kasepuhan Ciptamulya community. The training did not fully involve men, although the opening ceremony was attended by the [male] customary leader of Kasepuhan Ciptamulya, and the village head. A follow-up plan for training sessions at regional level was produced so that the



PEREMPUAN AMAN national training in Toraja.

(PEREMPUAN AMAN)

trainers could continue the capacity-building work in their own regions.

These were held for Java-Bali-Nusa Tenggara in June 2013, Kalimantan and Sumatra (both in July 2013), Sulawesi (December 2013), Maluku (February 2014) and Papua (May 2014).

The aims of the series of training sessions were:

- ♦ building the capacity and confidence of indigenous women so they can get involved in all decision-making;
- ♦ training 30 indigenous women as trainers who can train indigenous women in their own regions
- ♦ training 75 indigenous women as trainers who can train indigenous women in their customary territories and at community level.³

Maluku training

One of the regional training sessions took place over three days in February 2014, in Maluku. It was attended by 27 participants from 10 *hoana* (one, two or several *kampung*, or hamlets, which make up an indigenous community) in North Maluku and Maluku provinces. Welcoming the participants, Jois Duan, who is head of AMAN's regional

council in North Maluku, hoped the training and knowledge shared at the session would be put to good use afterward. "Men and women have the same potential, strength and energy. It's up to each of us, if we want to develop these or not."

We should also now be preparing for the elections, she said: "indigenous women must be able to decide who to vote for without anyone intervening".⁴

PEREMPUAN AMAN - two years on

DTE's Clare McVeigh was lucky enough to attend the April 2012 meeting in Tobelo, on Halmahera Island, Maluku, where PEREMPUAN AMAN was formally established.⁵ On its board is the prominent indigenous leader and Goldman prizewinner Aleta Baun from Molo, West Timor. The organisation is now over two years old.

Of course, indigenous women had been meeting and organising for many years before that to discuss and address the particular challenges faced by indigenous women, including at AMAN's first congress in 1999.⁶ An account of the development of the indigenous women's movement by

PEREMPUAN AMAN, describes how an organisation called the Indigenous Women's Alliance of the Archipelago (APAN) was set up in 2001. When this failed to thrive, in 2007 at AMAN's third congress, a directorate for the empowerment of women was established. This third congress also provided the mandate to form two new wings of AMAN, for youth and women, with the intention that they would help AMAN to train and build the capacity of women and youth through the archipelago.

Indigenous women delegates from seven AMAN membership regions gathered in Bogor in May 2011 to review all processes involving indigenous women in AMAN. They agreed that they needed a separate space for learning and consolidating the work to address the many ways that women fall behind men, and decided that working within the main organisation wasn't enough. This then led to PEREMPUAN AMAN being set up as a separate wing of AMAN the following year, in Tobelo.

"Indigenous women are often on the receiving end of ill-treatment from the authorities, and from government policy-makers. There are many examples experienced by indigenous women, including intimidation by the authorities, as was experienced by Ibu Afrida, who was arrested when leading her community in a protest action to blockade the entrance to the PT NHM⁷ gold mine on 24th November 2012. She, along with 31 indigenous Pagu community members were harassed by police officers - shouted at and deprived of their means of communication, before eventually being taken by truck to the North Halmahera police station, even though their protest had been peaceful and they were released."⁸

Addressing cases of violence against indigenous women

Indigenous women suffer multiple discrimination because they are women and also because they are indigenous.

"They cover up abuse, because they consider it normal, a woman's lot. They don't want people to know about it, and this allows discrimination and violence against women to continue, because women aren't aware enough of their rights."⁹

These were the words of Romba Marannu Sombolinggi, head of PEREMPUAN AMAN's board, opening a national consultation on addressing violence against indigenous women, in Jakarta. The meeting was attended by Aleta Baun, the PEREMPUAN AMAN leadership and representatives of civil society organisations, The National Commission for Women (Komnas Perempuan) and was facilitated by Nur Amalia of Friends of the Earth Indonesia.

The meeting discussed how violence against indigenous women is often ignored by the authorities and how women

The draft indigenous peoples' law, MK35, climate change...

DTE interviews PEREMPUAN AMAN

DTE: Will the draft law on the Recognition and Protection of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (RUU PPHMA) address women's needs within adat communities as well as men's?

PA: The RUU PPHMA that AMAN is campaigning for won't fully accommodate the needs of indigenous women unless the inputs resulting from the National Indigenous Women's Consultation on the RUU PPHMA are accommodated within it. For example, one of the inputs was regarding the definition of the "masyarakat adat" (indigenous people), where the addition was "a group of people consisting of men and women". Another point was added in the bill regarding restitution.

DTE: Does adat need to be adapted or to develop to accommodate the needs of increased participation for women in decision-making? What are PEREMPUAN AMAN's ideas about how to address this?

PA: Adat isn't static, it is developing too, so customary rules that are not relevant to developments today, and customary rules that violate women's rights are considered no longer to apply.

DTE: How will MK35 affect women in particular? Is there a discussion about how follow-up may affect men and women differently?

PA: Since the MK35 decision was issued in 2012, there hasn't yet been a significant positive impact for indigenous women. However, in several indigenous communities groups of indigenous women have carried

out 'plangisasi' activities (reclaiming customary forests by putting up signs).

DTE: AMAN supported Jokowi [Joko Widodo] for President - what do you think of his policies on women or attitude towards women compared to other candidates?

PA: AMAN supported Jokowi's presidential campaign because it saw that the interests of indigenous peoples (including indigenous women) were accommodated in his mission statement. AMAN didn't see this mission, the which is the same thing that AMAN is campaigning for, in any of the other candidates' statements, so that's why AMAN decided to fully support Jokowi.

DTE: Has PEREMPUAN AMAN looked at the impacts of climate change on indigenous women or how indigenous women are positioned to adapt to climate change?

PA: Indigenous women feel the impacts of climate change most. They can no longer predict the planting and harvesting seasons because the weather is erratic. Many endemic plants (including medicinal plants) have become extinct due to extreme weather changes where the plants are not able to adapt.

However, indigenous women always have ways of overcoming climate change by planting crops that can withstand extreme weather and crops for food reserves.

Note: a longer version of this interview is included in the online version of this article.

suffer not just from physical violence but also from psychological violence.

The meeting was called to formulate a strategy to resolve cases of violence experienced by indigenous women and to divide roles for advocacy on this issue at local, national and international level.

Notes:

1. 'Perempuan Adat dan Perkembangannya', April 16, 2013, by Surti Handayani, Executive Secretary, PEREMPUAN AMAN. Published on AMAN website www.aman.or.id/2013/04/16/perempuan-adat-dan-perkembangannya.
2. A contributor to this newsletter.
3. 'Perempuan Adat dan Pengambilan Keputusan', AMAN, April 2, 2013, <http://www.aman.or.id/2013/04/02/perempuan-adat-dan-pengambilan-keputusan/#.VA628IfCdIo>
4. 'Pelatih Perempuan Adat Kep. Maluku untuk Pengambilan Keputusan', AMAN, February 12, 2014, <http://www.aman.or.id/2014/02/12/pelatihan-perempuan-adat-kep-maluku-untuk-pengambilan-keputusan/#.VA640FFCdIo>
5. See <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/indonesia-s-indigenous-peoples-continue-struggle-recognition> and <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/indigenous-women-s-meeting-personal-perspective> and
6. See, for example, report of the women's workshop at AMAN's Third Congress in 2007, which was attended by DTE: <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/indigenous-womens-workshop-aman-congress>, and our report of the women's workshop at the inaugural Congress in 1999 at <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/old-site/Slwom.htm>.
7. Nusa Halmahera Minerals
8. 'Perempuan Adat dan Perkembangannya', April 16, 2013, by Surti Handayani, Executive Secretary, PEREMPUAN AMAN. Published on AMAN website www.aman.or.id/2013/04/16/perempuan-adat-dan-perkembangannya
9. 'Penyelesaian Kasus Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Adat', May 31, AMAN website, <http://www.aman.or.id/2014/05/31/penyelesaian-kasus-kekerasan-terhadap-perempuan-adat/#.VA665IfCdIo>.

Solidaritas Perempuan: Gender and Natural Resources

The following article is based on a discussion with Solidaritas Perempuan (SP) in July 2014, with some additional information by DTE.

Solidaritas Perempuan (Women's Solidarity for Human Rights) is a feminist organisation established in 1990 based on individual membership. As of June 2014, SP had 686 members (men and women) across Indonesia.

At their sixth Congress in Palu, 2012, SP was mandated to strengthen and develop the grassroots women's political movement against impoverishment. This translated into the four interconnected issues at the heart of Solidaritas Perempuan's work: women and conflict over natural resources (including climate change); women and food sovereignty; women, migration and trafficking; and women and the politicization of religion.

To fulfil this mandate, SP employs a range of strategies, including strengthening SP membership, organizing women at the grassroots level, advocacy on cases and policies, and a campaign strategy to mobilize greater public support.¹

The interconnected issues are based on SP's analysis that when women lose access and control over natural resources, especially over decision making processes, one of the impacts is that they also lose their control over food resources. This means that they lose their sovereignty over food, including food chain management. This also prompts the need for cash so they can buy the goods they can no longer produce or access. Large scale commercial exploitation of natural resources and industrialization has meant prolonged impoverishment for grass roots communities, particularly women. These forces have also become the push factor for people to find alternative ways of earning income and deciding to migrate and work abroad, when jobs are no longer available for them within the country. There is a high demand for Indonesian domestic workers. This kind of work is embedded in gender norms as 'women's work' or attached to women's gender role: ninety percent of migrant workers are women (see box). This has resulted in the feminization of migration.

The politicization of religion is linked to these interrelated problems, because it is concerned with women's rights to have control over their own bodies and minds. The patriarchal (social) system then uses religion to limit these rights, and to discriminate against and intimidate women. All of which helps to keep women marginalized from the decision-making processes - including decision-making about natural resources and food management - which affect their lives. Women's rights have become



"Women's rights" from Solidaritas Perempuan protest banner. The banner says "fulfil women's rights to water" (SP)

further limited with the introduction of 342 discriminatory regulations and violent practices carried out in the name of religion.

SP's work springs from the understanding that there are unequal power relations between men and women due to the social constructions developed by communities and by society itself as the output of cultural patriarchy and feudalism. "What we want is for women to build and strengthen the critical awareness they need to fight the oppression and injustices they are facing," says Aliza from SP. And women need their own space in order to challenge the

status quo: "Women need a safe space of their own for discussion before they go into the mixed space."

On the issue of women and natural resources, SP has been working on women's access to, and control over, natural resources, in particular in the area of forestry, large-scale plantations, mining, water privatization and climate projects for the last three years. The work springs from the communities' own priorities.

SP has 10 communities/branches: SP Bungoeng Jeumpa Aceh, SP Palembang (South Sumatra), SP Jabotabek (Jakarta and nearby), SP Kinasih (Yogyakarta), SP Mataram (West Nusa Tenggara), SP Sumbawa (West Nusa Tenggara), SP Anging Mammiri (South Sulawesi), SP Kendari (South East Sulawesi), SP Palu and SP Poso (Central Sulawesi). Most of them have taken up natural resources as their issue except Mataram and Yogyakarta which are focusing on food and religious politicization. SP also works in 4 regions: Lampung, East Java, Central Kalimantan and West Java.

In Central Kalimantan, SP is monitoring the (now-defunct) Australia financed REDD demonstration activity project, the Kalimantan Forest Carbon Partnership (KFCP).⁴ Related to this, SP is also focusing on empowering the women living within the project area.

The migrant worker trap

While some women migrant workers are able to build security by working away from home,² in many cases they lose out by entering the migrant worker market. Sometimes families (whether unwittingly or not) enter into exploitative contracts with agencies or brokers. This is part of the commodification of women migrant domestic workers. Women, sometimes at a very young age, may be effectively reduced to property 'bought' as raw material, processed in a training centre, and then marketed and sold to consumers.

There have been many cases documented of women migrant domestic workers being abused by their employers, or their rights being violated, with no protection mechanism and nowhere to turn for help. SP has worked to strengthen and organize women migrant workers and their families in seven regions of Indonesia, and has handled and documented numerous cases involving women migrant domestic workers. See <http://www.solidaritasperempuan.org/publika>

si/koleksi-buku/). Most of these cases involved physical abuses, sexual abuse, non-payment of workers, having to work longer hours than stated in the contract or trafficking.

Dreamseekers, a recent film about Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong portrays the traumatic impact on abused young women very well, but also explains the debt entrapment system that supports this trade.³

This is a situation which can radicalize women as they become aware of the gender injustices that led them into a position where they were vulnerable to exploitation. However, migration - especially to jobs overseas where there may be additional language and cultural obstacles facing them, means that women can also become isolated, vulnerable to abuse and rights violations, and in many cases indebted to the agencies whose fees for training and travel must be paid off - a process which may take many months or even years.

In addition to KFCP, specifically on natural resources issues SP is working on:

- ♦ The REDD+ Demonstration Activity in Ulu Masen, Aceh, whose status is also unclear.⁵
- ♦ UNREDD's preparation for its demonstration activity in Central Sulawesi
- ♦ Palm oil plantations in Poso and Kendari
- ♦ State-owned sugar cane plantations in South Sumatera and South Sulawesi
- ♦ Mining in West Nusa Tenggara
- ♦ Water privatisation in Jakarta.

On climate change, besides advocacy on REDD+, SP is also working on monitoring climate finance and the international financial institutions involved, such as the Forest Investment Program (FIP) funded by the World Bank, IFC and ADB⁶ and The newly established Green Climate Fund, (the UNFCCC's global fund to mitigate and adapt to climate change) which is starting to build its policies and mechanisms.⁷

Gender Justice and beyond

SP's other main strategy is policy advocacy: the group is currently pushing for the adoption of a Gender Safeguard it has drafted⁸ in Indonesia's national-level climate change policy. The main principles of the Safeguard has already been adopted in the Principles, Criteria and Indicators (PRISAI) for the national REDD+ Strategy, which are gender inclusive, sensitive and responsive principles.⁹

As well as the Gender Safeguards work, the organization is working with KPPPA (the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection) to boost the ministry's involvement in natural resources issues. For example, SP has encouraged KPPPA to join the National Council on Climate Change (DNPI). SP together with KPPPA and several institutions/organizations, is also working to push for gender mainstreaming through the National Long Term Development Plan, including gender responsive budgeting. "Because if gender issues are not included in budgeting then it will be difficult to mainstream gender issues in the internal government," says Aliza.

With others, SP is also pushing for a more just government, which sets women's empowerment and protection as main priorities. SP is doing this through several CSO movements, such as Indonesia Beragam (Diverse Indonesia), a coalition of women's organizations and several other networks, consisting of many organizations focusing on women and gender issues.¹⁰ Before the elections, SP also issued a statement calling on the next president to stop the commodification of nature in Indonesia. (see page 9). Now that the elections are over, what does SP think about the future for women in Indonesia? "Women must participate and get involved in all decision making processes and



Solidaritas Perempuan training in Central Kalimantan, 2012 (Photo: SP)

in all aspects of these - social, political, economic and cultural - and they therefore need to have access to information and control over decisions, to empowerment, and to safeguards based on gender inclusive, sensitive, and responsive principles".

"The future government should develop policies, programs and mechanisms which empower women and protect their rights, rather than criminalizing women who are struggling to defend their rights over the resources they depend on for their lives. There should also be no more discriminatory policies that control women's bodies, minds and mobility," says Puspa Dewy, Program Coordinator of Solidaritas Perempuan's National Executive Body.

Challenges

Many of the challenges SP faces centre on the difficulty of securing proper recognition for gender justice as an integral part of the struggle for social and environmental justice. SP finds that it constantly has to point out to colleagues in other civil society organizations the need to differentiate between men and women when organizing communities and/or when analyzing impacts on communities. "If we only talk about 'communities' we're only representing community interests from men's point of view, because the reality on the ground is that when there are meetings with communities, it is usually only men who attend."

Many women are involved in taking action or demonstrations now, explains SP, but how exactly are they involved? Too often women are placed in the vanguard or the frontline, but it is the men who usually do all the strategizing, directing or organizing of protest actions; women also cook, make coffee and food during the discussions. It's fine to have a division of roles but do the women agree to that division? Were they even involved in discussing it? Do women believe that they are involved?

"In some cases, women feel their interests are already represented by the voice of her husband. So, if we want to involve the women we don't just need to give them information, but also we need to share understanding about gender injustices and their equal rights," says Aliza.

Notes

1. For more information see: <http://www.solidaritasperempuan.org/sub/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Buku-Mengurai-Realita-Pemiskinan-Perempuan-Di-Tengah-Konflik-SDA.pdf>
2. Elmhirst, R. (2007) 'Tigers and gangsters: masculinities and feminized migration' in *Indonesia Population, Space and Place*, 13 (3). pp. 225-238. ISSN 1544-8452
3. See *Dreamseekers* by Gratiane de Moustier at <http://vimeo.com/64791643>
4. See *REDD Monitor*, 'The demise of the Kalimantan Forest and Climate Partnership and the importance of free, prior and informed consent' 5 September 2013 at <http://www.redd-monitor.org/2013/09/05/the-demise-of-the-kalimantan-forest-and-climate-partnership-and-the-importance-of-free-prior-and-informed-consent/>
5. See *REDD Monitor*, 'Is REDD going ahead or not?' 28 March 2013, <http://www.redd-monitor.org/2013/03/28/is-redd-going-ahead-or-not-indigenous-leaders-complain-about-the-lack-of-information-about-the-ulu-masen-project/>
6. <https://www.climateinvestmentfunds.org/cif/node/5>, https://www.climateinvestmentfunds.org/cif/sites/climateinvestmentfunds.org/files/Indonesia%20FIP_Fact_Sheet_11_21_2013.pdf
7. <http://www.gcfund.org/home.html>
8. <http://www.solidaritasperempuan.org/sub/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Standar-Aturan-Perlindungan-Perempuan-SP.pdf>
9. <http://www.karinda-perkasa.com/prisail/>
10. See <http://prisai.reddplu.org/> ♦

Participatory Mapping: presenting in full information on the management of indigenous territories

DTE asks Kasmita Widodo, director of the Ancestral Domain Registration Agency (BRWA¹), about his experience of gender in participatory mapping with indigenous communities in Indonesia.

DTE: How did you become involved in the participatory mapping network?

Kasmita Widodo: Jaringan Kerja Pemetaan Partisipatif (JKPP, the Network for Participatory Mapping ²) was set up in 1996. In 1998 I started learning about participatory mapping and then went on to study GIS (Global Information System). At the time, GIS was a technology which, we hoped, would do a lot to enhance the benefits of participatory mapping. At that time, studying GIS was a luxury because not all NGOs had the ability to do that.

At that time, I was working to build up information at village level. There was something called the Village Information Centre (*Pusat Informasi Kampung - PIK*) and participatory maps were an important part of that.

Women were involved in the Participatory Mapping Network from the early days and one of the initiators of the network was a woman: Alex Flavell from Canada. She did participatory mapping in Central Sulawesi and West Kalimantan.

DTE: How do people in the village respond when they are introduced to participatory mapping?

KW: Participatory mapping is not usually the first interaction between support NGOs and the community. Usually there has been some organizing in the village around local issues related to land, natural resources etc. So mapping becomes a next step to respond to the problems there. Mapping is a tool to clarify a community's rights to land, where there are problems over tenure, or claims from an external party, such as a company with a licence to use the land. Mapping also has the aim of indicating the connections between the community and the land, the history of the community's life in their territory, showing the locations of historical sites and so on. The participatory mapping process opens up community thinking about the management of their territory.

DTE: How far is gender taken into account in the community mapping process? Are women included in the mapping facilitation team? Do communities involve women in the mapping



Participatory Mapping (photo: JKPP)

process, to ensure they get women's perspectives as well as men's?

KW: As I've already explained, mapping isn't the only process when organizing to respond to community problems in the village, so the involvement of women depends a lot on what has gone before. If, in that village women are taking the lead, they will be involved. Like in Molo-NTT, where Mama Aleta³ is from, women are very actively and strategically involved there. In fact that whole story was initiated by a movement of women who rejected mining.⁴ So, when my friends in JKPP and I are asked to facilitate participatory mapping there, Mama Aleta and women in every village they organise, play a dominant and strategic role in preparing for mapping.

So, if women are involved from the start and the role of women is strengthened through the actions that have gone before, the role of women will automatically be strengthened in the participatory mapping process. But in participatory mapping, we are always reminded that what we call the relationship, the connection between people and the land, for the villagers this means we're talking about men and women, and they each have their own particular connections.

For example, with the Baduy and Dayaks, when they *nugal* or begin the planting of dry rice, women sow the rice seeds while men make the holes for sowing the seeds. I see that this is a strategic role for women. There is bound to be a long history as to why it is the women who sow the seeds.

This has to be 'mainstreamed', or fully taken on board by my facilitator friends, so that when we do the mapping, it means we are representing this relationship: the relationship between the community and their territory. The information must cover men, women and children.

When the organizing which precedes the mapping doesn't involve women sufficiently, then the mapping process still has to involve women, because we still need to represent their relationships with land and natural resources on the map. The process of involving women becomes affirmative. This is what we just did in West Kalimantan, where I set the number of participants and ensured that at least one woman representative from each village had to be involved.

DTE: If women do get involved, what does this add to the mapping information in your experience (or how does women's involvement change the process and the product of the mapping process?)

KW: In my experience, in the mapping process, women will point out information related to cultivation, as in the Dayak territory. When planning how to use the maps, women think about the future of their territory from their own perspectives, as I have seen several times from holding focus group discussions, where the results of their discussions are very gender-specific. They will come up with issues related to the availability of water at home, and health facilities which need to be improved because there are complaints when they are sick or are going to give birth, that the facilities are too far from the village. These things come out of planning for the future of their territory. I don't think that those things would come out if there were not special discussions for women, and they were in discussions dominated by men.

DTE: *can you give an example where this has worked well with a good result?*

KW: In Molo, East Nusa Tenggara province, the mapping process is actually still going on, but the role of women is very evident, especially in Mama Aleta's group, when planning the management of their territory.

In Pagu, North Halmahera, Ibu ['Mrs'] Ida (The Pagu community's customary head) has told us about the problems of the Pagu indigenous territory. She is also the one who has asked us to map their territory, which has long been controlled by a gold mining company. During the mapping process, Ibu Ida joined the field surveying, in the forest for many days, to point out the boundaries of the community's customary territory.

DTE: *What are the main obstacles to women taking the lead?*

KW: There aren't any. Men want to learn about mapping, and want to show us their territories too, so they get involved in the mapping process. Where land is concerned, in several places in Indonesia, it is actually the women who hold the rights.

In the Tanah Ai indigenous community, in Flores, East Nusa Tenggara, in discussions about making the map and how the map would be used and about the land rights, it was clear that women are the rights-holders, including in matters of administration like paying land tax, which is done in women's names. Clearly, in their customary system, women are the land rights-holders. There, women are excellent sources of information about their customary territories.

In many other areas of Indonesia, men are much more dominant than women. On top of that, their customary systems don't involve women very much in decision-making about land, so that as facilitators, sometimes we have to use "coercion". This

"coercion" is important and needs to be done sometimes. It includes holding women's focus group discussions. But we have to have an understanding of the community's systems, because there are issues that are just not possible to talk about together.

Another strategy, if men are clearly dominating the discussions, is to have a women's facilitation team which goes from house to house or joins discussion groups involving women. Here, the women facilitators can explore issues that are considered important to women.

The map doesn't just contain spatial information but also social information. It is sometimes this social information that we get mostly from women. So as facilitators, we have to be able to document and encapsulate aspects that are related to women's connections to land, water, social issues and community institutions.

DTE: *In your many years of community mapping experience, have you seen any changes in the gender dynamics in the communities you work with?*

KW: I see that there's an increasing awareness of gender dynamics in the communities, with the emergence of leaders of women's movements at the grassroots level who are voicing their rights to land and natural resources. I understand that this doesn't happen because of a stand-alone process of organizing and support, but arises from the interaction between communities and various actors who are prioritising the role and rights of women in the long term.

In terms of organizing mapping, when setting the time for meetings, we can make arrangements which make it possible for women to attend, and still be able to do their work in the village, for example by paying attention to the seasonal calendar. Women have a close connection with the land and natural resources, so there are going to be times when they will be hard pushed to find any time, for example, during the harvest or at the start of cultivation. So we need to be flexible when we set up meetings.

The situation at village level, it has to be admitted, is that men remain too dominant, so first we need affirmative action for women. Second, we need strong organizing in which in-depth discussions are done with groups of women. We need to convince women that it's important for them to attend meetings. Third, we need to choose times that suit women.

DTE: *Talking about JKPP's work at national level (work on the One Map Policy with government agencies and other partners) to what extent is gender justice accounted for in this forum? Can you give details?*

KW: Work started on this One Map⁵ in 2013, though it has been talked about since 2012. It is related to the integration of all spatial information in the ministries and agencies which are involved in the governance of one location, using the same references. What hasn't yet been accommodated are the maps of the villages, the participatory maps. So that the maps of indigenous territories with all their social information can't be an official reference for the government.

From the start, One Map aimed to integrate the official government maps, but JKPP, AMAN and several other organizations wanted to push the participatory maps as being important to integrate too because they were linked to land rights.

At the moment BIG (the Geospatial Information Agency) has created an application, which lets communities contribute information from community maps. But there are still some differences of opinion between BIG and JKPP regarding the concept of participatory mapping.

According to BIG's concept, participatory mapping is when a community, which has spatial data, coordinates, names of places, rivers etc, provides this information to BIG. The data will then be examined as to its accuracy, standard etc at a later stage. If everything is correct, the information can enrich the topographical data held by BIG. This is very different from JKPP's concept of participatory mapping, because we are talking about village people's rights of tenure or use which are juxtaposed with maps showing licences issued to businesses such as industrial timber estates (HTI), oil palm, forestry or other thematic maps.

We have conveyed this to them and so JKPP has been asked to draft a Standard Operational Procedure for participatory mapping.

For JKPP, participatory mapping means fully representing an indigenous territory, its borders and land use, because this is a thematic map, not a base map. If this participatory map can be integrated, we can compare it with other thematic maps such as those showing mining, forests and plantations. Even though in this case BIG does not have the authority to recognize indigenous territories, the agency ought to be able to accommodate this spatial data.

In terms of gender justice and the One Map, this is still a long way from what's being discussed by government agencies dealing with this policy.

Thus far, these participatory maps can't be included or referenced when the government exercises its control or management of land, indigenous territories, forests and so on, meaning that conflicts arise with communities. We hope that the One Map will make the maps of customary territories, or these participatory maps

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Resources & further information

Indonesia:

Solidaritas Perempuan:

<http://www.solidaritasperempuan.org/>

PEREMPUAN AMAN:

<http://www.aman.or.id/tag/perempuan-aman/>

Komnas Perempuan:

<http://www.komnasperempuan.or.id/>

KAPAL Perempuan:

<http://www.kapalperempuan.org/>

Kalyanamitra:

<http://www.kalyanamitra.or.id/>

Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan:

<https://www.jurnalperempuan.org/>

Migrant Care:

<http://migrantcare.net/>

Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia (KPI)

<http://www.koalisiperempuan.or.id/>

Jaringan Nasional Perempuan

Mahardika:

<http://perempuanmahardika.wordpress.com>

Forum Aktivis Perempuan Muda -

Indonesia

(FAMM - Indonesia): <http://famm.or.id/>

Ministry for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection:

<http://www.kemnpppa.go.id/v3/>

International:

Forest Peoples Programme: - Gender issues webpage with links to key documents and articles about gender issues and forest peoples:

<http://www.forestpeoples.org/topics/legal-human-rights/gender-issues>

Tebtebba: - documents from the Global Seminar-Workshop on Climate Change, Indigenous Women, and REDD+:

<http://www.tebtebba.org/index.php/all-resources/category/94-global-seminar-workshop-on-climate-change-indigenous-women-and-redd>

Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR): Forests and Gender web-page: <http://www.cifor.org/forests-and-gender/>

Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO): <http://www.wedo.org/>

Asian Indigenous Women's Network (AIWN): - activities, publications and multimedia resources including English language narrated animation about indigenous women's rights; <http://asianindigenouswomen.org/>, and **Realizing Women's Rights: a Handbook on the CEDAW**, <http://asianindigenouswomen.org/index.php/p>

[ublications-and-multimedia/103-realizing-indigenous-womens-rights-a-handbook-on-the-cedaw-1](http://publications-and-multimedia/103-realizing-indigenous-womens-rights-a-handbook-on-the-cedaw-1)

Gender and Development Network:

<http://www.gadnetwork.org/>

Bridge, Gender and Social Movements

online resource, attached to Sussex University's Institute of Development Studies (IDS).

<http://socialmovements.bridge.ids.ac.uk/>

Just Associates (JASS):

<http://www.justassociates.org/>

International Network of Women's

Funds: <http://www.inwf.org/> - co-hosts of the **Women and Climate Summit**, Bali 2014,

<http://www.greengrants.org/programs/areas-of-focus/women/announcing-the-2014-summit-on-women-climate/>

Engendering Climate Change blog:

<https://genderinclimatechange.wordpress.com/>

United National Population Fund

(UNFPA) 2009 report on women, population and climate:

<http://www.unfpa.org/public/publications/pid/4353>

UN Women/CEDAW:

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>

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visible, so they can be referenced when planning to issue licences or when establishment of the status of the forest zone (*Kawasan Hutan*) is carried out.

DTE: What is your greatest success story in this participatory mapping work?

KW: I can't claim it as my own or my organisation's success, because participatory mapping isn't the only effort to defend the rights of communities. Around 2005-2006, in post-tsunami Aceh, together with Rumpun Bambu Indonesia Foundation (YRBI) we facilitated many *gampung*⁶ in Aceh to do mapping and *gampung*-level planning during Aceh's rehabilitation and reconstruction period. There were several *gampung* under the leadership of their *keuchik* (*gampung* leaders) which made full use of the maps to plan the development of their *gampung*, post-tsunami. They used the map consistently, to decide where houses could be built, where the water sources were and so on, and all this was decided collectively. I saw there how important it was to build collective agreement. The relationship between these *gampung* communities with YRBI and JKPP continued post-mapping, to monitor the progress of the rehabilitation and reconstruction process. The result is

that every planning measure coming into this *gampung*, has to refer to the collectively agreed participatory map. From this story I want to emphasize that unless the mapping is done with a collective agreement that all members of the community will stick to, then the participative map won't be any use.

In Ujung Kulon, Banten province, western Java, there was a conflict between the community and the Ujung Kulon National Park. There was one small village inside the national park area, but they had a history of living there and had negotiated for a long time for their community to still be able to remain there. We helped to prepare village maps and showed that community's efforts to protect part of the national park and helped the negotiation process with the government. At that time it was clear that community was not very well prepared to face the uniformed officials involved (police, military, and national park staff). The NGOs involved in this case helped the community during that time, accompanied them and defended them in these negotiation forums.

So, the lesson from this is that after the mapping has been done, it is important to continue supporting the community. Because if you don't, when the community comes to discuss their map with external actors, they are not necessarily ready for that.

So, at the beginning of the mapping process there needs to be a strong organizing process to ensure the representation of women in the mapping process. After mapping, it is just as important to support the community (men and women) to use the map, especially the legal and policy consequences of using the map as a tool to demonstrate community rights.

Notes

1. <http://www.brwa.or.id/>
2. <http://www.jkpp.org/>
3. For more information see DTE website articles: DTE 91-92, May 2012 <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/traditional-knowledge-vital-tool-climate-change-adaptation>, and <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/indonesia-s-indigenous-peoples-continue-struggle-recognition>
4. For background to this story, see DTE 74, August 2007, 'Women lead mining resistance' textbox in 'Indigenous Women's workshop at AMAN Congress', <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/indigenous-womens-workshop-aman-congress>
5. See DTE 93-94, December 2012, 'Indonesia's One Map Policy' for background on this. <http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/indonesia-s-one-map-policy>
6. The lowest level of customary governance in Aceh. ♦



***This is the last
ever issue of DTE!***

***We would like to say a heartfelt thank you to all our
contributors and partners who have worked with us over
the last twenty-five years.***

Photo: Woman in her garden, Kiyu Dayak community, Meratus, South Kalimantan (AMAN/DTE)