

Indonesian Feminist *Journal*

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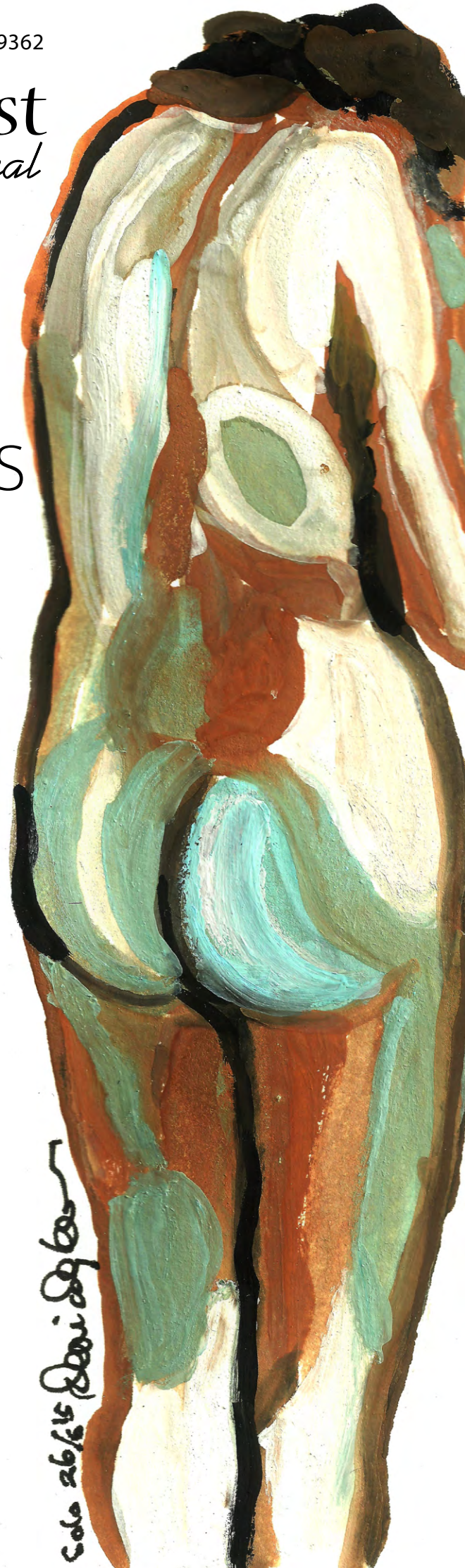
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Cover shows a detail of "Wounded Body" by Dewi Candraningrum (water color on paper, 2015)

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Indigenous Women and Land Rights in Indonesian Agrarian Conflicts

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Abstract

This paper aims to provide an understanding linking indigenous women, land rights, indigenous forests and the marginalisation of women in agrarian conflicts in Indonesia. For indigenous people, forests are not only a natural resource but they are an integral part of their culture. Rivers and swamps are a source of food and help indigenous women teach their children how to survive in nature. Forests lose their biodiversity overshadowed by monoculture plantations, mining and other agricultural practices. These practices do not only destroy the beauty of forests, but also cause acute environmental pollution and birth defects.

Keywords: Indigenous Women, Land Rights, Agrarian Conflict.

Introduction

The Indonesian archipelago has more than 100 million hectares of abundant forests. The lives of tens of millions of people, particularly indigenous people, depend on these forests. Flora, fauna and clean overflowing rivers provide a source of life. The people relying on the forest collect here rattan, wood, vegetables, game, honey and traditional medicines for their livelihoods, and these people are known for having the wisdom to take care of the forests and their surrounding environment. However, after the forests are divided into categories and the state gives power to companies to make their own arrangements, it becomes increasingly difficult for indigenous people to get what they need for life from the forest. As the appearance of the forest changes, an unlimited number of rubber trees and palm oil plantations appear.

Indigenous women in particular experience heavy affects from deforestation through oppression from the changing environment, while this is also a source of sexual violence.

It was in the New Order that natural resource exploitation began to increase. On May 24, 1967 provisional legislation regarding the Basic Provisions of Forestry was thrown out. This ensured that the exploitation of natural resources became a priority over environmental protection. It is clearly stated in this legislation that Indonesia's resources between forests is still extensive. The message then was that forest exploitation should not be delayed, even at the expense of some, for the sake of the national economic development and welfare. At the time, the forest became a capital development item, and in order to maximise the 'use' of its natural resources, the legislation was made public within

the year. The Law No. 11 of 1967 regarding the Basic Provisions of Mining constituted measures that opened the door for capital investment, both foreign and domestic, complementing the Law No. 1 of 1967 on Foreign Investment and the Law No. 6 of 1968 on Domestic Investment¹.

Following the Forestry Legislation of 1967, emerging policy on the use of the forest was introduced with a forestland use agreement (THGK). Based on the THGK, the forest is categorised into four categories, namely, forest for production, forest for protection, forest for conservation and forest for nature reserves, however, these could be changed at the discretion of the state. This policy is referred to as the law for forest depletion.² In applying this legislation, the government could begin handing land and forest out by allowing concessions to companies, in the forests of Central Kalimantan, Sumatra, Maluku, East Nusa Tenggara and Papua. Control over all (unclassified) forest areas, in the eyes of the state, would then be changed to state forests. Gifting concessions and management rights without considering the rights of residents or the indigenous population is something that has long been an issue.

The Ma'ayan Dayak Forest Story

Mardiana Dana could not hold onto her emotions when she told the Ma'ayan Dayak forest story. She sobbed. Her eyes glistened. Full of a diverse range of tree species and animals, and rivers with clear running water, the forest met the everyday needs of its residents, as well as their ritualistic needs. The forest provided wood, rattan, fruits, game, honey and various medicines. "With our forest food now gone, we are imprisoned in our own country. We are here in the forest, where can we go?" says Mardiana³. Mardiana is a Ma'ayan woman and nurse working in East Dusun, Tamiang Layang. There are 56 women this year from Sarapat village in the East Barito regency, Kalteng and since 1979 Mardiana's has worked to help the residents of the village. She is concerned and saddened to see their forest customs ruined, especially for the indigenous community who has lived in the region for a long time. When these people have to deal with the state they are forced to fight for

their rights. There are people in this community who have been arrested and/or severely wounded, and this does not include what has happened to the women.

Since 1993, the rubber plantation industry began to enter the region of the Ma'ayan Dayak community and others in the Janah Jari village, Awang, East Barito, Kalteng. PT. Haspram was the company, now known as PT. Sendabi Indah Lestari. Residents were persuaded to release their land and even though they resisted the offer, the company still entered. Still today, the problem is not over and the threat is increasing. These forests not only became rubber plantations but also coal mines. Currently, there are around nine coal mines. Slowly, the forest is being lost to these industries. Kalteng is just one province 'plundered' for natural resources, through legal and illegal means. The Indonesian Forum for Environment's (WALHI) data for Kalteng from December 2012 showed that palm oil plantations expanded by 4.1 million hectares with 3.8 million hectares of the region based on the conditions in the land use agreement. According to WALHI, in 2010, the province was home to 81 palm oil plantations, covering more than 718 thousand hectares of illegal land.

Companies operate in not-for-conversion forests in the production forest areas without permits from the Ministry of Forestry. Moreover, there were more than 300 mining permits issued, mainly for coal, for the conversion of some 300 thousand hectares of forest land. In East Barito alone, there were more than 100 permits issued, which didn't include industrial forest plantation permits or forest concession licenses.

"In these forests is our life and now its gone", Mardiana says, she cannot bear to look at what the companies and officials have done to the people. She now simply tries to help the people and has joined the Indigenous Peoples Alliance (AMAN) in regional Kalimantan. She stays with locals through any of their struggles, with many of them receiving threats. "[T]here was a time where someone put a cleaver to my neck to threaten me. I was once hit by a car too. I never thought of turning back nor giving in (as) I was sure that God would help me and my ancestors. We are fighting for our indigenous livelihood",

she said. Now, she accompanies and is the guarantor of nine Ma'ayan Dayak people that have been accused of stealing rubber by the company. She continues: "[i]n fact, they take the rubber from their own land, but it's claimed by the company because they obtained a license for the area." In East Barito, the development of palm oil and other plantations as well as mining, uses hundreds of hectares, even thousands, resulting in a massive loss of nature.

Not only is its biodiversity lost, the lives of residents of the forests are greatly affected as well. In Janah Jari, after the company entered, the forest began to be cleared for rubber seeds and a short time after that Haspram opened a coal mine, while in other villages, palm was replacing the original forest. Forest clearance for palm oil following the use of fertilizers for plantations and mining operations eroded the land and the use of dynamite led to contaminated rivers and swamps. Rivers turned from murky yellow to black.

Changes in the forest and river population greatly affect the lives of many indigenous people who depend on them, with indigenous women in particularly effected for their close relationship. Due to the destruction, it is difficult for women to gather resources from the forest and its river system. Everything from fruits such as durian, mangosteen, vegetables, firewood, raw material for cleaning products and medicines are all taken from the forest, and all of these forest products are collected close to home. However, the current situation means they have to venture far into the forest for collection. The women also make various crafts from the raw material they collect: "[w]hen the forest is owned by companies, it is turned into oil, mining and plantation land. It's already difficult to get the materials we need". Obtaining water from the river and marshes becomes increasingly difficult. "The river in East Barito went from brown to black, to blue to green, and now it's muddy and smelly. The foam on the river is not from washing clothes, it's from mining because the mine is higher up and the plantation below", says Mardiana. Before that, residents could drink the water that came from the river or the marsh without having to boil it first: "[w]e were

healthy. But now, we're drinking poison". The girls and women could easily catch fish from the rivers and marshes for their families: "[n]ow, it's hard because the river is polluted".

Furthermore, the rivers and marshes aren't just a source of food; they are also a part of the culture. They are places for indigenous women to teach their children to be safe around water: "[n]ow, how can we continue our cultural practices if the rivers and marshes are polluted and almost gone?". This is a big impact on the indigenous population and their culture. Losing the source of their livelihood has led to children dropping out of school and poverty in the villages is getting worse. Now, according to Mardiana, out of 100 families in Janah Jari, 24 are living below the poverty line, "[t]here are children in primary school that do not want to go to school". Contamination of the river, she says, is also affecting community health, primarily in pregnant women who then have the potential to give birth to children with birth defects. Some babies are being born with disabilities.

In this community, the indigenous men and women work together to manage the forest, including the rubber and fruit plantations and hunting areas. For a long time the day-to-day tasks of men and women complemented each other: "[i]f a husband went into the forest to collect fruit, for example, the wife would help with vegetable farming or fishing. And if the husband could not go into the forest, the wife would. Caring for the children was also something done together, as was making decisions". Yet, Mardiana says this culture has faded somewhat after the companies began development. Bad influences from the outside arrived: "[f]or example, husbands are making decisions without their wives, there is no more deliberation". The reality is that the family experience is changing. The pros and cons of welcoming investors has caused the relationship within communities to change and the culture of working together and making joint decisions has worn thin. In the past, there was no suspicion between peaceful residents.

And that's not all. The investments that have changed the forest have also changed rituals. Their ancestors had taught them to

maintain and care for the forest, through village education about management of the land and understanding the trees: “[w]e know what trees can be felled and what trees cannot”. This is a form of indigenous ritual, and in this ritual, men and women share roles. There are many indigenous rituals, rituals that maintain the village borders or *ipaket*, rituals that open the land for cultivating unirrigated fields or *nyuwuk jumpun*. This is to see what land is suitable for farming and in the Kaharingan religion, they also have rituals such as giving food to the water guard, or calling for the spirit of the water guard. Now, this ritual is almost gone as the region is under the power of the companies. They also had a belief that when a person died they had to be buried in a coffin made of a certain tree that is commonly found in the forest: “[t]his is very hurtful, as trees such as *lalutung* and *gaharu* are hard to come by now”.

Loss of the indigenous territories for the Ma’ayan community shows just one picture of a community that has lost its livelihood. The protests have not been considered, as the forest lost is not a problem for the government as the companies involved have licenses. The misery caused to the lives of indigenous people seems not to be a consideration for the government. Their rights have been neglected, and this pertains especially to indigenous women. This stance is shared with Dr. Mia Siscawati from the Gender Studies Program at The University of Indonesia⁴. Siscawati says that indigenous women, both young and old, struggle against violence on the ground, in their villages and in their homes. In a special study conducted by Siscawati in Kasepuhan Banten Kidul, from 1998-2013, there were no female leaders in the community and the involvement of women in deliberations was limited. In most big communities the women who were involved had a relationship to the officials, either through a family relationship, marriage or kinship, and usually had the responsibility of providing catering or logistics. And these women could only listen to the deliberations from behind a bamboo wall. These women would also get other indigenous women to help with the preparation of the logistics so that they could also listen to the speeches. Indigenous

women also have inheritance rights over the land and other property, however greater access is given to men⁵.

The villages of these indigenous people, said Siscawati, is located in an area rich in natural resources, however this is also their source of life. Unfortunately, until the presence of companies of palm oil, mining and government plantations leave, the restoration of the ecosystem and nature reserves must be provided for the communities life, “[t]he people are treated like animals in factory farmed”. And for the women, violence comes from their own homes and their poverty. Siscawati says, the children do not want to go to school. Recovering from this is more difficult when a young woman is trapped in trafficking syndicate. They come to the village after a job offer but they are actually entering a syndicate: “[w]orse, it is often a job offered by someone close to them”. In the village, women’s reproductive health is low. And for a rich region, poverty and low education in the community, as well as the infant mortality rate, are at their peak. This problem, says Siscawati, does not exist only in Papua, Aru and Barito, but also in Banten, an area not far from the centre of the country. She cited Kalbar, an area where the trafficking of women and rate of HIV/AIDs is very high, even though the area is rich in natural resources: “there has to be something wrong with the management of these natural resources. Its time for the country to stop this and get these women out of this situation”.

It is apparent that discrimination of women is greater to that of men. In this form, it is practiced by the state, but also by the companies and even the surrounding local community. The indigenous community is often accused for cultivating squatters and thieves, when these people are actually managing the land and fighting for their lives.

Indigenous people cannot live calmly, as they have no certainty that their land or the forest will not be lost. Within the indigenous community, women are now considered to be second to men. What has been happening to Ma’ayan Dayak women is also happening to women in other regions. Indigenous forests are not something that is acknowledged by the

government. Inevitably, the loss of a living area is a conflict over land and natural resources. In regions claimed by companies or governments, residents have resisted and tried to survive. According to the Data Consortium of Agrarian Reform (KPA), there were at least 472 conflicts over almost 3 million hectares in 2014, involving more than 100 thousand families.

Compared to 2013, there has been an increase of 103 cases. From KPA's 2004-2014 data, there were 1,520 conflicts over an area greater than 6.5 million hectares involving more than 970 thousand families. From this data, conflicts related to indigenous people come from sectors such as infrastructure, plantations, forestry, farming and mining. Throughout this, the state neglected to protect any indigenous people. Instead, the state becomes present in the form of military and the national police, often with guns, and that is something at odds with indigenous people. From the state's perspective, this society is seen as something that prohibits development, or worse, is considered as a 'pest' that must be eradicated. A very small number of government officials are neutral on the matter and when residents report land grabbing to the police, officials often do nothing. Conversely, when companies report residents who they consider to be encroaching on company rights, the police are present as enforcers of the law. Regional customs, culture, arts and crafts are made from natural sources by women, and are often considered rare items. However, art culture and customs that vanish along with the forest seem to escape the attention of the government. The recognition of customs and rights already existed in the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) of 1960, but in practice recognition is not given, particularly after overturning the Forestry Act of 1967. UUPA is no longer in use, however, there has been a strengthened civil movement on the rise with the civil community organisations from local to international voicing serious pressure on the government to recognise indigenous rights.

Aleta Baun, an Ecofeminist

Baun's weapon are the many unique indigenous women. They weave! Indigenous women in many areas rise up and are at

the forefront of protecting the forest. They organise themselves to drive out companies who would otherwise destroy the forest. The Molo indigenous women have struggled to maintain the environment from the grip of the Mount Mutis mine, East Nusa Tenggara. Mount Mutis has high biological diversity and is the centre of West Timor's major waterway, which supplies drinking and irrigation water to the residents of the island. The community also looks for food and medicine in the forest, as well as grows crops in its fertile soil. The women obtain natural dyes for fabric in the forest and the spiritual connection between the community and the forest is strong. Not surprisingly, when the companies were entering the forest, Baun appeared as the driving force behind its protection.

Baun has been fighting since 1996 and has since become an enemy of big companies and local governments. They have even offered a reward to anyone for her assassination. She has luckily escaped all attempts on her life, through fleeing and hiding in the woods with her baby. Other members of the community who have shown resistance have been detained and beaten, however, they have persistently resisted. Baun has organised hundreds of people to peacefully protest and occupy the marble mine and their approach is to protest while weaving. Thanks to their persistent struggle, in 2007, Baun and fellow protesters managed to stop the destruction of the sacred forest land on Mount Mutis, with the mining company leaving Molo⁶. These protests did not only happen in Molo as resistance was shown by female fighters on various islands in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku and Papua. Indigenous women became the driving force against companies that would destroy ancestral forests. In order to strengthen indigenous women, the civil society organisation concerned with their struggle, AMAN, formed a special board in September 2013 involving women.

This board is composed of a number of individuals who were involved in the protests. There are several important goals: *firstly*, to recruit, educate and manage the cadre of women to become fighters for the basic rights

of indigenous women, both in indigenous communities, government and in international relations; *Secondly*, to manage information and knowledge on indigenous women in areas that could inspire indigenous and non-indigenous women in other countries; *thirdly*, to collect, manage and distribute a variety of funding sources, from both internal and external organisations focused on indigenous women; and *finally*, to manage the network of resources that constantly fighting for the fulfilment of the rights of indigenous women, both at the level of individuals and organisations⁷.

On May 16, 2013, Abdon Nababan, the first person of the Indigenous Peoples Alliance, headed to the Constitutional Court. He hoped to watch the trial verdict of AMAN's lawsuit against the Forestry Law. However, he arrived late and the trial was over. Yet, Nababan could not hide his excitement when he arrived as their case had won. The decision numbered 35/PUU-X/2012 states that *indigenous forests* are no longer state *owned forests*. This was wonderful news for all indigenous peoples, especially for indigenous women. This decision is now called the MK35 decision. "[T]his decision is an important change for the indigenous peoples of Indonesia. A ruling that restores sense, a ruling the indigenous people were desperate for", says Nababan. In March 2012, AMAN, together with the two indigenous communities Kasepuhan Cisitu and Kenegerian Kuntu registered to fight the 1945 Forestry Law at the Constitutional Court.

They fought for indigenous forests, not state forests, for their management and utilisation to be returned to indigenous people. In the decision's understanding, state forests included indigenous forests, thus marginalising indigenous people. In indigenous forests, he said, the government gives companies forest concession licenses and industrial forest plantation permits. Inevitably, this leads to the conflicts involving thousands of people, with many being arrested⁸. Prior to that, AMAN drafted a proposal to recognise and protect indigenous people in the era of president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. However, the discussion was dragged out in parliament and the SBY

government is finished and the bill has not been passed. Although the decision regarding MK35 strengthened the position of indigenous people, on the ground it seems not to apply. Corporations and the government continue to dominate indigenous territories and indigenous forests continue to be cleared. Citizens in conflicts with companies and the government (in national parks or nature reserves) keep being expelled or arrested by legal verdicts. The Constitutional Court's decision seemed not be aligned with the view held by the central and local governments in addressing the issue of indigenous people. In fact, in July 2013, former president Yudhoyono, at an international forum, expressed his support for the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights as mandated by the Constitutional Court, yet this was no real promise.

Not all that surprised by the Ministry of Forestry, when it was led by Zulkifli Hasan addressing the defence of MK35, saying that the recognition of indigenous forests awaits local regulations. Therefore, there is a 'back door' permit into forest areas (there is often a recommendation or proposal from the region) that is provided by the ministry. A positive sign before former president Yudhoyono left office in October 2014 was that the Anti-Corruption Commission (KPK) signed a joint decree Menhut-II/2014 regarding the determination of citizens' land, including indigenous territories. The departments involved were the Ministry of Forestry, the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the National Land Agency.

The central government must move quickly to disseminate this policy across all ministries, agencies and local governments if this is not to be just another regulation on paper. Myrna Safitri, the Executive Director of the Epistema Institute said that the decree ordered the settlement of conflicts in forest areas within six months. The problem however is that the land offices in regional areas are not aware of this decree. This issue needs to be clarified and the technical guidelines pushed: "[i]f the process is opened up to involve the known parties, the problems on the ground will be known"⁹. In some areas, initiatives to make regulations

regarding indigenous people already exist, such as in Kajang, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi and Kabupaten Malinau, however there are still very few. Civil societies continue to urge the government to implement recognition of indigenous peoples, however on the ground, conflicts continue. In September 2014, civil society organisations filed a judicial review of the law on the Prevention and Eradication of Forest Degradation (P3H), which was initially intended to ensnare corporations however one year on the law targets all citizens, especially indigenous people residing in the forest and not a single company or company person.

The role of the National Commission on Violence against Women: the National Indigenous Inquiry

The decision on MK35 was made more than a year ago, but the work of the government in providing recognition on indigenous rights is yet to be seen. The National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas) established the conditions behind the implementation of the National Indigenous Inquiry. This was while the violation of indigenous territories continued to occur, as well as while many other agrarian conflicts were being reported to the commission. With the support of several civil society organisations and institutions, the Inquiry was implemented: “[a]grarian conflicts experienced by indigenous people occur everywhere and are severe. To that end, the Commission initiated a special inquiry for indigenous peoples in forest areas, hoping that the process can contribute to solving the problem while being able to obtain justice for victims”, said Sandra Moniaga, the Komnas commissioner at the launch of the Inquiry in Jakarta on June 20, 2014.

The Inquiry aimed to uncover, thorough information collection, systemic human rights violations and its massive impact on indigenous communities. After hearing a collection of testimonies the Commission would provide recommendations to the government for settlement. In the Inquiry, Komnas paid particular attention to the violations against indigenous women. Arimbi Heroepoetri, the commissioner of the National Commission on

Violence Against Women said that the Inquiry is looking into violations against indigenous peoples in a comprehensive manner. According to Heroepoetri, speaking about women’s rights, sometimes the recipient does not know that there was a violation committed. The Inquiry is looking into seven regions: Palu, Sulawesi, Medan, Sumatra, Banten, Java, Pontianak, Kalimantan, Jayapura, Papua, Bali, West Nusa Tenggara, Lombok, East Nusa Tenggara and Ambon, Maluku.

Around 40 cases have been heard in the regions. Present were the parties of the victims, local governments, various companies, the military and the national police. There was a session of testimonies from indigenous women and from these testimonies, a number of human rights violations against indigenous people were said to have been committed by various sectors. There were at least 33 instances of human rights other abuses concerning the social, economic, cultural, civil and special rights of indigenous peoples. Now, the Commission is compiling recommendations based on the Inquiry’s results that will be given to the government. At the end of the Inquiry in Jakarta on December 16, 2014, the Commission on Violence Against Women expressed that 40 cases included a variety of human rights violations against indigenous women who have subsequently endured an onslaught of discrimination. In the Commission on Violence Against Women’s findings about violence towards indigenous women in forest conflicts, it was evident that the opinions heard came from women who had strong indigenous backgrounds. Their testimonies made their relationship with the land clear as their source of life and livelihood when arranged in traditional management systems and customary law. The forest provides food, shelter, medicine, characterises the self-existence, and shapes the culture.

The Commission on Violence Against Women’s hearing of 40 cases recognized the eviction of indigenous peoples from their source of livelihood as continuous and massive. Damage occurred through ignoring regulations, through the blurring of customs, changes in the function of indigenous forests into national parks,

nature reserves, forest concession licenses, industrial forest plantation permits, palm oil plantations, mines and other agricultural uses, all without consulting the people dependent on the area. Neglecting claim settlements made between indigenous people, companies and government was also an issue: “[t]his condition has exacerbated the presence of transmigrants, which ignores aspects of sociology and culture, as well as having the Special Police Corps (Brimob) present during conflict resolution”. Forced displacement of indigenous peoples because of transmigration, mining or other practices, results in their cultural roots and rights being deprived. The displacement of indigenous peoples from the forest is less effective because they have a strong spiritual relationship with each other and a strong spiritual connection to the forest. At the time, the sociological and ecological analysis was weak. There was also a lack of preparation within the community for a new culture. This resulted in feelings of anger, disappointment, frustration as well as instilling hopelessness for future development.

The Commission on Violence Against Women evaluated that the removal was massive, systematic and structured. This began through the passing of the 1967 Forestry Law and the Mining and Investment Law. Exploitation of natural resources in indigenous territories by the various parties over the decades had an extraordinary impact in forms of torture, public health, serious environment damage and pollution. The impact on women’s reproductive health as well as during the birthing process due to their lack of nutritional intake, the potential exposure to hazardous chemicals used in the management of gold mines and palm oil. Losing sources of life and food from the forest meant losing livelihood, which caused children to drop out of school, or people to work outside the village to help their parents. Indigenous women, said Heroepoetri, suffered the most when there was conflict over natural resources. Apart from having to meet the requirements of the economy and provide food for the family, they suffered violations of their own rights through threats, harassment, stigma and evictions: “[p]ersecution, losing the right to access information

and contribute to decision-making, and losing access to steady work or mining”. According to the Commission on Violence Against Women, in Papua, the Merauka Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) works without involving the wider community. MIFEE has an effect on ecological safety because almost all major economic activities are based on the exploitation of natural resources; meaning that conservation becomes irrelevant. The program is also detrimental to the indigenous people who have lost their source of life without assurance that future generations can enjoy the environment in its present state (the future generation right) and potentially eliminating the identity of the community. In other findings, the state did not pay enough attention to guarantee the protection of indigenous peoples living on small islands, as the ecosystem’s existence was threatened, similarly to what occurred in Maluku and North Maluku.

Agrarian Conflicts as a Source of Violence against Women

Mia Siscawati’s view is that the root of violence against women is closely connected to agrarian conflicts and that this is something that must be stopped. The root of these conflicts, according to Siscawati, is *firstly*, claiming indigenous forests as state forests. State policy affirms that unclaimed territories are state land. To this end, this territorialisation should be reviewed as “[i]t may be possible to put a stop to this approach”. Through this, there have been more than 30,000 villages in forest areas or around forest areas that have suffered. “[T]his is not a small problem”, she says. *Secondly*, the forest is understood solely as a natural commodity.. This means that the natural resources have been used as the main product of trade in the market supply: “[t]his was done simply to negate the existence of indigenous peoples, especially indigenous women and other marginalised groups. President Jokowi and other state institutions should think about it being time to stop this”. *Third* issue is the militaristic approach, where an agrarian conflict ends in an armed conflict. For Siscawati, this pays homage to the colonial legacy in which the

management of land in Java was administered through force. *Fourthly*, the presence of the state in indigenous affairs through violence, cannot continue.

She asks the country to recognise, protect and fulfill the rights of indigenous people, particularly women. This is possible, she says, if the child mortality rate and illiteracy and education problems can be overcome. The trafficking of women in areas where natural resources are rich can be drastically reduced. The state, she said, should not be allowed to close its eyes and neglect the rights of indigenous women, the state is not free from liability. AMAN was an official supporter of the election campaign of president Joko Widodo and vice president Jusuf Kalla in July 2014. The pair's vision and mission committed to provide recognition, as well as protect and promote the rights of indigenous people.

This will be achieved through the process of forming new laws or changing current laws and policy. Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla incorporated six main points for the protection and promotion of indigenous rights in Nawa Cita (see Table 3). Once the cabinet was formed, the president asserted that ministries and agencies had to incorporate this vision and mission in key aspects of their work.

Now, ministries and agencies are following the Nawa Cita. Among other efforts underway, the new Ministry of Environment and Forestry is preparing a task force recognising the rights of indigenous people and resolving conflicts. In five years, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry aims to have 40 million hectares of land set aside for the indigenous community, when before, there was only 9 million hectares, with only 4.5 of that forest area. The ministry also plans to resolve all conflicts so that indigenous communities no longer have any difficulty fighting for their land, however, on the ground, conflicts still continue. The Ministry

of Agrarian and Spatial Affairs and the National Land Agency, and the Ministry of Environment and Forestry are attempting to work with four ministerial regulations on community zoning. As stipulated in the joint regulations, if there is a conflict over land, the government has to resolve it within six months. The Business Agency, since its inception, has been committed to protecting the rights of indigenous peoples through its Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) program. Now, the agency is in charge of the data that maps indigenous territories. The Ministry of Interior Affairs has also promised to use the maps data for the establishment of infrastructure. This map is important because it recognises the rights of indigenous peoples and it means that their territories are included in national maps.

Conclusion

This study hopes that the positive signals from the recognition and protection of indigenous peoples is not limited to being merely a commitment on paper. The ministries and agencies are moving forward, yet they must not only work within their area, but also with other agencies such as the Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Affairs and the National Land Agency, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, the Business Agency and the Ministry of Interior Affairs. Other ministries such as the Ministry of Women's Development and Child Protection, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Tourism and Culture as well as other ministries have to move together. All efforts should be coordinated by Jokowi's vision and mission for the protection of indigenous people. If this was an easy task, indigenous women would already be exercising their rights. However, rights have been violated because of the government's neglect. The next step should be to ensure the government measures its successes.

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