

Indigenous Development and Empowerment in Mimika Regency, Papua Province of
Indonesia

Miss Ellen Sasha



บทคัดย่อและแฟ้มข้อมูลฉบับเต็มของวิทยานิพนธ์ตั้งแต่ปีการศึกษา 2554 ที่ให้บริการในคลังปัญญาจุฬาฯ (CUIR)
เป็นแฟ้มข้อมูลของนิสิตเจ้าของวิทยานิพนธ์ ที่ส่งผ่านทางบัณฑิตวิทยาลัย

The abstract and full text of theses from the academic year 2011 in Chulalongkorn University Intellectual Repository (CUIR)
are the thesis authors' files submitted through the University Graduate School.

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts Program in International Development Studies
Faculty of Political Science
Chulalongkorn University
Academic Year 2014
Copyright of Chulalongkorn University

การพัฒนาและสร้างอำนาจให้กับชนพื้นเมืองในเขตปกครองพิเศษมิมิกะ จังหวัดปาปัว ประเทศอินโดนีเซีย



วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต

สาขาวิชาการพัฒนาระหว่างประเทศ

คณะรัฐศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

ปีการศึกษา 2557

ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Thesis Title	Indigenous Development and Empowerment in Mimika Regency, Papua Province of Indonesia
By	Miss Ellen Sasha
Field of Study	International Development Studies
Thesis Advisor	Assistant Professor Jakkrit Sangkhamanee, Ph.D.
Thesis Co-Advisor	Yanuar Sumarlan, Ph.D.

Accepted by the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree

..... Dean of the Faculty of Political Science
(Associate Professor Ake Tangsupvattana, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE

..... Chairman
(Kanokrat Lertchoosakul, Ph.D.)

..... Thesis Advisor
(Assistant Professor Jakkrit Sangkhamanee, Ph.D.)

..... Thesis Co-Advisor
(Yanuar Sumarlan, Ph.D.)

..... External Examiner
(Chalita Bundhuwong, Ph.D.)

CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

เอเลน ซาซา : การพัฒนาและสร้างอำนาจให้กับชนพื้นเมืองในเขตปกครองพิเศษมิมิคา จังหวัดปาปัว ประเทศอินโดนีเซีย (Indigenous Development and Empowerment in Mimika Regency, Papua Province of Indonesia) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: ศศ. ดร.จักรกริช สังขมณี, อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์ร่วม: ยานันท์ ชูมารธาน, 99 หน้า.

ชาวอะมูม่งและชาวคาโมโรโรถือเป็นชนพื้นเมืองผู้ด้อยโอกาสและประาะบางมากที่สุดในเขตมิมิคาในประเทศอินโดนีเซีย การทำเหมืองแร่ซึ่งมาพร้อมกับกระบวนการทำให้เป็นสมัยใหม่ซึ่งเข้าสู่พื้นที่ตั้งแต่ คริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 1960 ได้ก่อให้เกิดการปรับปรุงโครงสร้างพื้นฐาน ซึ่งได้สร้างความเปลี่ยนแปลงต่อวิถีชีวิตชาวอะมูม่ง และ ชาวคาโมโรโรอีกทั้งโครงการสนับสนุนแรงงานข้ามถิ่น ภายใต้การพัฒนาที่นำโดยรัฐ ได้ก่อให้เกิดการหลั่งไหลของแรงงานข้ามถิ่นจำนวนมาก ซึ่งส่วนใหญ่เป็นผู้ที่ได้รับผลประโยชน์ทางเศรษฐกิจในเขตมิมิคา ทำให้ชนพื้นเมืองลุดอยู่ในสถานะชายขอบ เพื่อลดช่องว่างทางเศรษฐกิจให้กับชนพื้นเมืององค์กรพัฒนาเอกชนจำนวนหนึ่งได้เข้ามาช่วยเหลือผ่านการพัฒนาและเสริมสร้างศักยภาพให้กับชนพื้นเมืองเพื่อให้พวกเขามีส่วนร่วมและปรับตัวเข้ากับการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางเศรษฐกิจและสังคมที่เกิดขึ้น อย่างไรก็ตามการพัฒนาโดยรูปแบบต่างๆเหล่านี้ได้สร้างความท้าทายต่อชนพื้นเมืองอะมูม่งและ คาโมโรโรในการได้รับผลประโยชน์ตามวัตถุประสงค์ของโครงการพัฒนา

งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้จึงมุ่งศึกษาชนพื้นเมืองของชาวอะมูม่งและชาวคาโมโรโรในฐานะผู้ได้รับผลประโยชน์จากโครงการเสริมสร้างศักยภาพชนพื้นเมืองในเขตมิมิคา โดยวัตถุประสงค์ของงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้คือ เพื่ออธิบายสภาพปัจจุบันของชนพื้นเมืองอะมูม่ง และคาโมโรโรที่เกี่ยวข้องกับกระบวนการพัฒนาที่อยู่ในเขตมิมิคา; เพื่อวิเคราะห์บทบาทของภาคประชาสังคม อันได้แก่แอตเธิซึมเอเล, เอล์มาซ่า และ เอล์มาสได้ในการปรับปรุงโครงการพัฒนา ซึ่งได้ทำการวิเคราะห์เชิงลึกผ่านกระบวนการพัฒนาทั้งภาคประชาสังคมดังกล่าว ควบคู่กับภาครัฐบาล; และเพื่อวิเคราะห์ความคิดว่าด้วยความเป็นชนพื้นเมืองภายใต้โครงการสร้างเสริมศักยภาพในปัจจุบันที่ดำเนินการโดยภาคประชาสังคมในช่วงระหว่างการปรับปรุงโครงการพัฒนาศักยภาพ ทั้งนี้ผู้วิจัยได้ใช้วิธีวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพในการเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูล ผ่านการสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึกกับผู้ที่เกี่ยวข้องในประเด็นที่ศึกษา อีกทั้งใช้การวิเคราะห์และประเมินผลจากมุมมองที่หลากหลายของสถาบันจริตประเพณี องค์กรพัฒนาเอกชน และชนพื้นเมืองอะมูม่งและคาโมโรโร และผ่านการวิเคราะห์เอกสาร

ผลการวิจัยแสดงให้เห็นว่า โครงการเสริมสร้างศักยภาพที่เกี่ยวข้องกับเรื่องสุขภาพ เศรษฐกิจ และการศึกษา ในปัจจุบันยังไม่สามารถเสริมสร้างศักยภาพของชนพื้นเมืองอะมูม่งและ คาโมโรโรได้อย่างเหมาะสม แม้ว่าโครงการพัฒนามีส่วนทำให้เกิดการพัฒนาศักยภาพของชนพื้นเมืองอะมูม่งและ คาโมโรโรโดยการเชื่อมโยงสถานะของชนพื้นเมืองและกระบวนการทำให้เป็นสมัยใหม่ อีกทั้งการเข้ามาของสถาบันจริตประเพณีมีส่วนช่วยให้เกิดการพัฒนาศักยภาพของชนพื้นเมืองได้มากขึ้น การเน้นจุดสนใจที่แตกต่างกันในโครงการพัฒนาทำให้การพัฒนาศักยภาพของชนพื้นเมืองพื้นเมืองอะมูม่งและ คาโมโรโรทำได้ไม่เต็มที่ ทั้งนี้ระบบนิเวศวิถีชีวิต และเพศสภาพ ของชนพื้นเมืองอะมูม่ง และ คาโมโรโร มีบทบาทสำคัญอย่างยิ่งในการวิพากษ์วิจารณ์ผลของโครงการพัฒนาเหล่านี้ต่อความเป็นชนพื้นเมืองของพวกเขา



สาขาวิชา การพัฒนาระหว่างประเทศ
ปีการศึกษา 2557

ลายมือชื่อนิติสด
ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก
ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาร่วม

5681222224 : MAJOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

KEYWORDS: INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT / EMPOWERMENT / PAPUA

ELLEN SASHA: Indigenous Development and Empowerment in Mimika Regency, Papua Province of Indonesia.

ADVISOR: ASST. PROF. JAKKRIT SANGKHAMANE, Ph.D., CO-ADVISOR: YANUAR SUMARLAN, Ph.D., 99 pp.

The Amungme and Kamoro are indigenous groups that are among the most underprivileged and vulnerable groups in Mimika Regency, Indonesia. Modernization came to the area since the 1960s through mining activity and has encouraged modern infrastructure that disrupted Amungme and Kamoro indigenous lifestyles. These state-led developments have further underpinned the marginalization of these groups by the transmigration program that brought a high influx of migrants who are more supported and benefit from economic activities in the regency. To bridging the gap of economic advancement to indigenous people, non-government organizations have emerged with the purpose of developing and building the capacity of indigenous people to assist them to engage in and adapt to economic and social changes. However, these approaches of empowerment are challenging for Amungme and Kamoro to fully benefit with its prominent aims.

This research focuses on the development of indigenous people in Mimika to find the link between current empowerment programs with the indigenesness of Amungme and Kamoro as beneficiaries. The research objectives are to describe the current condition of Amungme and Kamoro in relation to recent development in Mimika; to analyze the role of civil society in improving development projects through in-depth analysis on the development process of LPMAK, Lemasa, Lemasko and government; and to analyze the idea of indigenesness within current empowerment programs conducted by civil society while identifying key areas to improve current empowerment programs. This research uses qualitative methods to collect data from key informants with in-depth interviews from relevant stakeholders involved and through document analysis. Various perspectives from the customary institutions, non-government organizations and indigenous people of Amungme and Kamoro are analyzed and evaluated.

The research findings reveal that the premise of current empowerment programs in health, economy and education does not fit with the Amungme and Kamoro's empowerment needs. Although current empowerment programs have developed the capacity of Amungme and Kamoro by bridging the gap between their condition and modernization, and the engagement of customary institution has enhanced its strategy to better empower indigenous people, the different focus of empowerment has limited the Amungme and Kamoro to be fully empowered by the program. The Amungme and Kamoro people's ecological context, livelihood and gender have played a key role in criticizing those programs against their indigenesness.

CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

Field of Study: International Development Studies

Academic Year: 2014

Student's Signature

Advisor's Signature

Co-Advisor's Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to Jakkrit Sangkhamanee, Ph.D for his expertise and good understanding of my research topic, constructive criticism and insights, and his patience editing my writing. I wish to sincerely thank him for having acted as my supervisor during the period. Although he was busy, he made time to have consultations with me. This work would not complete without his guidance.

I also want to thank my co-supervisor Yanuar Sumarlan, Ph.D for his guidance, constructive comment, enthusiasm and encouragement from the process of proposal writing, preparation of fieldwork until the end of the writing process.

I am grateful for the financial support from the ASEAN Chulalongkorn Scholarship (AEC) & MAIDS Chulalongkorn Scholarship that gave me opportunity to study at the best university in Thailand. Both scholarships allow me to pursue my Masters degree and most importantly to follow my passion carrying out research on indigenous people in Papua.

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the respondents who gave me valuable support in collecting data. I am deeply indebted to the Amungme and Kamoro who helped me to understand their perspectives along the way, particularly to Bapa and Mama Tom Beanal for introducing me to Amungme culture and sharing me their valuable insights. I dedicate this thesis to Amungme and Kamoro.

I also would like to sincerely thank LPMMAK, kaka Tobias Maturbongs and kaka Sisca Tanra for their very warm welcome, support and assistance during my fieldwork. Without support from the customary institutions, Lemasa and Lemasko, this thesis would not be finished. Also to my friends back home abang Timor, adik Vincent, kaka Lauren for their valuable support to my research.

I owe gratitude to all MAIDS friends and staff, who I cannot mention individually, for being very supportive and encouraging throughout my study in Thailand.

My life and study would be nothing without the support of my beloved Jakarta family. My father Darwin Bin Baso and mother Siti Barsih, sister Eka Daswindar, brother in law Nasrul Fata for their support, encouragement and prayer to God that gave me the power to finish my study.

Above all, I thank God Almighty for giving me inspiration, strength and knowledge through my MA journey.

CONTENTS

	Page
THAI ABSTRACT	iv
ENGLISH ABSTRACT.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
Chapter I Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Research Question	7
1.3 Research Objective	7
1.4 Research Method	8
1.4.1 Research Site/Location.....	8
1.4.2 Data Collection Methods.....	9
1.5 Research Scope.....	11
1.6 Research Limitation.....	11
1.7 Ethical Issues	12
Chapter II Literature Review	13
2.1 The Amungme and Kamoro as Indigenous People	13
2.1.1 The Amungme	13
2.1.2 The Kamoro.....	17
2.1.3 The relationship between Amungme and Kamoro.....	22
2.1.4 Development since the arrival of Freeport	23
2.1.5 The adverse effect of development to indigenous people	25
2.1.6 Indigenous people reaction and strategy towards unintended development	29
2.1.7 The context of empowerment in Papua	32
2.2 Conceptual Review	34
2.2.1 The concept of Indigenousness and empowerment.....	34

	Page
Chapter III The Empowerment Program: LPMMAK, Lemasa and Lemasko	44
3.1 LPMMAK	44
3.1.1 A historical review of the formation of LPMMAK	44
3.1.2 LPMMAK Vision and Mission.....	47
3.1.3 LPMMAK Organizational Structure.....	48
3.1.4 LPMMAK Focus of Development Intervention	50
3.2 Lemasa.....	52
3.2.1 The Evolution of Lemasa in Development.....	52
3.2.2 Lemasa Vision and Mission	54
3.2.3 Lemasa Organizational Structure (Chain of Command) and focus of empowerment	55
3.3 Lemasko	57
3.3.1 Lemasko Entry into Development.....	57
3.3.2 Lemasko Vision and Mission	59
3.3.3 Organizational Structure and programs.....	59
3.4 Dynamics of development actors	60
Chapter IV The Economy, Education and Health Empowerment Program	66
4.1 “A revolving scheme” (Program dana bergulir) LPMMAK program in Economy.....	66
4.2 Taruna Papua school in education.....	76
4.3 Maternal and child health (KIA) program and Mitra Masyarakat hospital.....	80
4.4 Relationship of the three empowerment programs of LPMMAK and Customary Institution	83
4.5 The empowerment of Amungme and Kamoro	86
4.5.1 Inindegeben ninjagam	86
4.5.2 Kamuru	87
Chapter V Conclusion.....	88
5.1 Reflections on the concepts	88
5.2 Conclusion.....	91

5.3 Recommendation	Page 93
REFERENCES	95
VITA.....	99



LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Samples/sources of information.....	9
Table 2 Non-Government Organization Matrix	31
Table 3 Shared Empowerment Program.....	65



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Relation of actors in development intervention of Amungme and Kamoro ...	6
Figure 2 The Amungme Settlement (Cook, 1995).....	14
Figure 3 The Amungme women. Photograph by Francis Asadi.....	14
Figure 4 The Kamoro (Hisada, 2007)	18
Figure 5 Kamoro Settlement (Hisada, 2007)	19
Figure 6 Freeport mining area, Kamoro and Amungme traditional settlement (Beanal, 1997).....	27
Figure 7 Development Timeline in Mimika	28
Figure 8 LPMK Organizational Structure.....	50
Figure 9 Lemasa Organizational Structure	55
Figure 10 Lemasko Organizational Structure.....	59
Figure 11 Kamoro Community self-sufficient group (Kelompok Swadaya Masyarakat) with layer poultry business at Muare village getting ready to harvest the eggs daily at 4 PM.....	68
Figure 12 Amungme Community self-sufficient group with his layer poultry business is collecting the eggs	69
Figure 13 Amungme Community self-sufficient group (the two of the right) with his catfish farming is feeding the fish during LPMK (on the left) monitoring activities	69
Figure 14 Kamoro Community self-sufficient group “Tunas Baru” with their farming business is harvesting morning glory to be sold at afternoon market in Timika.....	70
Figure 15 Revolving program has helped Kamoro Community self-sufficient group “Naiti” to start his fish selling business.....	70
Figure 16 The english class for primary student as extracurricular activity at MPCC. For conducting english class, the MPCC procure the teacher from outside the center while the students are coming from government school.....	78
Figure 17 The MPCC library as reading room facility provides various collection of both LPMK publication in Amungme Kamoro folklore and science subject. Shown on the picture below, the student were reading books after finishing their English class.....	78

Figure 18 Auxiliary community health center (Puskesmas Bantu) in Tsinga Valley..81

Figure 19 Distribution of Vitamin A in Banti Village as one of KIA Programs. With cross collaboration between LPMK Health Bureau and the community health officer, this activity is regularly conducted twice a year in February and August.82

Figure 20 Various activities of integrated services post (Posyandu) under KIA Program. The integrated services post is center to which community regularly check their toddler from age 0 to 5. Shown in the picture below from left to right community health cadre training, handwashing training for kids, toddler weighing (1), toddler weighing (2), distribution of Vitamin A, and healthy kid post.....82

Figure 21 The network of development actors85



Chapter I

Introduction

1.1 Background

The on-going horizontal conflict in Mimika regency since March 2014 has caused at least three Papuans and four immigrants to be killed, more people to be injured, and has led to city paralysis¹ (Somba & Perdani, 2014). These kinds of social clashes have frequently persisted since 1967 in Papua and Mimika in particular. To which the root causes are multiplied and varied, scholars grouped the caused coming from horizontal inequality in economic opportunity and disputes over land between the indigenous inhabitant and the migrants (Ayorbaba, 2011; McLeod, 2007). Improper displacement of indigenous inhabitants and harsh competition over economic opportunity has emerged since the coming of Freeport McMoran, a copper mining company, which is claimed to give more favor to migrants, who becomes more prosperous by controlling the economy through domination of the employment and entrepreneurships. The dynamics of uneven development has made Mimika, particularly Timika city, a conflict-prone area where ethnic conflict and tribesman-migrant clashes frequently occur.

The uneven development is rooted in 1960 after the enactment of Foreign Direct Investment Law in Indonesia that made West Papua the target of state-led development. Its rich natural resources attracted mining exploration, particularly in Mimika District, which, in 1936, was discovered as having the largest copper and gold deposits in the world (Trajano, 2010). To access these natural resources, the

¹ The stimulus of the conflict was from the discovery of Dani tribe's chieftain Korea Waker dead body. Without detail root causes of the killing, the Dani accuse that it was made by the migrants. As per Dani cultural values that head paid by the head. Other member of Dani delivers retaliation by set fire to the migrant's house after randomly killing number of migrants they met on the location. Facing these, the migrants then killed another Dani as revenge (Movanita, 2014). After series of initial investigation by local authority, the murder was allegedly caused by the disputes between Dani tribes and the migrants over land disputes in the transmigration residential unit 2, 5 and 6. Additionally, this event has stimulated another physical clash between migrants and Papuan at Kwamki Lama village in Timika (Muslimah, 2014).

Indonesian government in 1967 gave the concession to Freeport McMoran, an American based mining company (Hisada, 2007; Rifai-Hasan, 2009). For the government, Freeport's entry into Mimika meant considerable earnings in the form of taxes, royalties and stipends and employment opportunities. Additionally, as per Mimika regional and provincial development, since the start of mining construction, the company has brought modernization to the area by changing the landscape of Mimika District from inhospitable terrain to a modern district viable for economic activities. The company has built modern infrastructure, including new cities (Tembagapura, Kualakencana and Timika), miles of roads, port, airstrip and other facilities needed to support the mining activities.

Although the coming of Freeport aimed to improve the economic sectors both for central government and the Papuans, this large-scale development project has brought indigenous disadvantage for Amungme and Kamoro. Its benefits in stimulating growth in Indonesian economy have led to environment and further disturbing their social and economy structures. Since its first operation in 1967s, the company's tailings have potentially caused ecological disaster within aquatic life and mainland through its toxins and mercury. The tailings are disposed in the Aijikwa and Otokwa River, connecting to the Arafura Sea. Up to 1995, it has polluted 336.6 square miles off-shore and 143.3 square miles onshore (Rifai-Hasan, 2009). The tailing has polluted the river biota with mercury exceeding the levels safe for the ecosystem and human consumption. It also massively destroys the physical landscape of the river system; depleted local resource gardening, fishing, wildlife and hunting areas; thus separating the local people from resources and livelihood. The environment has been continuously demolished by the company's operation without any control for environmental protection, particularly on the effect of the destruction to surrounding communities. The government is hesitant to restrict the capital producers and has difficulty assessing the company's operation. As such, implementing environmental standards is unaffordable. Environmental destruction has come in parallel with the economic and social impacts on local people. Mining has failed to bring equal economic growth and technical advancement to local people, and encourage fair local markets and entrepreneurship. The Amungme and Kamoro remain disadvantaged and

frustrated with the change in their indigenous economies context. As consequence, discrimination in employment emerged, as recorded up till 2003 only four Papuans are employed in Freeport, along with economic dislocation and lawlessness.

To support mining, in the 1980s the government enacted a transmigration program to Mimika region that affected the land management in Timika (Trajano, 2010). The land was divided into transmigration settlements, in which every indigenous family would live in vicinity with seven transmigrant families. A special one-hectare arrangement was given by the government to favor every transmigrant family in Timika. Unfortunately, all of these developments to support the mining were built on indigenous land, for which compensation was not properly paid and this had disturbing social and economic impacts on the indigenous inhabitants (Rifai-Hasan, 2009). Conflicts around this issue have emerged since then. A series of displacements and the high influx of migrant for both skilled and unskilled work has further marginalized Amungme and Kamoro as Mimika's indigenous squatters and landowners.

The Amungme are the indigenous people that inhabit the highland of Mimika, particularly the area of Freeport mining concession and the cities that the company built to support its mining operation. The Amungme practice farming, inter-village trade, and pig breeding to meet their daily consumption needs. In contrast to Amungme, Kamoro inhabit the coastal area of Mimika with fishing as their main economic activity. This means of livelihood mean that to depend on the mangroves resources along the coastal and rivers particularly to where Freeport's tailings is being dumped and Amamapere port development is located.

Although both the Amungme and Kamoro have different means of livelihood, gender-based division of labor within Amungme and Kamoro societies dictates women's close engagement with the land, thus stipulating their roles and responsibilities in maintaining family's wealth and clan's economy. To the Amungme and Kamoro, women are the economic drivers. Women's is role of nurturing makes them the main implementers of farming and fishing activities. As such, any disruption in the land and indigenous territory will affect them the most. Thus, social dynamics

and conflict initiated by economic advancement from the state and mining mostly affected indigenous women rather than the men.

Amiruddin and Soares (2003) point out that in 1996, both the Amungme and Kamoro established organizations as legal entities in their effort to increase bargaining power with the state to defend their indigenous rights. These community-based organizations act as native representation for the tribes. For the Amungme, this organization is known as *Lembaga Masyarakat suku Amungme* (Lemasa) and the Kamoro *Lembaga Masyarakat Adat Kamoro* (Lemasko). The main task of these two organizations is ensure that community members understand the changes happening to their indigenous sphere. On the one hand, Lemasa and Lemasko also claim to have made extensive contributions to the development of the Amungme and Kamoro by delivering suitable development intervention to the people.

The government, together with civil society, is trying to lessen the tension of the conflict by bridging the gap between economic advancement in the area to indigenous people. Various non-government organizations have emerged and a series of development interventions have targeted empowering Amungme and Kamoro. Most of the interventions aim to develop and build capacity of the people so they can engage and adapt to economic and social changes. One of the prominent non-government organizations is the Lembaga Pembangunan Masyarakat Amungme dan Kamoro (LPMAMK). The LPMAMK, since its establishment in 2001, has been focusing its interventions on delivering community development programs across sectors to reach both the Amungme and Kamoro that are affected by mining operations.

Additionally, since the government granted West Papua autonomous status to set development patterns in West Papua that also affects Mimika, the government has enacted a special program to develop the indigenous people of Papua including the Amungme and Kamoro in Mimika. The program is known as the Village Development Strategic Planning (Respek), and is significant in terms of its approach to enabling community members of each village to pursue and decide their own development path.

However, it remains unclear whether the indigenous inhabitants, the Amungme and Kamoro, are benefitted from all development interventions directed at them. It is important to see how their indigenusness allows advantage from those programs to improve their well-being. This research focuses on the practices of development intervention to indigenous people in Mimika District, West Papua to the Amungme and Kamoro. This thesis analyzes whether the development programs of civil society organizations, LPMAK, Lemasa, Lemasko, and the government are meeting the Amungme and Kamoro needs of empowerment.



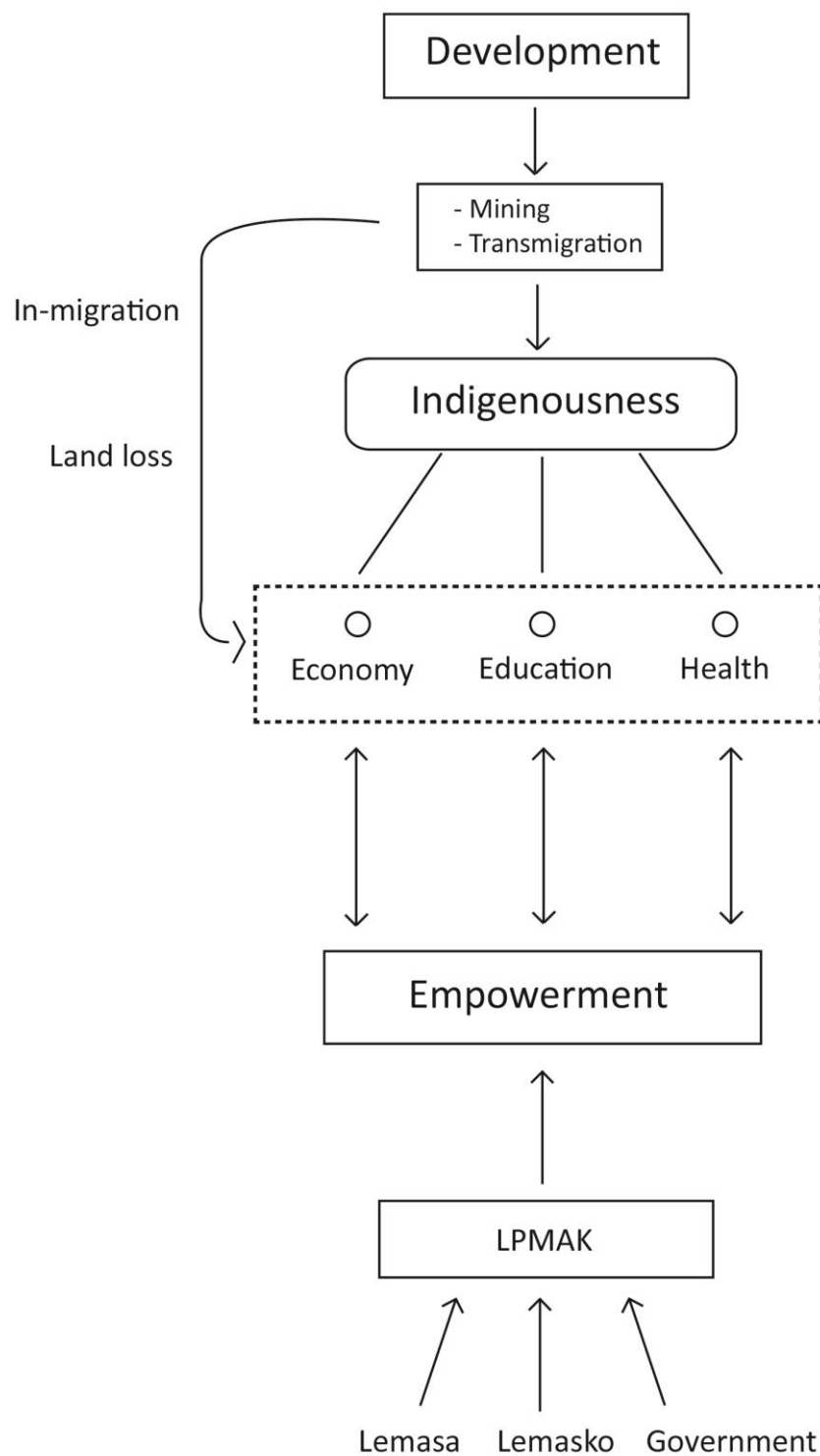


Figure 1 Relation of actors in development intervention of Amungme and Kamoro

1.2 Research Question

Research questions for this research are:

1. What are the current economic and social situations of Papuan in relation to the recent development in Mimika Regency?
2. What are the roles of civil society to improve the situation of development project?
 - i. What are the main premises or focus area?
 - ii. How is it executed?
3. Are the empowerment programs being enforced by LPMAK, LEMASA, LEMASKO and Government answering their needs/problems?
4. To what extent the idea of indigenusness has been included into empowerment program?
5. What can be done to develop and improve the development program in empowerment to better fits indigenus needs?

1.3 Research Objective

Objectives of this research are:

1. To define current condition of Papuan in relation to the recent development in Mimika regency.
2. To analyze the role of civil society in their effort to improve development project.
3. To examine development process by LPMAK, LEMASA, LEMASKO and Government as related to indigenus people in Mimika regency.
4. To analyze the idea of indigenusness in civil society's empowerment program.
5. To identify key area for improvement of Indigenus people empowerment program.

1.4 Research Method

1.4.1 Research Site/Location

This research covers the Mimika regency where mining establishments hinder develop indigenous rights. The Mimika regency is a mix of highlands and coastal lowlands located on the southern part of the Central Papua, bordering the Arafura Sea. Respecting geographical landscape, these tribes practice subsistence economy based on fishing from mangroves, hunting and agriculture. On the contrary, the Amungme live in the highlands of Mimika on subsistence agriculture and nomadic living. Both tribes are affected by the Freeport Mining through the establishment of Timika city to support the main mining activities at Tembagapura as well as its tailing waste management through the Otomina and Ajkwa rivers leading to Arafura Sea.

While the area covers different tribes and different forms of living that might lead to different concepts of women economic empowerment; they share some similarities that make it possible to address the question of this research. Some of the similarities include:

- They share the same form of political succession that is based on achievement in society covering economic and social roles. This leads to the same social values and structure.
- They share some women empowerment programs run by various NGOs such as:
 - LPMK (a non-government organization formed and funded by PT Freeport) whose main focus is to develop indigenous community affected by Freeport around Timika area with various programs in the areas of Economy, Education and Health.
 - Lemasa (a tribal representation organization of Amungme which focuses on developing tribal community in social, political, and economy empowerment) and Lemako (community organization of Kamoro).

- The region is an area of the Government's focus on the National Program of Community Empowerment (PNPM) – Strategic Village Development Plan (RESPEK), a program for alleviating poverty by providing fund to increase wealth of the community. The government provides some available publications and reports.

1.4.2 Data Collection Methods

This research uses qualitative methods with focused interviews with key informants from: local tribes in the area, the NGOs that focus in development in the area, and the local authorities who work on the indigenous development matters.

The sample of this research is shown on the table below:

Table 1 Samples/sources of information

	Government Officials	NGO	Local Tribes		Total
			Chief	Beneficiaries	
Mimika Regency	1	3 LPMMAK 2 Lemasa 2 Lemasko	1	5	15

The data was gathered directly through interviews and secondary data collection. For primary sources, the key informant interviews were used to target the leaders of indigenous communities and the beneficiaries of the Amungme and Kamoro, the representatives of economic development-related government officials, and NGOs. Additionally, interviews are useful to get data on knowledge, views and experiences of empowerment programs.

At the NGO, the representatives of various bureau were interviewed about what programs they offer to local communities, how their development programs are being delivered to local communities, and how indigenous women are being involved on the programs. In addition, there were also inquiries about what they find significant as lessons learned from the programs to see the success of their development from their perspective. Interviews were also be conducted with NGOs

that serve both tribes (Kamoro and Amungme) in different regencies, to encapsulate in-depth information on the differences and similarities of the development process between these two tribes.

In gaining information about the customary institutions' involvement in the development initiatives in Mimika, the Lemasa and Lemasko staffs were interviewed. As with other respondent, the interviews were conducted through appointed key informants who have direct involvement in the programs. It is pertinent to gain practical knowledge as well as deep understanding on how coordination works in the field.

The basis of this research is interviews the local communities. In-depth interview were conducted with the chiefs of tribes for the Kamoro and Amungme and the representatives of women as the beneficiaries of development programs being implemented by the CSOs in Mimika regency. Focus groups were held to see how they themselves observe the challenges and positive outcomes of development programs and how they react to those impacts and how this influences their well-being. It is pertinent to gather information on their experience being beneficiaries of various economic empowerment programs, as well as on whether the program recognized their role and positioning within their live and community, whether it provides circumstances that establish the empowering process and empowerment for indigenous Papuan women. Furthermore, gaining their perspective of aspired economic empowerment may encapsulate the factor of empowerment based on their local wisdom; what problems need to be addressed specifically by development program, how it should be delivered, and what collaboration needed by various CSOs in order to empower their livelihood.

Additionally, secondary data was collected to enrich the study. The material was gathered through the research report and monitoring and periodic reporting of related government programs and institutions and NGOs.

1.5 Research Scope

There are numerous Amungme and Kamoro settlements in Mimika Regency both in mountainous area and around the coastline. This research focuses on specific village of Amungme and Kamoro in Mimika regency which have been recipient of development interventions. This research only targets two villages because of limited resources, remoteness and time constraint.

1.6 Research Limitation

At the time of field research, there were numerous challenges that limited the researcher to ideally conduct the research in Mimika regency as planned. As per the schedule for conducting field research in June 2014, the target communities were engaged in conflict between different tribes that have occurred for a long period. Kidnapping and killing in Timika created dangerous conditions for foreigners to come to the area. As per the NGO and Papuans colleagues' suggestion, a field visit was postponed until the conditions are possible to approach the respondents. Up until the field research was conducted, conflict in Timika remains. This further restricted the researcher's plan for research in accessing the data from the field.

Due to the fact that the physical conflict is a customary one, and security forces do not in function, the researcher had limited latitude to approach the community and staying with them. With the close assistance from NGOs, the researcher was able to visit beneficiaries and other respondents. Those actions were taken to ensure researcher security while in Timika. However, while conducting the interviews, the NGOs were not involved, so as to ensure the neutrality.

1.7 Ethical Issues

Regarding the ethical issues, this study requires collecting information directly from the field. Therefore, it is necessary for the researcher to ensure that the informants participating and selected in this study are treated with equal respect and sensitivity. The researcher's ethics and honesty are highly valued, and the information collected in any cases or situations is purposefully used only for this research. Maintaining confidentiality and anonymity is the first priority. The contributions by all informants are highly appreciated. Finally, interviews and focus groups that are used in this research are designed in such a way that participants are not embarrassed or asked to do something that might put them danger.



Chapter II

Literature Review

This chapter reviews existing literatures concerning empowerment of indigenous people related to the case study of this research. The chapter is divided into two parts; the first part highlights the Amungme and Kamoro as indigenous people and development since the arrival of Freeport in Mimika to provide contextual overview of the case study as the focus of this research, while the second part provides several concepts that are linked to the case study. The paper utilizes this section to frame the issue through discussion of the concept of indigenes and empowerment to gain common understanding of the complexities around indigenous people empowerment in Mimika.

2.1 The Amungme and Kamoro as Indigenous People

Mimika is a regency on the south coast of West Papua with two main topographic features of lowlands (coastal area), and highlands. It has total population of 202,359 people in 2012 (Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Kabupaten Mimika, 2013). The population consists of local migrants, foreigners and seven indigenous tribes of which two out of seven are the focus of this study, Amungme and Kamoro. The two tribes are Melanesian with curly hair and dark skin with a hunter-gatherer social system.

2.1.1 The Amungme

The Amungme, often called Damal or the highlanders, inhabit wide valleys (Tsinga, Hoeya, Noema, Bella, Alama and Wa valley) around Sudirman (Cartenz Topenz) mountain range located between 1,000 to 2,000 meters above sea level to the lowland in Timika and Agimuga (Pemerintah Provinsi Papua, 2011). The approximate population is 12,000 people including 4300 living around Freeport Mining area (Kafiar, 2013). The tribe practices a hunter-gatherer economy with patrilineal social system and kinship.

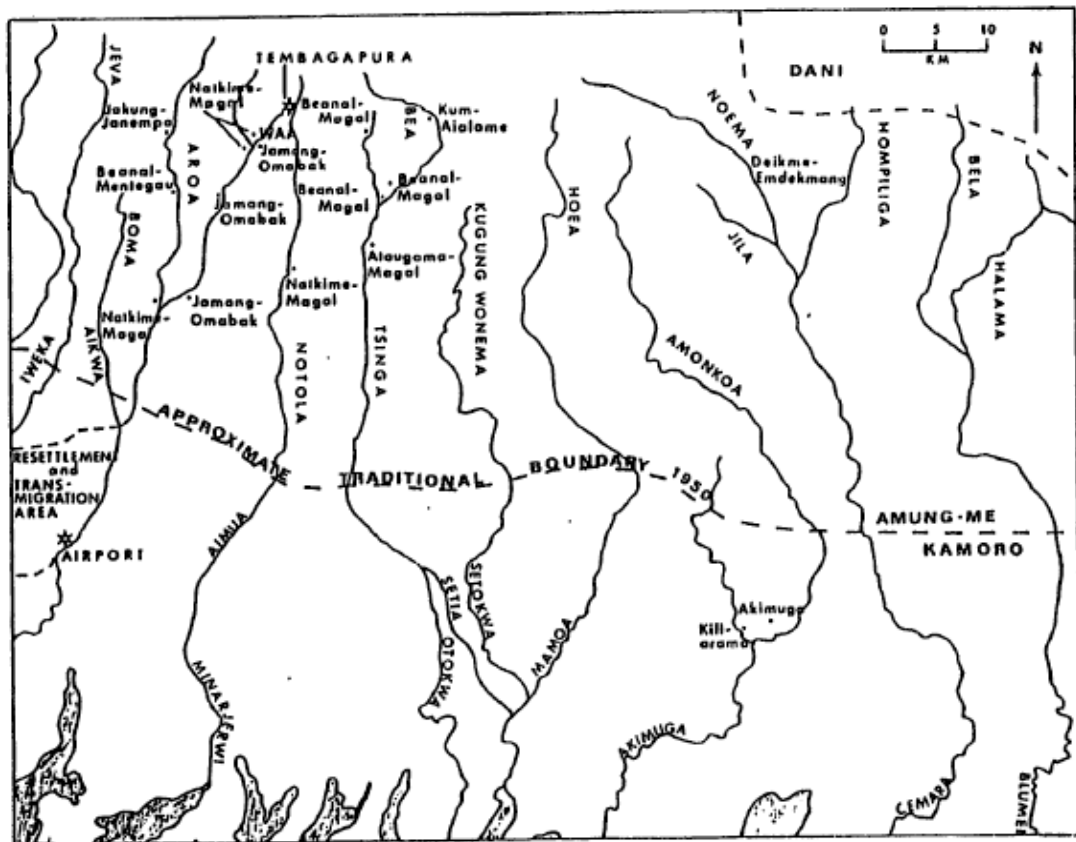


Figure 2 The Amungme Settlement (Cook, 1995)

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY



Figure 3 The Amungme women. Photograph by Francis Asadi

In terms of economy, the Amung mainly depend on subsistent-nomadic agriculture, foraging forest products, and hunting, with daily economic activities fulfilling their own consumption (Hisada, 2007). Only if the production surpasses internal consumption levels, can farming produce be traded to collect cowrie shells (the traditional form of money before currency was introduced by Indonesian). However, due to the segregation of roles regarding the medium of exchange, in today's practices, the use of cowrie shells is limited to a ceremonial basis, for instance in marriage ceremony as bride payments (Beanal, 1997). Land is opened up that for farming that is located far from home (for instance along the river bank) as well as the one near home. They employ a land use system to which several crops are planted interchangeably (Cook, 1995). However, sweet potato is the primary crops that has become their main diet while its production, as Giay (1995) mentioned, it has become their foundation of life. The second important consumption crop is taro with other additional farming commodities such as various kinds of vegetables, banana and sago. In terms of animals, pig husbandry plays an important role in the Amung life (Cook, 1995). Breeding pigs is a compulsory economic activity for every family. Even though pigs are extensively bred, they are not commonly eaten for daily consumption, rather for special occasions like ceremonial customs such as the ceremony to mark the end of a tribal war or the building new houses. Pork is also used for its symbolic value to determine the accumulation of wealth, social and spiritual meaning.

Besides agriculture, trade is also practiced widely by the Amungme. Traditionally, they have two different markets with different coverage and different goods being traded. The first market happens on daily basis with the sale of local commodities of farming production. It involves neighboring villages in same location. Secondly, another trade is the pig feast as special market that involves intertribal trade. In this occasion, various commodities are traded include farming tools, household utensils and various artifacts such as domesticated animals, salt, bamboo, axes, knives, necklaces, and dried inner bark (Giay, 1995). Prices of commodities are determined by supply and demand. If the supply exceeds the demand, then the price will drop drastically, and vice versa. Another consideration that influences the price of commodities is the relations between the seller and the buyer. The price tends to be cheaper when the buyers are their close relatives or close friends of the sellers, on the assumption that they will do the same if the seller buys goods later from the buyer to the latter and useful for future trading.

Division of labor in the Amung society is based on gender. Men, women, boys and girls have their own specific duties. The men, according to Giay (1995) and Cook (1995),

have their role in external affairs for instance dealing with inter-tribe trading and war between clans. Another compulsory work is to working on taro farm from planting to harvesting, logging for establishing kampong (village) or used for farming land, build houses and pig slaughtering.

For the women, their main characteristic in nurturing is the main distinction that form women's job in Amung society. Women main involvement is in the food production chain. They are responsible for managing their farms from cultivation to harvesting include the one in shifting cultivation areas and near their home, foraging forest products such as firewood and frog, breeding pig as well as ensuring enough food supply for the whole family on daily basis. This responsibility sometimes entitled with the authority to take final decision related to their main job. Due to the main characteristic of women, the Amung believe that many women leads to many pigs, while numbers of pig owned by community is related to the level of wealth of the community. Moreover, the accumulation of wealth becomes indicator of gaining more power in which particular man is appropriate to be the leader of community as many anthropologists call them as "big man". The Amung women, as in other communities, are also responsible for domestic work like doing housework, cooking, nurturing the children and feeding them.

Cook (1995) study about Amung village at Tsinga valley noted that on the age that the baby girl starts to walk, they are taught to carry a load by putting net bag on their head with a small potato inside. The girls, related to their mother, in the age of 5 to 12 are having task to help them in taking care of the baby once the mother do farming, cooking, watching pigs, and foraging firewood. The girls since very young age should engage with their future work so they become skillful once they reach puberty. To this, the main reason is according to Amung's rule, the girl is allowed to get married. Similarly, the same treatment also happens for the baby boys. On the age of five they start to learn using arrows and bows for hunting and learn to do trade. While the girl and their mother has connected task in caring the whole family, the boys are obliged to help mothers in farming related activities from cleaning the farm, planting the crop to harvesting. They also entitled to make animal trap for fitch, wild boar and cassowary besides taking care of his own farm land if he already own one.

With this division of labor, the women are not allowed to do menatment alConversely, the men are not prohibited to help womenwomen arelthough this is not common practice. Each gender tries to stick to their own work boundaries. However, to Amung, this is a form of cooperation between genders together, forming a complete process

of activity. As shown in the food production above, for instance, the men's task is in the burning process in preparing a field for planting. Once it is clean and ready for farming, the women take charge for planting and weeding, and until harvesting while the women are fully responsible for taking decisions.

Another social aspect in Amung society is their patrilineal kinship which determines marriage and distribution of land. In marriage, they practice an exogamous system to allow marriage. The marriage occurs only if the bride and the groom come from different clans, not otherwise. Women become part of their husband's clan. Women have to give up their clan while men defend their clan. Upon marriage, the groom provides a dowry which involves participation or support of all members of the clans - as the relatives of the groom and the bride. The members of the core family commonly help the groom to provide the dowry. Once the dowry is received then the bride distributes it to her relatives. For the Amung, this practice is not only about getting a wife and receiving wealth but has a deeper meaning to establish or strengthen the kinship ties between two clans. This patrilineal kinship also determines to whom land use rights are distributed. The land is commonly distributed from the father to his son and can be passed to future generations. Although it is distributed to the level of family and individual, the land is held in communal or clan ownership, not as individual property. Thus, it becomes a mark of which particular clan lives in particular area. Another meaning of land for the Amung is for its economic value. Land is a medium to which they rely to live on. More importantly for women land is required for their role in the food production cycle from farming to pig breeding.

2.1.2 The Kamoro

Kamoro tribe, often known as the lowlanders or the Mimikans, having population around 18000 people including 8000 in the Freeport mining area (Harple, 2000). They live in 40 villages scattered around the coastal area of lowland Mimika, stretching 300 kilometers from Etna Bay in the west to Otokwa River in the east (Harple, 2000; Hisada, 2007; Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme dan Kamoro, 2010a; Pouwer, 1991). There, most of the villages are inhabited by a number of clans that have close matrilineal lines of descent. That contributes to equal division of labor between men and women in economy and its social cohesion (Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme dan Kamoro, 2010a).



Figure 4 The Kamoro (Hisada, 2007)



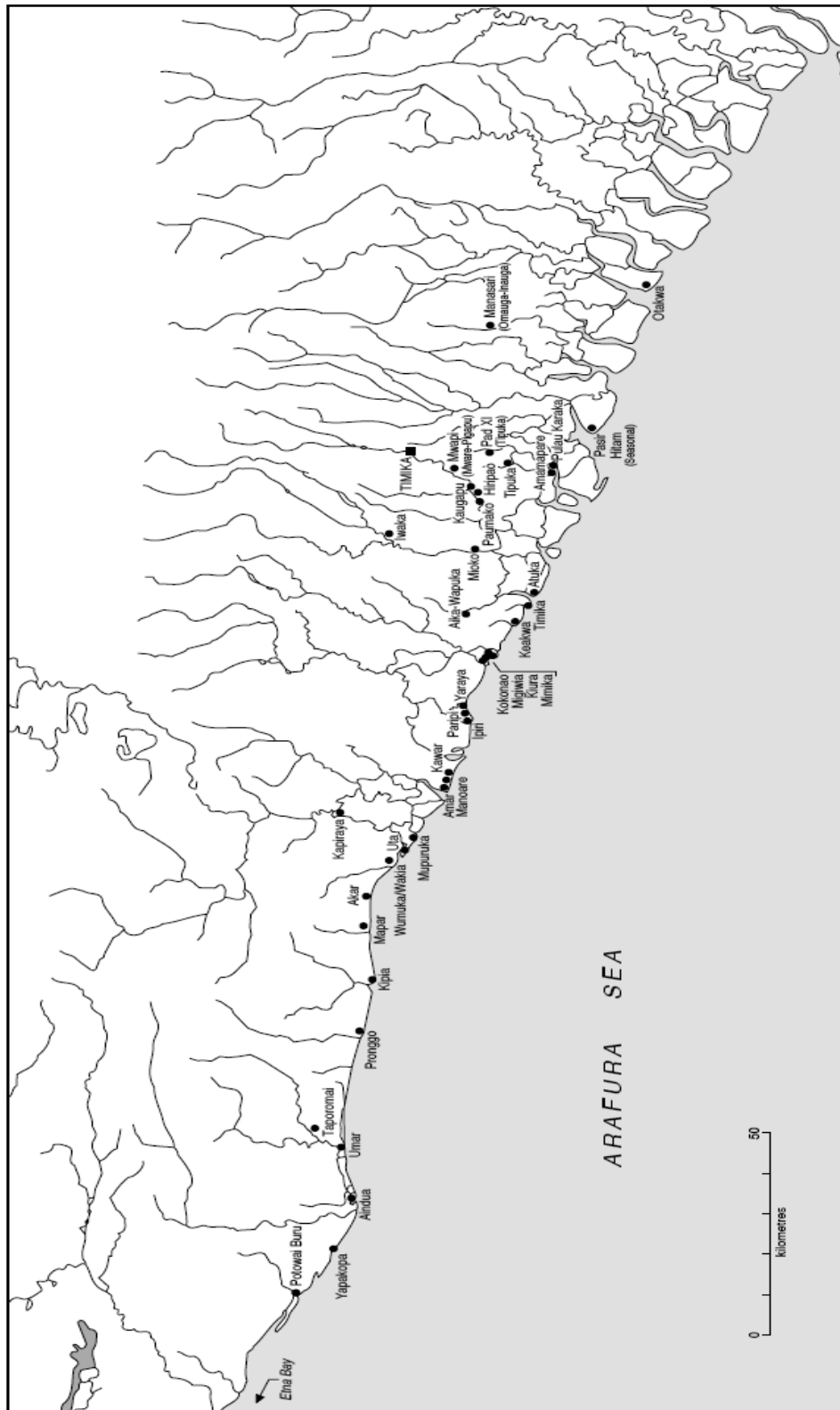


Figure 5 Kamoro Settlement (Hisada, 2007)

The Kamoro practice a semi-nomadic lifestyle, moving around sago palm forests upstream and fishing grounds downstream near the Arafura Sea, which considered as the world's richest mangroves (Pouwer, 1991). They dwell in villages consisting of around 60 to 400 inhabitants of the same clan. Related to the geographical landscape, Kamoro's Related to depend on fishing from the mangroves, river estuaries, freshwater swamps, foraging from lowland tropical forests, and hunting (Muller, 2004). Although they are not farmers, they plant very small pieces of land for vegetables and tobacco, thus they eat a very small amount of vegetables from their garden (Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme dan Kamoro, 2010a).

The mangroves are essential for the Kamoro's basic livelihood. It is a place for them to get resources for their daily consumption. More importantly, it provides resources to the Kamoro with minimal efforts to gain. There are at least two main activities which the Kamoro can do in the mangroves: fishing and foraging. First, they fish for fish, shrimp, crabs, mollusks, crustaceans and crocodiles as their main source of protein. They employ a simple and easy fishing technique by setting up nets overnight or by erecting a weir to trap fish once the tide recedes (Muller, 2000, 2004). Commodities they get from one time fishing are enough for several days' consumption. As such, they smoke or salt the fish as means of food processing. Second is foraging; with this activity they obtain their sago as their staple food for carbohydrate supply for daily consumption; equal to the sweet potato for Amung. As the landward side of the mangroves is abundant with sago palm, they just simply felling the trees and do a little work to turn the trunk into pure starch by separating its cellulose fibers (Muller, 2000). Further, Muller (2004) noted that the sago palm for Kamoro is their tree of life. It not only provides starch, but also beetles called Koo whose eggs are laid in its soft wood and soon large fiber few days after the trunk being cut.

The foraging activity is also complimented by hunting from the tropical rainforests. The Kamoro go hunting for mammals like wild pigs, cassowary and cuscus. For this, Muller (2004) noted that often they go hunting on the same ground as Amung but without conflict between them, each one respects the other in the un-owned areas. Firewood and sculpting wood are other commodities they get from the forest. While the firewood is used for cooking, the wood is used for their spiritual purposes through sculpturing.

In terms of division of labor in Kamoro society, it is not clear whether the work is distributed through gender. Work is not strictly limited to specific genders, as Muller (2000) research on Kamoro explained, both men and women do the same jobs for fishing, the

distinction is only about the commodities they get and the technique they used. The men are most likely use fishing nets while the women use a sort of screen across tidal creeks. In regards to commodities, women are most likely to fish for crabs and mollusks while the men fish for fish. In his research, Muller also highlighted that hunting, foraging firewood, wood sculpturing and making canoes are practices widely undertaken by the men. The women, in this sense, have their role in the food production. They are responsible for ensuring there is enough food available to be eaten daily from sago cultivation, sago extraction, as well as collecting fish, crabs, mussels and garden production (Pouwer, 2010). They are also responsible for doing housework and taking care of the children.

In terms of land, Kamoro people are traditional landowners of the land around the mangroves and along the rivers that flow to the Arafura Sea. The ownership of this land is communal, and is based on the level of clan, not tribe nor individual. Each land parcel is marked by a dividing line roughly parallel to each other (Muller, 2004). They know exactly which clan owns the area, mainly for the mangroves swamp due to its extensive economic value for the Kamoro. The land, however, is distributed through matrilineal lineage in which each line owns a piece of land that is used by that line of members for settlement and economic purposes.

The social life of Kamoro is basically influenced by two values, duality and reciprocity. In terms of duality, Kamoro imagine everything as having two sides (Pouwer, 2010). An example of this duality is on their conception of human body as having dual entity. It is composed of the superior female and the inferior male. Another duality is the principle of counter-service, counter-action, counter-gift, exchange-barter, and response-revenge. These dualities perfectly sum up the complimentary and balance contribution between men and women in society. While the men contribute in material sense by making canoes, tools, weapons, medication, intra-tribe relations and religion, it is undeniable that women have the power of giving birth. This balance also transformed into the Kamoro marriage. They employ *Kaokapaiti* which literally means women and obligation to the women also transformed into the *Kaokapaiti* is perceived as part of *Aopao* principle in maintaining social cohesion between Kamoro. Marriage is seen as Life-long services rendered by a man to his in-laws particularly for the reproductive aspect of a marital union. A study by Harple (2000) at Iwaki villages provides a brief example of this principle. A man should prepare canoe to be given to his wife. A man should prepare canoe to be given exogamous system in which marriage within or outside the social unit is allowed; in this respect is not closely related kin. However, in the

case of descent groups that have relatively large members, a non-exogamous marriage is permitted.

2.1.3 The relationship between Amungme and Kamoro

Based on Amungme conception, their tribes name is derived from the word "Amung," meaning the eldest and conception, their tribes name is marriage is rature, these two meaning are rooted in the story of where the Papuan originated from: the cave namely Kurima. The Kurima is located in Wamena valley at the center of the Amungme are believed to be the first one who left *kurima* to stay and occupy the land. The next group who left *kurima* was not allowed to stay at the same location, rather they had to find another place that was suitable for living. The pattern of group migration was to move to the west, where *kurima* connected to Timika. The younger the group, then received the last and least productive land. The Amungme believe their habitat is in the mountains and that the coastal line is not suitable for living due to many disasters. Although there are various stories of the origin of Kamoro, some respondents mentioning that the Kamoro and Amungme are originating from the same ancestors that come out from *Kurima*.

Based on *kurima* the Amungme and Kamoro respect each other, they see themselves as brothers, and believe that younger brothers should respect and follow the elders. They have buffer land as boundaries within their indigenous land over which each group is not allowed to claim possession. The land is located at the foot of the mountain that demarcate between mountainous and coastal Mimika. The land is then used as a hunting ground for both tribes. This brotherhood then also applied in the formation of their customary institutions. The Amungme, who first established their customary institution and clearly struggled for indigenous rights, encouraged their brothers to also have one to increase the bargaining power of the tribes and conduct development initiatives for their members.

2.1.4 Development since the arrival of Freeport

The focus now turns to major events which affect the current condition of Kamoro and Amungme. There has been on-going change in the livelihoods of both tribes since the first development reached Mimika. First, Kamoro, the lowlanders, had been in contact with the outsiders since Dutch colonialization in 1800s. During this time, parties who extensively engaged with them were from the Roman Catholic Church. While missionaries came to the area to spread the gospel, things unexpected happened once they reached the south coast of Mimika. They found that the area was backward in civilization. To attract local inhabitants to listen to their preaching, missionaries introduced farming as new means of livelihood. They showed the results of their own gardening to the locals. As the local imitated the farming technique, their efforts bore a little success through imposing more varieties of vegetables cultivated on their small piece of land such as red chili, cabbage, red onion and tobacco. The form of subsistence economy used meant that production was intended only for their own consumption. Although the Kamoro showed passive resistance to this change, this strategy continued, in 1950s the result was that Kamoro had entirely become Christian (Muller, 2000). Pouwer (2010) noted that even though they already converted into Christianity, they were totally traditional when they left alone without the church. They had not entirely given up their cultural norms rather preserving part of their culture as their way of life.

In contrast, the Amung were untouched by outsiders up until 1935 when the Dutch anthropological expedition along with missionaries established their first contact at Paniai region (Giay, 1995). Similar to Kamoro, the Amung resisted outsider but using a harsher revolt. Giay (1995) studies on the engagement of Amungme with outsiders reveal that the Amung refused to sell vegetables and sweet potato to them and sometimes stole poultry and their agriculture produce. The missionaries who settled in the area began to establish a theological school as a means of Christianization. This attracted many young people, men and women, resulting in the establishment of separate school for each gender. This notion brought about social and economic change to the Amung since many young people who attend the school, especially the women refused to fulfil their obligations such as pig breeding and farming. Another change in Amung people was the devaluation of cowrie shells as their traditional domestic economic transaction. The missionaries brought a regular supply of cowrie shells in high quantity to the Amung which affected to the division of the kind of shells into smaller amount. This notion persisted up until Indonesian government occupied Papua in 1960.

In the 1960s, while Indonesia was fostering economic development through foreign investment, particularly in mining; Papua, especially Mimika regency, became the target of economic development once the abundant supply of copper was discovered in Mimika regency. This supply is considered the world is considered development and in 1967 government granted its mining concession to Freeport McMoran, an American mining company based in Louisiana. In the formulation of this grant, no Amung were involved in the discussions of who was perceived as the indigenous land owners. This grant facilitates Freeport to occupy 100,000 hectares of land in Mimika from the coast to the highland including the mine site at Ertsberg located in the Cartenz mountain range. Soon after the Contract of Work was signed in December 1967, Freeport started the infrastructure building, beginning with the Amamapere port in the south coast of Mimika, 74 of miles road to connect the port with the main mining site, an airstrip located 22 miles from the Amamapere port, construction of the main Ertsberg mining facilities with 1100 meters of trajectory tram wires, and a new town with a capacity of 1500 people located 10 kilometers from the mining site. The town is a completely self-contained western dormitory style one, and is intended for Freeport workers and their families, later known as Tembagapura. Those massive infrastructure projects took 5 years to complete. Hence, the primary mining operation started in 1973 (Amiruddin & Soares, 2003; Rifai-Hasan, 2009).

The development, however, had enormous effects to 800 strong Amung community, who resided in the Wa Valley of where Tembagapura and main mining is. The area that was used as their hunting ground and garden cultivation was now turned into an exclusive city for foreigners. The Amung are forbidden to enter Tembagapura and the Ertsberg site, except for those one who hold permit from Freeport. To apply this approach, both sites are protected by Indonesian military (TNI). Facing this fact, the Amung responded through series of militant struggle by destroying mining facilities which caused USD 16 million loss to Freeport. This expression, in 1977 affected 350 Amung families who were resettled to Kwamki Lama Village, near Timika sub-district. Similarly, the development of Amamapere also affected 947 Kamoro who resided in the Nawaripi/Koperapoka and Tipuka villages near the Arafura coast who lost their fishing ground for the port (Hisada, 2007).

In 1980s, Indonesian government enacted Transmigration policy to migrate the poor Indonesian families from overpopulated areas such as Java, Bali and Madura to less densely populated zones such as West Papua, by granting one hectare land to every transmigrant household around Timika sub-district (Trajano, 2010). This policy, with the support of major development agencies such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the U.S,

the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the European Economic Community (EEC) and the World Bank, physically transformed Timika from a small sub-district with no city planning into a systematized town in 1983. The area was divided into residential units (Satuan Pemukiman) such as SP 1, SP 2, SP 3 and SP 4 to accommodate transmigrants and serve the mining activities (Hisada, 2007). For this, in 1981 the Amung through their Chief of Tribes, released 40000 hectares of ancestral land to the government without any compensation through operation Clean Sweep project to coerce traditional landowners to clear out their land for incoming transmigrants (Trajano, 2010).

2.1.5 The adverse effect of development to indigenous people

The physical infrastructure development since 1960 has hindered the social, economy, environment and public health of indigenous people in Mimika. The projects have forced the modification of land use systems by destroying the forest and land that used to be Amungme and Kamoro's hunting ground. In order to support the Freeport, the land was transformed into an exclusive residence area and roading to connect the port in coastal area with the mining site in Erstberg. Without considering the effect to indigenous people, the government and Freeport continued to take over the Ajikwa river to extend access to Tembagapura (Amiruddin & Soares, 2003). Reacting to this, women protested by sit-ins on their land so on cleanup process could be done. Similar to the military approach to escalate riots, which specifically affected the social context through the new demographic arrangements, in 1988 a number of local inhabitants who were involved, and resided in highland areas were arrested and forcefully resettled to more permanent houses inside the transmigration compounds (Amiruddin & Soares, 2003; Hisada, 2007).

The government implemented a policy of resettlement at a ratio of one Papuan family to every seven Javanese families within the compounds. Although it could be seen as a way of assimilating and immersing the local Papuans with the transmigrants, the arrangement has placed the Amungme, with their nomadic identity, as minority under Javanese domination. The arrangement has separated them from their means of production and livelihood and meant they have to give their homeland to made room for the transmigrants. Specifically inside the compound and Timika in general, they cannot collect or grow traditional mountain food like pandanus trees (Hisada, 2007). Another strategy used was engaging six representatives from Amungme and ten from Kamoro in a peaceful negotiation to which ended by releasing another 20000 hectares of their land to government to build Kuala

Kencana, another city near Timika inaugurated in 1995 to support Freeport growing mining activities after the discovery of larger copper and gold deposit in Grasberg peak few miles away from Erstberg in 1988 (Amiruddin & Soares, 2003; Rifai-Hasan, 2009).

Economic problems have occurred as unintended side-effects of the transmigration policy and further development in Timika. Both programs have attracted an influx of skilled and unskilled labor and businesses from Sulawesi, Java and Maluku, outnumbering the local Papuan. Compared to the local inhabitants, migrant labor, with their advance education and skills, easily dominated economic activity in Timika. The shops are Indonesian migrant owned, while the native women traders sell small quantities of their agricultural production. Most employment opportunities favor migrants by giving better salaries and facilities both in Freeport as well as other businesses in Timika. Locals, in this sense, also compete with unskilled labor for opportunities for temporary and informal work in the housekeeping sector with unfair payment. For instance, the Amung who works as cleaner for Freeport is paid only IDR 40/day or sometimes paid with goods such as cigarettes and rice.

In terms of the environment, the Freeport operation has had a destructive effect on the surrounding ecology that affects public health. By 1995, its growing capacity of production was mining 110000 tonnes of ore per day. This increased capacity also meant an increase of mine disposal and tailings. The waste, particularly tailings, reached 40 million tons in 1996 and has doubled since then. This huge amount of tailing was dumped into nearest river: the Ajkwa river and neighborhood Minajerwi river system which stream feeds the Arafura Sea. This transforms the water with thick slit and toxins, polluting and killing aquatic biota along the river banks. Besides polluting 336.6 square miles offshore and 143.3 square miles onshore, it has also destroyed 26 kilometers of rainforest including palm trees - a source of sago (Rifai-Hasan, 2009). This mostly affected Kamoro who reside in Kaperapoka. They were instructed to not consume sago, water and other resources from the area. Instead, the company provides drums to collect rain as their main source of water. Freeport then offered the inhabitants resettlement in Timika which perceived having better environmental conditions. But for Kamoro, living in Timika means destroying their own lives because they cannot fish as their main source of livelihood.

In general, these developments had an enormous effect on the lives of both tribes, and caused major changes in their livelihoods. For instance in economy, the Kamoro were introduced to the cash economy and doing businesses by selling fish to outsiders in order to get utensils that only money can buy. The Amung lost their indigenous land, which had major

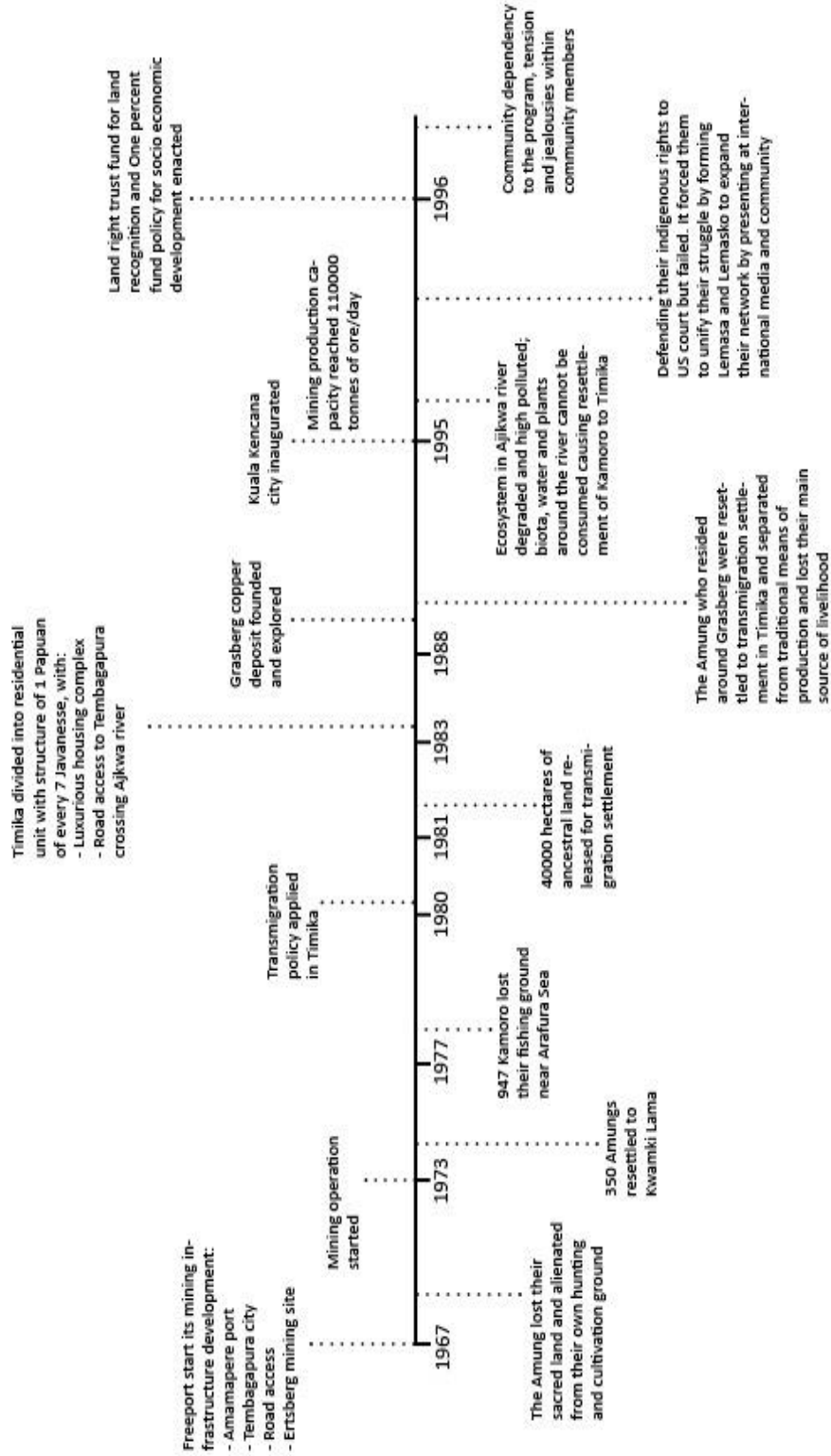


Figure 7 Development Timeline in Mimika

2.1.6 Indigenous people reaction and strategy towards unintended development

To attract Freeport and Government attention, the community in 1995 has transformed their militancy approach to a more institutionalized strategy towards the disruptive effect of the development. The Amungme leader in 1995 realized that they had handed over all their inherited land in Timika; nearly one million hectares, to the state to support Freeport's operation (Hisada, 2007). Related to the Amungme conception of mountain as mother's head - the center of sources that gave out life, respondent EZ said:

“mamanya mereka dirusak jadi mereka tuntutan ganti rugi secara adat”

(Their mother has been destroyed so they demand a customary compensation)

This awareness pushed them to sue the company for stealing their ancestral land through US Federal Court and the State Court of Louisiana. The Amungme demanded compensation and development; including compensation for land that have been confiscated, compensation for pollution-related suffering, cessation of tailing disposal to Ajkwa river, and requirement to get Amungme permission and consent for activities related to Amungme land, and community-led development program that suits their culture (Hisada, 2007). Although the initial strategy failed because of the ignorance of US court, the Amungme community and later Kamoro kept defending their indigenous rights through legal institutions to gain more bargaining power with the state, Freeport and the international community. The Amungme then established a community based organization (CBO) known as Lembaga Masyarakat Suku Amungme (Lemasa) in 1994, as did the Kamoro side known as Lembaga Masyarakat Adat Kamoro (Lemasko) as their cultural representation. As Amiruddin and Soares (2003) pointed out, Lemasad outd Soares (since its establishment has been to facilitate and educate the Amungme community to understand the phenomenon happening to them, as well as how to respond to changes that affect their livelihood and culture within current social dynamic. Similarly, Lemasko, as Kamoro cultural representation, assists the community facing the impact of mining activities on their means of livelihood while at the same time preserving their cultural values from further changes. These two CBOs have become focal points to accommodate and unify the struggles, through which further negotiation and developments related to both communities should go. Following these strategies, the two communities now are able to communicate and publish their demands and concerns in media, interviews, public statements, resolutions and letters. This effort raised the attention of the international community, particularly the UN and Non-Government Organizations, on the condition of the

two tribes and they started criticizing the government and Freeport's approach to the local inhabitants.

With the growing international attention, in 1996 Freeport responded by issuing two programs for the Amungme and Kamoro who had been displaced and affected by the company. First, the Land Right Trust Fund was formed as formal recognition of ancestral land being affected by company's mining operation. Second, the One Percent Fund reserved for socioeconomic development 1% of Freeport's annual gross revenue until 2006. However, those two programs have not benefitted the people, instead bringing other deep social impacts.

The above condition, together with the enactment of the autonomous status of Papua in 2001, led to the emergence of a pro-indigenous people's development intervention that brought traditional values into the development agenda. It attracted government programs such as Respek (village development strategic planning) to be enacted in Mimika. This program allows the community to pursue their specific development path. It allows the members of the community to design and implement programs for their own context. It provides funds of around USD 10,000 for every village, which they can decide on how to best develop using through traditional fora. Additionally, with the growing concern of civil society to the effect of Freeport mining, it established a non-government organization called LPMAC (Lembaga Pembangunan Masyarakat Amungme dan Kamoro) in 2001 to be able to better conduct and manage community development programs to answer the two community called LPMAC (Lembaga Pembangunan Masyarakat Amungme dan Kamoro) in 2001 to be able to better conduct and manage community development program to answer the two community's needs. The focus of LPMAC is delivering various programs in empowering the two tribes, especially women, from economic marginalization (Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme dan Kamoro, 2010b). Further, LPMAC's approach is to develop Kamoro and Amungme's human capacity through participatory and sustainable development. It considers current economic, social and environmental factors, and the activities or programs are based on the community's indigenous values and designed to enhance their well-being. In implementing its programs, LPMAC works closely with the community based organizations Lemasko and Lemasa to widen their impact. The focus program area of the four organizations is summarized in the table below.

Table 2 Non-Government Organization Matrix

Organization	Donor	Program	
Provincial Government	Provincial Government Budget USAID AUSAID LPMAC	Village development strategic planning Provide funds of about USD 10,000 to every village and allow them to decide their own development	Implementor
Lembaga Masyarakat Adat Amungme dan Kamoro (LPMAC)	PT Freeport Indonesia Amarta-USAID	Coastal Economic Development Program Intended for Kamoro, as fishermen, to increasing their economic resilience in the river, swamp and mangroves Highland Community Economic Development Program Intended for Amungme by providing access to the means of livelihood, supplying tools of production and encouraging agricultural entrepreneurship Nutritional and Food Security Program To increase the production of local commodities by providing technical and non-technical support on sago, sweet potato and taro plantation as their main source of food Saving and Soft Loan Facility Soft loans to fisherman for the procurement of their means of production Scholarships for Education Greater access to education by providing scholarships to indigenous groups as well as supporting the development of schools and its supplies Healthcare Focus on public health issues, HIV prevention, and maternal and child health . It also provides greater access to health services by supporting fund to health facilities (Hospital and clinics) around mining concession area	Donor and Implementor
Lembaga Masyarakat Adat Amungme (Lemasa)	LPMAC WWF Other donors who focus on environmental, forest, human rights and economy issues	Economy programs; Indigenous affairs programs to provide assistance, facilitation, mediation and settlement of indigenous disputes including fighting for Amungme indigenous rights that also related to human rights, education and health	Implementor
Lembaga Masyarakat Adat Kamoro (Lemasko)	LPMAC	Custom and cultural program that conducts cultural festivals of the Kamoro in an effort to promote, sustain, and preserve its culture	Implementor

2.1.7 The context of empowerment in Papua

The reform era in Indonesia in 1997 influenced the shift of the development paradigm in Papua. The spirit of decentralization as the central point of reform provide a win-win solution for the dynamics of development between indigenous people and central government through the enactment of law 21/2001 concerning special autonomous status for Papua. Under this law, Papua no longer fully supports central government but serves the interests of its local inhabitants. This includes the indigenous people the Amungme and Kamoro in Mimika. This new paradigm gives opportunity for indigenous people to overcome the marginalization and alienation that occurred since the arrival of Freeport. It has brought a transformation in the development approach by specifically considering indigenous aspirations in policy formulation. Specifically, the special autonomous status has given development authority to indigenous Papuan in three senses. First, it provides recognition that Papuan custom is to be used as the basic framework of development and empowerment. It calls for Papuan cultural values to be integrated into government operations by the enactment of two political institutions to ensure that development runs within the framework in parallel with the national politics and interest. These institutions are called MRP (Papuan People Assembly), as cultural representation, and DPRD (Regional Papua House of Representative), shares legislative authority and has to be filled with indigenous Papuans (Sullivan, 2003).

Secondly, the special autonomous status announced a power sharing between central and autonomous government concerning regional economic development. The autonomous government has the authority to decide on the provision of social services such as in education, health, public services, workforce and infrastructure to ensure equal access for all Papuan (Ayorbaba, 2011). This opportunity enables provincial government to have autonomy in enacting appropriate policy to support the civil society empowerment program in the province and allow close collaboration between various development stakeholders.

Thirdly, as revealed by Rifai-Hasan (2009), to increase the welfare of Papuans, the autonomous status has given more equal income management to Papua. Under the centralistic approach, the positive effect of Freeport mining served the interests of

central government by pushing national economic growth from 35% in 1967 to 45% in 1991 from its mineral exports, a contribution of USD 1,636 billion to government revenue in the form of dividend, royalties, tax and non-tax revenue during 1992-2000 other mine extraction in Papua, and creating 16000 direct employment opportunities and indirect 75000 employments in mining areas (Freeport Indonesia, 2013; Rifai-Hasan, 2009; Rollings, 2010; Tonkin, 1997; Trajano, 2010). With the new status, those arrangements have changed. Now, 70% of the total provincial revenue is allocated to conducting development programs that focus on empowering indigenous people and strengthening provincial departments by giving assistance to local communities.

In relation to the case study, this new direction of development provides a working environment for the enactment of empowerment program in Mimika. It allows for policy support for the civil society development program, and ensures that empowerment programs integrate indigenous values as the basic value of empowerment, while legitimizing customary institutions as community representation and recognizing them as important stakeholders of development in Mimika. As for the indigenous people concerned, the new status of Papua allows them to recapture what was been lost during massive development in 1967–1980 by giving a chance for their indigenusness to come up in their basic empowerment.

In terms of empowering indigenous Papuans, this direction of development has enabled the Village Development Strategic Planning (RESPEK) that targets remote villages, as part of the National Program of Community Development (PNPM), to be enacted in Mimika. Fund for this is sourced from the development share of provincial revenue. What differentiates RESPEK from PNPM enacted in other provinces in Indonesia is the length of the programs. They require longer periods due to geographical constrains and the difficulties of engaging development with Papuan unique culture as a constraint (within their indigenous practices and values). For instance, in building public facilities and opening access to remote areas that include customary land, authority as well as community participation under existing local leadership is required. However, due to the portion of development that LPMK dominates, Respect program is not boldly seen in Mimika.

2.2 Conceptual Review

2.2.1 The concept of Indigenusness and empowerment

The concept of indigenusness according to The World Bank (1991) refers to three points; First, it has historical and close connections to their ancestral lands including natural resources in the area. Secondly, it is identified as a distinct social and cultural group from the dominant society recognized by the people concerned and others. This notion is calls self-identification, and is a critical criterion of indigenusness which is conventionally defined as non-dominant because they are minority that is either dominated, subjugated or marginalized (Levi & Maybury-Lewis, 2012). Thirdly, the concept of indigenusness also entails the presence of customary social and political institution with subsistence-oriented economy production (Sena, 2013).

Eriksen in Kampe (1997) define indigenusness as non-participation in industrial modes of production that make a group vulnerable to modernization and their relation with the state. The emphasis of non-participation leads to a perception and action bias toward indigenusness as primitive, backward and less civilized, and thus needing to be assimilated, modernized and integrated into national social-economy and the majority of population. Bring up indigenous view, McCaskill (1997) opposed such argument by saying that processes of development and modernization tend to destroy indigenous culture. He argues that since developers come from outside of local contexts, traditional culture seen as barrier for development process thus local people are rarely given any meaningful decision making roles. This means that indigenusness is hardly included or sometimes refused as a part of the development framework in global society.

To avoid over categorization to marginalization, some scholars associate the term indigenusness as a political categorization, Merlan (2009) uses the term indigenusness interchangeably with indigenity to explain how it relates to a strategic tool to legitimize indigenous political movements and advocacy by drawing up their communality. Similarly, Gomes (2013) in his study about Malaysian and Indonesian communities, shows that indigenity has been used to express and further justify class

interest. It has been deployed to exercise inclusion strategies to community groups who had similar experiences and used it to counter hegemonic movements against exploitation and oppression. Although Gomes further notes that indigeneity also acts as political tool to exclude or block non-indigenous people or groups to participate in a pro-indigenous campaign, collaboration between the non-indigenous and indigenous groups is needed to eliminate structural violence.

In general, these conceptions of indigenusness have correlation to a distinctive premise of non-adoption or assimilation into an established superior political, economic and social structure. This distinctive point, however, makes them vulnerable to being disadvantaged in the mainstream, top-down economic and social development imposed by states. Indigenous people including the Amungme and Kamoro suffer from being politically, economically and culturally marginalized by capitalist-oriented economic development and resource exploitation. Most of the time, this marginalization is justified by the political and economic interest of the state (Hisada, 2007).

Although indigenous people themselves acknowledged that changes in their indigenous culture are inevitable and desirable as the result of their interaction with the state, this change comes with divergent perceptions. On one side, development has brought tremendous changes to the material circumstances of indigenous people by improving their standards of living through improved health and education levels through supplying health clinics and schools while widening the economic opportunities though extended access to financial capital and advanced agricultural practices (McCaskill, 1997). On the other side, their indigenusness is being deteriorated and threatened, and this is fundamentally destructive to their cultural and local resource-based livelihoods. Their indigenous knowledge is rarely recognized by, or integrated into, development projects. Thus, these projects tend to ignore their patterns of livelihood and communal support systems (Sena, 2013). With those disruptions, indigenous people are unable to be self-sufficient and become dependent on civil societies.

As result of these concerns, indigenous-based development has come up as solution to settle the debate, (Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) Foundation, 2010). It critically recognizes and brings up “indigenusness” as the base of development by conducting development within existing cultural tradition framework. Development is seen as an effort to preserve indigenous values and norms. The aim of development activity is to maintain cultural integrity, and social cohesion on the base of collectivism and relationships to the land. Within these circumstances, development is by no means directed at individuals but rather emphasizes on communal progress to sustain their collective cohesion and survival. Thus, indigenous development employs a bottom-up approach where the active participation of indigenous people as beneficiaries of development program is crucial.

Hall and Patrinos (2012) view distinct values and social culture is the central of indigenous asset of productive capital, which includes:

“...collective control and sustainable management of natural resources; reciprocal and mutually supportive work system; strong social organization and high levels of communal responsibility; a deep respect of knowledge of their elders; and a close spiritual attachment to their ancestors and the earth. Such cultural assets and can play a key role in economic entrepreneurship and in strategies to diversify or intensify livelihood. Strong network ties, a strong sense of solidarity and kinship-based exchange relationship also play an important role in providing economic security”

Similarly, the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) Foundation (2010) defines several indicators of indigenusness that would determine its style of development as follow:

- Production system is practiced and maintained as recognition of their subsistent economy
- Indigenous knowledge is promoted within their economic system
- Participation in development process and decision-making.

Within indigenous literature, these assets with its primordial attainment are used for the collective empowerment of indigenous people. United Nation Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2010) further emphasizes that cultural practices and

norms should be acknowledged and used as the main source of indigenous empowerment and advancement.

In general, empowerment is a complex concept, built upon multi-dimensional perspectives. There are various meanings to which the term relates its dimensions. To understand empowerment, Page and Czuba (1999) noted that scholars often simply assume rather than explaining or defining it. However, we need to have a common understanding on the term empowerment within the case study used in this thesis.

The term empowerment, according to (The World Bank, n.d):

“...the process of enhancing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. Central to this process are actions which both build individual and collective assets, and improve the efficiency and fairness of the organizational and institutional context which govern the use of these assets”

Rappaport (1981) saw empowerment as a process to enhance the possibility for people to control their own lives. In addition, Wallerstein and Bernstein (1988) explore empowerment specifically within the context of community development; they define empowerment as social action process that promotes participation of people, organizations and communities to gain control over their lives within the context of their own community and larger society. Through this definition, they characterize empowerment as having the power to act with others to affect change by working toward the goal of individual or community control to improve the quality of community life. Empowerment can be seen as a process of fostering power within the community by acting on the issues which people define as important (Page & Czuba, 1999). Central to this process, as defined by Kasmel (2011), is the action correlated to build assets both the individual and collective levels, as well as to improve the efficiency of the institutional context to which these assets are exercised. As consequence, empowerment has different manifestations in different communities and contexts. Rappaport (1987) added that it is seen a notion of concern for finding solution to social problem in a local setting. Fredericks (2009) built upon the work of Freire to outline that in empowerment people need to see the cause of their problem and how it relates to the structures or environment to which they live. With this,

empowerment becomes a key driver for people to overcome the challenges to their powerlessness and to build opportunities in order to gain the control of their lives.

Empowerment, in regards to this thesis look specifically at indigenouness, can be construed as process to which people or groups that are powerless are able to develop their skills and capacity to gain reasonable control over their lives and exercising this control without fear and oppression. Such control is achieved through cultural preservation, while at the same time absorbing modernity to bridge constraints of development such as in gaining appropriate education, health and economy. Karubi (2006) represents this notion of empowerment as a means to alleviate the degree of marginalization over mainstream economic development by increasing well-being, community development, self-sufficiency and improving self-reliance. Within these circumstances, empowerment is by no means directed to individuals but emphasizes to communal progress to sustain their collective cohesion and survival.

The United Nation (2001) in Kabeer (2012) separates empowerment of women into several factors such as women confidence, involvement in decision-making, control over resources, and ability to guide social changes in order to maintain social and economic order. In relation to indigenous women, empowering women ability to sustain within their society is contribution to the family's economic and social well-being as well as to their status in society. The fundamental reason of empowering indigenous women for their role in society is as a mean of preserving the persistence of their culture and tribes (Roy, 2004).

There are several cases in which empowerment as a concept has been translated differently in different communities all over the world. In the case of Aboriginal Australians, research by Whiteside, Tsey, and Earles (2011) shows that how empowerment is understood for indigenous Australians as closely associated with their indigenous culture and spirituality. Locating the critical component of empowerment, the research shows connectedness and mutually reinforcing elements between factors; belief in God, strong personal values, and having the skills to help other. Those factors have positive correlation in terms of mutually reinforcing toward

encouraging transformative changes at personal and social levels, although other social conditions remained constraints.

A similar study by Whiteside, Tsey, McCalman, Cadet-James, and Wilson (2006) on the indigenous Australian views of empowerment examines the different angles it is expressed through hierarchical levels. By narrowly focusing on indigenous workforce, empowerment is used as a basis for the people to come together to tackle structural issues that restrict flexibility in exercising their individual empowerment. The two-step approach of empowerment states that people should be responsible for their own change, as in their case of family well-being programs, the fulfillment of individual empowerment is pushed for over complex community or organizational dynamics. Explaining the relationship between individual and structural empowerment, the authors argue that personal empowerment increases the engagement and equips people with analytical and problem-solving skills that enables them to exercise control over their personal and surrounding context on their daily mobility.

Empowerment as expressed by Rappaport (1981), Wallerstein and Bernstein (1988) also relates to power relations in society. This notion is found in the Harambee movement, a self-help group in Kenya against grassroots disempowerment caused by structural and top down development project. Ngau (1987) found, by using the indigenous culture and knowledge as their basic value to sustain the community, the aim of empowerment in this movement has been challenged by the patron-client relationship from local elites and bureaucratic behavior of Kenyan Government involved with Harambee. Through their involvement, the aim of Harambee was to empower locals with their local resources and capacity shifted to a different and greater aim and focus. The involvement of state and patron client relationships reduced the peasant's communal authority over the movement and obscured the aim behind achieving elite's rather than the grassroots interests. Disempowerment at the grassroots occurred by the increased power of the bureaucracy. It strictly controls important aspects of the Harambee self-help projects as in the policy-making, implementation and maintenance of the activities that made the people lose their own decision making authority and limited mobility with their own self-help movement.

Within this context, empowerment is reflected as occurring in community as if they are obtaining or having greater control over their own development. The process to achieve such control is through small scale and productive local empowerment projects to ensure specific participation that suits with local interests and needs in a given locality. Most importantly, empowerment aims to enable people to control the most important, large and un-locally suited projects that the grassroots are only the passive recipients of.

Different studies connecting empowerment with poverty reveals that the notion of empowerment in increasing power and control in the community is important to the approach to poverty. By referring to various empowerment programs in India, a study by Sen (1997) shows the multi-dimensional aspect of empowerment becomes an effective approach to address poverty. Through this approach, poverty is seen not only in economic terms and its focus on income generation the grassroots level, but also in its other dimensions that circumvent obstacles. By not including the physical environment that are beneficial to tackle poverty, the author argues people can empower themselves if the non-physical environment (such as economy, social and political consideration) is allowing them to do so. The multi-dimensional nature of empowerment brings up the importance of the context surrounding the project to which the development stakeholders play either blocking or supporting the empowerment project. Empowerment as an approach in this process puts forward three factors beyond the poverty itself. There are the enabling policies, institution and institutional cultures of the officers who interact with the poor in empowerment program, and the principle of democracy as the enabler point to open the access of the poor to empower themselves by allowing the powerless to cut off their oppression to expand their human capabilities.

Empowerment as expressed through several cases above has been interpreted as going toward gaining power as solution to developmental obstacles. Indigenous people and the poor are seen as powerless, thus this corrects the broader context surrounded the powerlessness and leads people to find solutions to overcome their difficulties. However, those views of empowerment generalize the term to only relate to the above structures that limit them. It ignores the importance of the local

community on how they see empowerment differently based on their context and identity as argued by Fredericks (2009) through putting forward the community attitude and viewpoint on how the people themselves define the roots of their problem and reacting to such problems for their own empowerment.

- Gender and its relation to economic development

Explaining the empowerment of Amungme and Kamoro, it is pertinent to include the gender aspect on the discussion due to the important role of women as the central actors of development in their indigenous livelihood compared to the men. The Amungme and Kamoro women are the ones who are responsible for the entire household activities such as collecting, processing and preparing the food as well as maintaining wealth for the whole family. They are also the caretakers of their knowledge system and natural resources that are expressed through their means of subsistent livelihood in terms of farming and fishing. Their important support in livelihood is having direct relation to the sustainability of their clans (Beanal, 1997).

The Food Agricultural Organization (1997) refers gender to:

“relations between men and women, both perceptual and material. Gender is not determined biologically, as a result of sexual characteristics of either women or men, but is constructed socially. It is a central organizing principle of societies, and often governs the processes of production and reproduction, consumption and distribution”

Similarly, Kottak (2002) adds entitlement of culture to gender that:

“the activities, behavior, values, and ideas that a culture *assigns* to these differences. These activities, behavior, values, and ideas do not have any intrinsic basis in the biological differences”

Based on these definitions, gender is related to social definitions of men and women. It varies among different societies, cultures, classes and ages (Food Agricultural Organization, 1997). It refers to the specific roles that differentiate men and women. However, in regards to this thesis, focus will only be given to women. Generally, women have the main role and responsibility in domestic chores by providing families with basic needs such as food, water, fuel, medicines, and other

products in order to maintain their livelihoods. To do their main responsibility, women often need to depend on healthy and diverse ecosystem (Forsyth, 2004). In consequence, women are the ones who hold more knowledge about the usage and management of local biodiversity.

Economic development is part of the concept of development. It involves transformation of social and economic conditions that people themselves define as the root of their problem and reacting to such problems for their own empowerment (World Commission on Environment and Development, n.d). From a development point of view, economic development refers to a transition from traditional forms of economy, commonly from subsistence agriculture, to industrial-based economy by adoption of new technologies. In relation to this thesis, Summers (2011) noted that one of its determinants is the presence of industrialization to bring economic health and prosperity. While the notion involves the creation of jobs that further stimulate income growth, it is also seen as sustainable increases in human productivity, business and resources to increase human well-being in maintaining their quality of life. Loveridge and Morse in Wyoming Community and Regional Economic (n.d) further defined the term economic development as a sustained economic effort in improving local economy activity in the community and ameliorate the quality of life.

From the definitions above we can simply note that economic development aims to enhance the living standard of the community of the state or nation to which the development occurs. It is a long term commitment that changes the social context, through for example, the emergence of urbanization to support economic changes. One of the challenges is to build the capacity of the people to adapt to such economic change.

In general, gender and economic development have an asymmetric relationship. Economic development promotes and raises gender issues within the society, while in turn recognizing gender issues is a prerequisite for economic development (Duflo, 2012; Eastin & Prakash, 2013; Scherer, 2011). Within development discourse, women are important contributors to the economic support of their households. Drawn from women reproductive role, they have a valuable and

important contribution to the life of the household. They perform ranging activities from performing domestic chores and managing household resources to working as wage earners in the public sphere. However, women are the most marginalized group and suffer discrimination which poses challenges to economic development. Drawing from the above analysis of women's role, gender perspective in economic development would enhance women's productivity and capacity that would boost economic growth. Thus, looking specifically gender issues in development interventions will effectively improve women would boost economy

Explaining this relationship between gender and economic development, research by Seguino in Latin America and Caribbean reveals that women's gaining more employment and education positively affects gender equality. The study showed that at the aggregate level escalating women's involvement and participation in paid jobs and education improve their well-being and right (Kabeer & Natali, 2013). In reverse, FAO report in Scherer (2011) pointed out the example of female farm workers in relation to agricultural production in developing countries. Giving equal access to fundamental recourses for their work would increase the yield by 20% to 30%; this number would further boost the total agricultural production up to 4% (Verveer, 2013).

The concept for this research is gender that looks specifically into indigenous women. Indigenous women, however, are different from the non-indigenous ones because they are tied to specific roles in their family and community's structure. Indigenous women, however, are attached to social, economy and political context in which their culture lies. Indigenous women are the caretakers and experts on the knowledge of maintaining natural resource upon their knowledge system (Roy, 2004). Even though some forms of economy like hunting are biased towards men, the entire household activities such as of providing food and wealth of the family and clans are the responsibility of women, as such, any destruction to their natural resource will affect women more than men. Defined through these roles, women are clearly agents, not only recipient of development, particularly economic development.

Chapter III

The Empowerment Program: LPMMAK, Lemasa and Lemasko

This chapter presents the empowerment programs of civil society in Mimika area; namely LPMMAK, Lemasa and Lemasko. In discussing the empowerment program offered to indigenous communities, a historical review of the formation of the organization, the organizational structure, and the main program and the formed collaboration between the three organizations will be presented. This chapter argues that LPMMAK has responded to previous socio-economic conflict of the Amungme and Kamoro by encouraging a change in approach towards development in Mimika. Although LPMMAK, Lemasa and Lemasko have shared ideologies regarding empowering indigenous people, their views on how empowerment should be done differ. LPMMAK tends to engage with development in changing environments and contexts. While Lemasko views empowerment as only focusing on cultural preservation; and Lemasa's focus is more diverse. These two customary institutions believe that empowerment should fit within their indigenous frameworks. In its strategy to empower the two communities, LPMMAK established a network of actors by engaging the customary institutions (Lemasa and Lemasko) to support its empowerment program.

3.1 LPMMAK

3.1.1 A historical review of the formation of LPMMAK

In Mimika, development programs have dynamics that encapsulate social tension, and this has further pushed the programs' evolutions. The tension started in 1996 when Freeport first responded to indigenous people's demand of socio economic development. Freeport enacted the socio-economic development fund, also known as One Percent Fund, by committing 1% of its annual gross revenue to be deposited quarterly for the next 10 years to support development program in health, education and economic around its concession area or in Mimika in general (Blair & Phillips, 2003; Rifai-Hasan, 2009). The idea of the One Percent Fund as a solution, gave rise to

horizontal tensions between tribes in Mimika. The exclusivity of Amungme and Kamoro's access to the fund has caused social jealousies among the other five tribes who indirectly settled around Freeport's location (Me, Moni, Nduga, Damal, Dani). These five kins raised issues of kinship and environmental concerns that were affected by Freeport. In order to prevent the tension escalating, the company, in consultation with the government of Indonesia represented by the State Ministry of National Development Planning (Bappenas) and the military, subordinated the management of the One Percent Fund under government entity namely; the Integrated Timika Community Development Program or *Program Pengembangan Wilayah Terpadu Timika* (PWT2). Under PWT2, the One Percent Fund annually channeled USD 3,450,000 to programs focusing on increasing indigenous people's level of education, manpower, and welfare.

Instead of developing human capacity, the One Percent Fund, which was administered through PWT2 up until 2000, raised several issues. First, it devastated the indigenous tribes by placing them in fundamental conflict. In Amungme, polarization of the community into two opposing groups was inevitable. Amungme was fractured into Lemasa and Yayasan Amungkal. Both organizations, while representing Amungme, carry different ideologies and practices toward external funding from Freeport. Yayasan Amungkal was established by Andreas Anggaibak mainly to capture the One Percent Fund. Based on its purpose, Yayasan Amungkal showed full support to Freeport and the government's initiatives. On the contrary, Lemasa's aim was to campaign for indigenous rights. The One percent Fund is seen by Lemasa as Freeport's strategy to "depoliticize" them and silence their political campaign. The competition between both foundations led to refusal of some community members to recognize the foundations as their representatives. In Kamoro, some people protested to Lemasko demanding for fair distribution to ensure equality to all rather than to only those in the cities. Secondly, the program scheme misallocated the funds. The fund was allocated in equal amounts to all members of seven tribes (Amungme, Kamoro, Damal, Dani, Moni, Me, Nduga), rather than only to Amungme and Kamoro, who were the initial and direct victims of Freeport operations. From Amungme's perspective, it reduced the amount of money distributed and made it unequal to the amount of indigenous territory they had surrendered. As

claimed by Tom Beanal (Lemasa), the fund only amounted to USD 2.5 per year when divided by the total population of seven tribes in Mimika (Amiruddin & Soares, 2003). Additionally, the program was project driven mostly by house construction rather than targeting the needs of the community. As Amiruddin and Soares (2003) pointed out, most of the foundations utilized the fund for infrastructure building. This was also revealed by respondent TM:

“Through One Percent Fund, Lemasko once had massive development program that reaches its whole members during 1996 – 1997. We gradually built 10 permanent Lemasko’s houses in every village from east to west of our tribe’s boundary”

With this approach, the contractors started to engage with the community housing project to which the One Percent Fund was directly channeled into once disbursed (Hisada, 2007; Leith, 2003). The contractors benefitted from the profit of building houses while the community became passive recipients. They were stuck with dependency, and the tensions of competing for fund distribution. This behavior further encapsulates the social changes caused by farmers leaving their job and some village leaders becoming rich while others did not. Thus, Amungme and Kamoro complained that they were never properly compensated or gained developmentally from the programs. Hisada (2007) noted that the development done was not based on their needs.

Facing conflictual conditions, PWT2 was relocated to a more stable organization that was capable of managing One Percent Fund by delivering appropriate development program on everyday basis and solving previous social conflicts. In January 1999, the PWT2 was firstly transitioned to *Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Irian Jaya* (LPM-IRJA) with Freeport calling for a more decentralized and representative decision making system for the program. Through this new system, the company encouraged village oriented socio-economic development as a correction to the project orientation of the PWT2 (Hisada, 2007). Unfortunately, LPM-IRJA was not able to wind up the ongoing problems. Freeport saw a proper development program as a solution to the conflict, by fulfilling community demand of empowerment. Freeport and government, with Memoranda of Understanding with Lemasa and Lemasko in 2002, came to agreement to reorganize it

as a non-government organization and rename it *Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme and Kamoro* (LPMMAK). By learning from its predecessor, the development under LPMMAK is now more clearly focused on improving the socio-economic welfare of indigenous people through a cultural and religious-based community empowerment program. With LPMMAK, decision making is also diffused to counter both opposing and supporting parties that are represented formally in the organization. This strategy of checks and balances ensures the independence of the organization and the empowerment direction that LPMMAK is responsible for. Due to its newness in development program, the LPMMAK received assistance from Social Local Development Department of Freeport in its program and financial implementation up until 2008 once its audits were cleared. Regarding to previous conflict and how LPMMAK could reduce the tension will be discussed in the next section.

3.1.2 LPMMAK Vision and Mission

The vision of LPMMAK is to become a development organization that is financially and programmatically independent as well as professional, by actualizing Mimika's indigenous people as the actors in their own development which is prosperous and sustainable.

While on their Mission Statement, LPMMAK is dedicated to:

1. Foster partnership and coordination with various stakeholders of development in Mimika regency in delivering its program.
2. Conduct organization and program management that is sustainable while ensuring the utilization of local wisdom as their base of values.
3. Carry out program focus on education, health and economic as well as other sectors.
4. Empowering the Mimika indigenous people in participative and continuous way without interruption.

3.1.3 LPMAC Organizational Structure

While its predecessor caused horizontal conflict between indigenous people, the newly established LPMAC came up with a strategy of mediating the conflict of development by creating an enabling environment for development in Mimika. This strategy is expressed by bringing together all stakeholders in the decision making process for the empowerment of indigenous people. It forms networks of actors to accommodate the different aspirations and demands of empowerment from various indigenous groups on the organizational body. At the high level, the organization engages all development actors in its strategic decision making. In 2012, seven selected representative of stakeholders were on its Board. This special arrangement consists of two members from the government (the regent of Mimika regency and the head of Mimika regional parliament), two from Amungme and Kamoro each representing Lemasa and Lemasko and two others of Papuan elite - of which one is a woman. This composition is important in deciding the strategic direction and approach of the organization and the empowerment programs for all.

In implementation, LPMAC has responded to previous socio-economic conflicts by setting up its bureau based on kinship. This strategy was used to accommodate the different needs of empowerment of the tribes by dividing its program bureau into different divisions and having each division represent one tribe. As respondent EZ said, each division is filled with members of the tribe who have influence or are respected by local leadership, for instance the Kamoro bureau has members who have traditional ties to Kamoro elites. By utilizing those mechanisms, this program bureau two from Amungme and Kamoro each representing Lemasa and into a real development program implementation as well as channeling community constraints of current empowerment program to which corrective action could be taken.

Utilizing that kinship strategy further eases the bureau in two ways. First, it enables the organization to approach the community with empowerment program by facilitating and opening up communication through their local elites. It enables the organization to understand and identify any constraints to their socio-economic development that are prone to cause conflict in the future. It complies with what

respondent EZ mentioned about how the communities are more likely to understand and accept the message of program socialization if the speaker is kin. In turn, the strategy enables the community to voice their immediate empowerment concerns to the organization. Each beneficiary can utilize the division as an official channel of communication related to their empowerment matters. For instance in applying to LPMAC for funding for an empowerment program, the Kamoro sends their proposals to, and acquires support or additional information from, the Kamoro bureau to accommodate their request. Secondly, the strategy helps the organization to acquire legitimacy with the community by engaging their local elites in the program. As respondent EZ mentioned, the community will follow and agree with what and how their local elites say, and behave accordingly.

In support of the program bureau, the LPMAC partnership bureau provides funding support to customary institutions, mainly Lemasa and Lemasko, in terms of their empowerment programs and improving their institutional capacities. For instance, LPMAC, until 2012, gave grants to Lemasko for their annual program conducting cultural exhibitions, while Lemasa got continuous support on their operational costs (LPMAC, 2012). It is also the space in which LPMAC delivers its support to them and the Mimika church in the form of grant allotment.

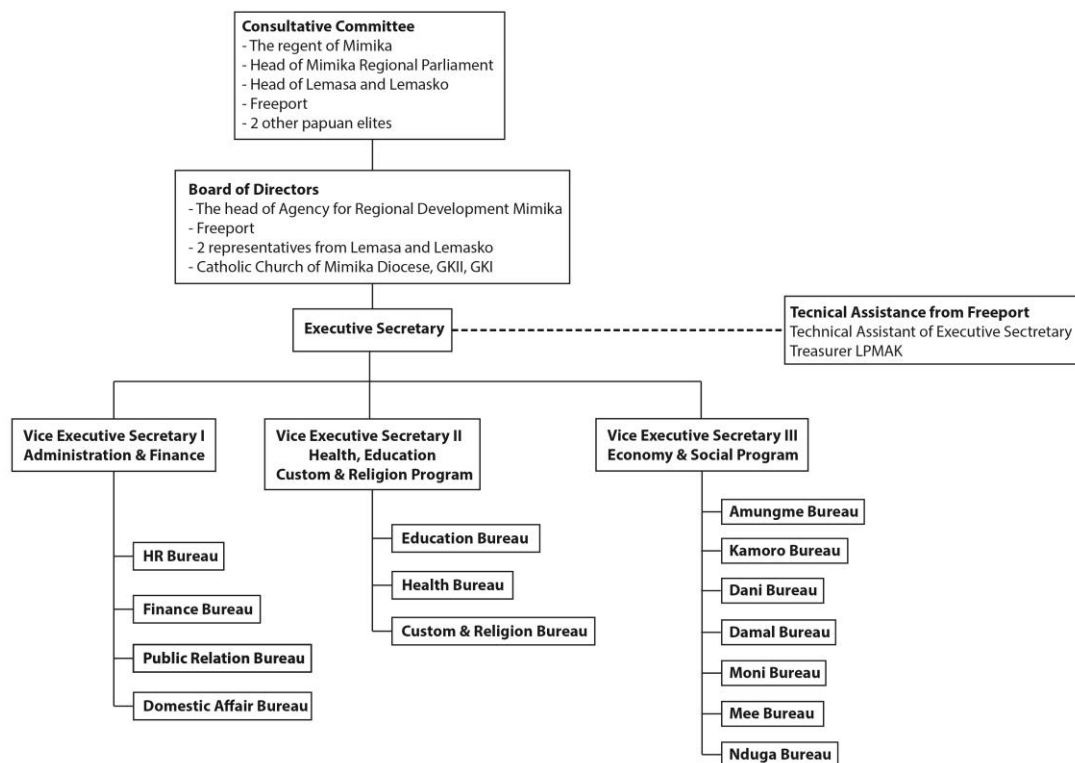


Figure 8 LPMAC Organizational Structure

3.1.4 LPMAC Focus of Development Intervention

“If the people are not aware of the importance of education for their human capacity development, how they would gain improvement in their economy. Similarly, if their economic condition is neither stable nor sustained then how they would pay attention to their education and health. However, without having their health maintained, they might not be able to find a way for a living and go to school” -- respondent EZ

The above relationship of issues within indigenous people’s life cycle has formed the basis of LPMAC in formulating their development strategy. LPMAC tried to integrate dormitory style of education, healthy lifestyles and a populist style of economic development in improving indigenous people’s welfare. In intervening in three different sectors, up to 2012 LPMAC has benefitted at least 14800 beneficiaries.

In education sector, LPMMAK's goal is to stimulate and be a proponent of elements of society and government to actualize quality education in Mimika. For the goal, the organization then conceptualizes it into a range of interventions, such as providing scholarships to continue study either inside or outside of Mimika regency. The aim of the scholarship program is to achieve equality and introduce positive adaptation to the social environment. To achieve its aim, LPMMAK has special approach to increase indigenous student's improvement of academic competence, character building and health that could encourage Mimika students to be equally competent with the students from outside Papua. Apart from supporting education through the procurement of teachers for the highland region, one of LPMMAK's prominent strategies in education is establishing a religion based school with dorm style. To compliment education facilities in Mimika, LPMMAK established a Multi-Purpose Community Center (MPCC) in Timika as training center for both students and teachers, which provides extracurricular courses such as English and computer learning, and math, physics, biology, and chemical laboratories. While it is supported by available classrooms that could be used for the purpose of learning, it is further designed to serve students from primary into high school level and using MPCC facility is free of charge. Through its education bureau, as of April 2013, LPMMAK had reached total beneficiaries of 694, 44% of them were Amungme and 19% were Kamoro.

In health, LPMMAK intervention was targeted at two groups, first is the public health program that have projects on maternal and child health, sanitation and clean water, HIV and AIDS control program, Tuberculosis control, and Malaria control, as well as partnerships with the department of health of Mimika regency. Second is the health service program that sponsored the establishment of two main hospitals in Mimika; namely Rumah Sakit Mitra Masyarakat (RSMM) to reach Amungme and Kamoro who resided in Timika and its surrounding areas, and Rumah Sakit Waa Banti (RSWB) as health provider for highland region.

In economy, the LPMMAK development program is done through a revolving scheme (*dana bergulir*) to its three continuous projects. This funding is given to groups or households as productive entrepreneurs with saving orientation for their

further business investment. The scheme is applied across three different economic programs. First is the capital assistance program. This program is about giving capital assistance to those who want to be entrepreneurs and have a viable and doable business plan. Capital assistance has been the most active program since 2008 and has evolved strategically in the program implementation that will be elaborated further in chapter 4. Up to 2012, this program has benefited 3,727 group of entrepreneur with 1,068 of them actively saving a total amount of USD 1,225,000. This amount has 24.3% increased from 2011 total savings of USD 1,030,000 from 1068 active entrepreneur, 21% of them are Amungme and 9% are Kamoro.

Second, the village economy development program (PEKAM). The PEKAM aims to escalate the economic development of people who reside remotely, such as in mountain and coastal areas. PEKAM, aims to give greater accessibility for them to reach Timika in their efforts to fulfill their basic needs. Is also has a partnership with USAID in cocoa plant project. Third, is the agribusiness program targeted at leading commodities such as cattle breeding, the sago industry and fisheries. To reach different groups of beneficiaries, the economic bureau is divided into seven subdivisions that each represent a tribe. This subdivision then directly implements the program in the field and interacts with their beneficiaries. However, LPMK does not have specific programs for each tribe. All tribes, especially Amungme and Kamoro, are subject to all programs under the economic bureau.

3.2 Lemasa

3.2.1 The Evolution of Lemasa in Development

The establishment of Lemasa in 1994, as mentioned in chapter 2, was a result of the Amungme struggle against a series of uneven developments. The history of Lemasa began with the arrival of Freeport to where Amungme traditional life has disturbed. The tribal leader Tom Beanal, since his early struggle to oppose Freeport since 1967, made the foundation of Lemasa a focus on defending their indigenous rights from outsiders. At that time, they used a violent strategy of attack to drive Freeport out from their land. The strategy was continuously since the very first construction in Ertsberg Mountain with unsatisfied response from Freeport and

Indonesian government. However, realizing that their force was not equal with the strength of Freeport and Indonesian government, Tom Beanal in 1992 changed the strategy to be more constructive and unified in single organization. He then declared the establishment of Lemasa on 22 June 1992 and was inaugurated in 1994, with the support of Mr. Matondang, as the regent at the time Mimika was incorporated under Fak-Fak Regency (Ngadisah, 2002). Under Lemasa, during 1996 to 1998 the direction of Lemasa as a customary institution is formed through the *uranawangamkal*² (decision of the customary deliberation in the form of Lemasa resolution). It resulted in four resolutions that form Lemasa's institutional platform to cover issues of land, the concern of universal human rights in Papua, lawsuits against Freeport and enabling a national dialogue on the development of Papua. Thus, the Amungme struggle is more directed at improvement of indigenous life in every aspect, including culture, economy, social and politics, by diplomacy. As respondent YM and TW noted, the strategy is a way to bring the Amungme to an equal position with non-Papuans. In order to strengthen their struggle and increase bargaining position, Lemasa's issue of concern then expanded to include political strategy by investigating the various human rights violations that might have occur during the military response to their struggle and the environmental degradation issues. As a study by Ngadisah (2002) reveals, the new strategy has enabled Lemasa to widen their network and promote the concern of Amungme regarding development in Mimika, by partnering with Indonesian Human Rights Commission and the Indonesian House of Representatives, as well as international organizations who have concern with the issue of environment and human rights.

² In Amungme language, *Uramawangkal* is decree of Traditional Consultative Meeting. The consultative meeting is attended by members of Amungme including the grassroots and traditional leaders on Lemasa leadership (Nol Naisorei, Nerek Naisorei and Amungme Naisorei) from Amungsa (Amungme indigenous territories) at Central Highland of Papua (Amiruddin & Soares, 2003). The traditional consultative meeting, held every five years, discusses important issues (such as Freeport issues, human right violation, damaged customary land, intra-tribe conflict etc.) that affect the lives of Amungme. Once discussed, the Traditional consultative meeting will come to decision and result a decree. The decree is respected as the highest decision made within Amungme leadership and seen as joint attitude of the whole member of Amungme. To its central position that reflecting the attitude of the whole Amungme, the decree then adopted as Lemasa platform (Ngadisah, 2002). The *uramawangkal* then being socialized to the grassroots through Lemasa's traditional leadership that will be discussed on the next section.

3.2.2 Lemasa Vision and Mission

The above Lemasa strategy of struggle is stated in their vision that the customary institution is to elevate the dignity of the Amungme and non-Amungme who resided in Amungsa or as the Amungme said as “Duduk sama rendah, berdiri sama tinggi dan tetap menjadi tuan di tanahnya sendiri” (sit together as low, stand as tall and being master in their own land).

Above vision then translated on their mission statement that Lemasa dedicated to (Ngadisah, 2002):

1. Explore and develop the existence of Amungme’s entity and rights both as ethnic groups and Indonesian citizens in the development process occurs within Amungsa.
2. Explore, develop and preserve the Amungme indigenous value and customary law to enrich the repertoire of Indonesian law and culture.
3. Build partnership with the government and other private bodies in absorbing and channeling aspirations and Amungme indigenous activities to support national development.
4. Lemasa is official autonomous institution, recognized in Amungme’s indigenous life as well as in formal national and international mechanisms, to manage various constraint faced by the Amungme.
5. Defend the Amungme indigenous ownership and rights.
6. Defend and maintain the environmental sustainability of Amungme indigenous area.
7. Encourage the increase of Indigenous people’s revenues through productive economy.
8. Promote the improvement of Amungme’s human resources quality.
9. Accommodate and facilitate the settlement of problems and challenges originated from internal or external Lemasa.

3.2.3 Lemasa Organizational Structure (Chain of Command) and focus of empowerment

To ensure that their indigenous aspirations are included, Lemasa has incorporated on indigenous leadership system in its organizational structure. The organizational structure enables stakeholders to monitor and approach the organization in a customary way, where their program is representing their member and directed by their cultural values.

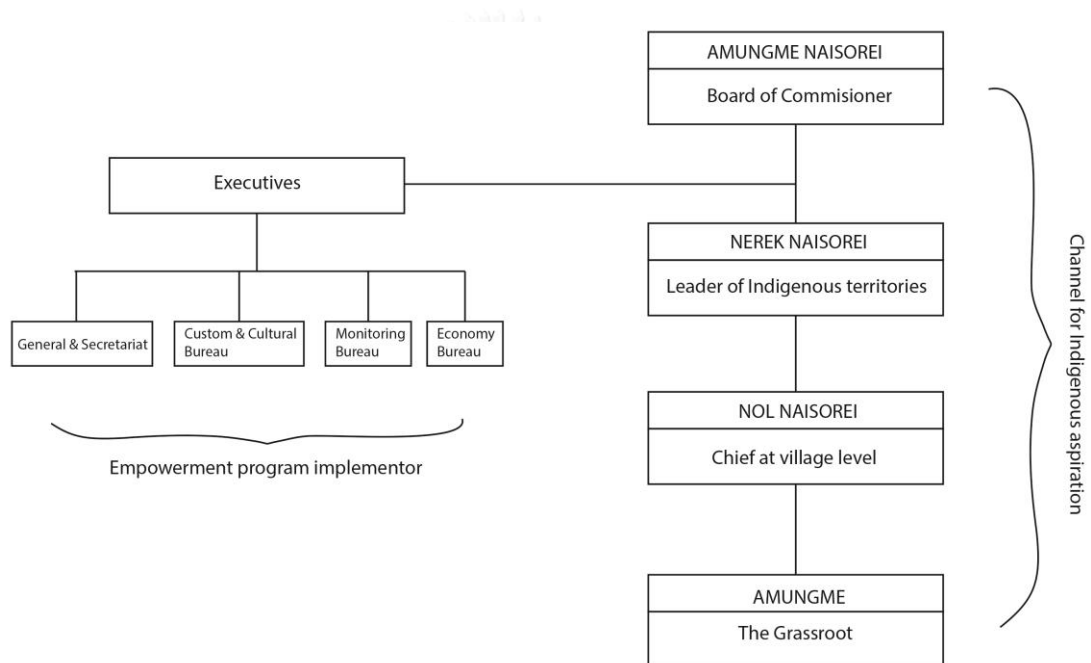


Figure 9 Lemasa Organizational Structure

To answer the needs of Amungme, Lemasa, as per its organizational structure pictured above, has the power to combine aspiration of indigenous Amungme and transform it into development programs. First, the channel for indigenous aspirations is led by leaders coming from indigenous leadership called *menagawan* for male or *inagawan* for female, and starts at the grassroots level. The Amungme at the village level can express their demands or aspirations related to development or indigenous affairs to their village chief. The aspirations are then passed to a higher level and

processed in *Nol Naisorei*, the forums where the chiefs of different villages discuss various issues regarding their members and transform different aspirations into policy and program inputs for *Nerek Naisorei*. Apart from being liaison by conveying grassroots voices, *Nol Naisorei* is also the organizational communication point with the duty to re-communicate *Amungme Naisorei's* policy to the grassroots. Inputs from *Nol Naisorei* are then filtered through *Nerek Naisorei*, which consists of 11 regional leaders, whom each govern one indigenous territory, to prepare points and make prioritization over the issues for discussion at the highest hierarchy in *Amungme Naisorei*. Additionally, *Nerek Naisorei* and *Nol Naisorei* are the ones who have the authority to facilitate, mediate, and solve if disputes occur within the grassroots, including if there are any policies of *Amungme Naisorei* which negatively affect the grassroots. *Amungme Naisorei* consists of leaders, one of which is Tom Beanal, and intellectuals, and is the board of commissioner of Lemasa. It has the duty to formulate doctrines into policy and organizational programs that will further implemented by separate entity.

Further, *Amungme Naisorei's* role is closely related to the second part of the organization, that manages the daily operations of Lemasa, as well as the one that carries out empowerment programs. This executive body is led by an elected director whose duty is to translate indigenous needs that are aggregated by *Naisorei*, into real development programs which are run by four bureaus (General, Custom & Cultural, Monitoring and Economy). The executive body itself deals with various issues related to the indigenesness of Amungme, from education, human rights, and women and children that would be under Monitoring Bureau. Customary affairs, including preservation or facilitating and resolving customary disputes, falls under the Custom and Cultural Bureau. Lastly, to promote the economy of the Amungme and assist them with the change of economic conditions as a result of mining activity, Lemasa has its own economy bureau which specially deals with economic affairs, mostly for those in Mimika, for whom the empowerment program is being run.

A phenomenon that cannot be avoided is the tendency for every culture to change overtime. With the dynamics of mining, Lemasa realizes that the Amungme could not return to their communal land to maintain their indigenous lifestyle

perfectly and easily. Thus, Lemasa, through its empowerment program, is trying to drive change in a positive direction for their members (The Amungme). By standing on their indigenouness, Lemasa's basic premise of empowerment is to raise the dignity of Amungme through encouragement and improvement of the quality of human resources of the Amungme. By holding on to those values, since its enactment in 1994, Lemasa's main focus of empowerment can be divided into two groups. The first relates to advocacy by digging, developing and preserving Amungme indigenous values in order to maintain Amungme's social cohesion in a changing environment. Included in this program is defending and increasing awareness of indigenous rights. Within Lemasa's structure, this duty is managed by the Custom and Culture Bureau. Second, to achieve the welfare of Amungme are being affected by the mining, Lemasa has a economic development program. Utilizing aspects of indigenouness as basic skill, assists them by encouraging and increasing their welfare through productive economic activities.

3.3 Lemasko

3.3.1 Lemasko Entry into Development

The prior formation of Lemasa contributed to the initiation of Lemasko as Kamoro representatives. In 1994, Tom Beanal's concern over the negative effects of Freeport's operations on indigenous people had urged Kamoro to have their own institution. Tom Beanal, as the leader of newly formed Lemasa, engaging Cansius-Yoseph Amareyaw, an educated Kamoro, to discuss Kamoro's strategy regarding Freeport and the Indonesian government. Even the idea of formation was triggered during discussion, Lemasko as customary institution established two years later in 1996. Respondent AY reveals that this long period was due to the difficulties in reaching other Kamoro clans who were remotely located to ensure the same direction and willingness to unify their struggle under a single organization. To deal with the fact that there was no single leader in the Kamoro hierarchy, but rather it was divided based on clan, the Kamoro held a democratic election to elect a Lemasko leader in which every Kamoro give their vote to candidate between April and May 1996.

Right after its formation, during 1996 – 1997 two major events influenced Lemasko's direction of empowerment. First, Freeport's intention to hold a Kamoro's cultural event in 1997 was positively responded by Lemasko. They utilized this opportunity to preserve their culture by promoting their art during the international event. With the support of Freeport, the demand for wood sculptures required that same event be held regularly every two years. This regularity and the positive experience; during the event Kamoro's wood sculpture easily sold and they succeed to earning money; then shaped Lemasko's, as a newly formed customary institution, idea for their first task in empowerment. Second, the PWT2 program implementation required a customary institution for every tribe as explained earlier, the development fund for Kamoro was then channeled to Lemasko that enabled them to conduct other development programs apart of conducting cultural events. As per the fund size and purpose, Lemasko at that time was able to build a number of houses for their members. According to respondent TM, at least 10 houses were gradually built in 1996 – 1997.

However, the program negatively affected the community rather than developing them. It further triggered horizontal clashes and jealousies between Lemasko's leadership circle and the grassroots. The grassroots complained that the prioritization of interventions was unequal. On their house project 1996 - 1997, the selection of beneficiaries was based on regionalism and closeness to Lemasko elites rather than based on needs. Lemasko built houses in Timika city but not for the groups who resided around Ajikwa river and Arafura sea. Most of the Kamoro were living around the river flow and were affected by Freeport's tailings, Thus, Lemasko's selection comparatively ignored those in isolated areas. It caused a split in the grassroots that started to question whether Lemasko's leadership truly represented the whole group.

Up until LPM-IRJA formed in 1999, where Lemasko was its executive body, the Lemasko movement in development was not yet significant. Lemasko was organizationally unable to embed their indigenous aspirations in LPM-IRJA programs. Lemasko organizationally incorporated other tribes with different cultural background to manage Lemasko's operation on their behalf. As Ngadisah (2002) mentioned, Lemasko's daily executives and secretary were still occupied by

Amungme. However, as the organization grew, they were assisted by Lemasa and Freeport, Lemasko position has fully occupied by the Kamoro themselves.

3.3.2 Lemasko Vision and Mission

The vision of Lemasko is to promote Kamoro culture in its efforts to honor, sustain and preserve their custom and culture.

Lemasko's mission statement is to develop, appreciate and preserve their positive custom and cultural value through partnership with government, donor agency and other institution who have similar concern of cultural preservation.

3.3.3 Organizational Structure and programs

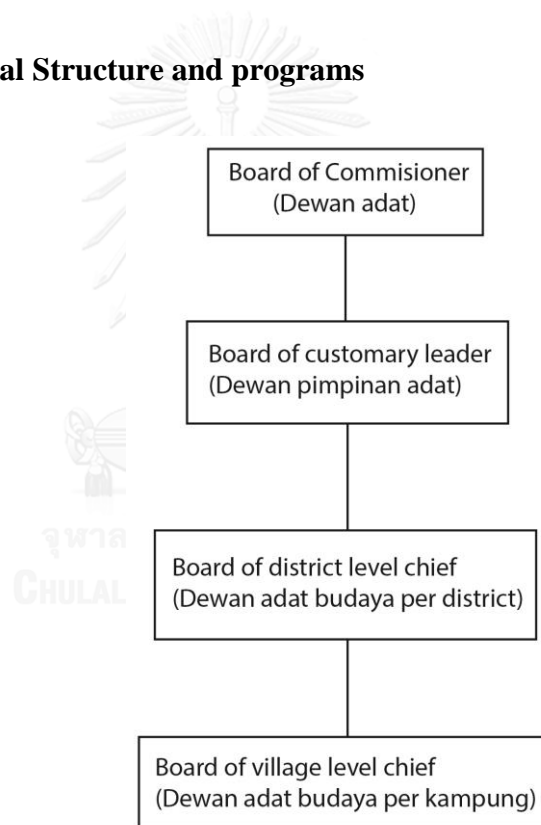


Figure 10 Lemasko Organizational Structure

The leader of Lemasko is not the customary leader or pemimpin adat. Instead, the leader is elected in the Chiefs' Forum by the board of commissioners. However, the candidates come from the grassroots that nominates people who are capable of directing Lemasko organizationally and Kamoro in general. The board of commissioners, in this respect, is also a forum where Kamoro's aspirations are

processed and discussed for solutions if any disputes occur related to indigenous affairs.

Lemasko aims to encourage Kamoro's awareness of improvements that suit the changing environmental context. However, Lemasko themselves acknowledge that they are still weak in terms of performance of their duty as a complete customary institution in assisting the indigenous side of their representatives. Thus, apart from cultural preservation, nowadays, Lemasko activities are directed at improving its institutional capacity. Nevertheless, in their vision, Lemasko's strategic plan is to reach the whole Kamoro with the empowerment program that touches their representative's basic needs, mainly in education by improving children's knowledge, human capacity, economy, health, religious as well as social affairs. It is also their vision to bring these empowerment programs to the villages which are isolated and located far from the city.

Unlike Lemasa, most of Lemasko's activities aim at the preservation of their cultural heritage by organizing cultural festivals. Three main focuses of their cultural preservation are: promoting their traditional dance, wood sculpture and traditional songs both in the Indonesian and international context. Apart from cultural festivals, Lemasko are also concerned around indigenous land including mapping Kamoro territories based on their indigenous border to east in Asmat, west in Kaimana, to northern border along the foot (base) of Nemangkawi mountain. While mostly funded by Freeport and LPMK through its institutional fund under custom and culture bureau, Lemasko's main role is to be a channel of Kamoro indigenous aspirations.

3.4 Dynamics of development actors

Compared with Lemasko and Lemasa, LPMK has a clearer vision, mission and organizational structure. Its targets of development in health, education and economy trigger a change in the landscape in which it works, compared to that of the other actors or stakeholders and their role in the development of Amungme and Kamoro in particular and in Mimika regency in general. Explaining this change in relationship, respondent EZ revealed:

“Lemasa and Lemasko deals with indigenous affairs, and LPMAK manages the money”

Since 2002, this change has made LPMAK the main development organization within the regency, and eliminated other interventions. It pushed polemic between development actors until 2012, which especially Lemasa which very active in struggling and demanding for their indigenous rights to be integrated in development in Mimika. The LPMAK strategy of intervention by directly reaching the community has eliminated the role of Lemasa and Lemasko as main development practitioners in their community during PWT2 and LPM-IRJA. Additionally, with LPMAK the development fund that was previously distributed by the customary institutions to Lemasa and Lemasko also stopped. This prevented Lemasa and Lemasko's ability to deliver development program in socio-economy, thus their role has changed from doing development interventions to only local wisdom. This phenomenon was also pushed by the lack of capability of the customary institutions during PWT2 and LPM-IRJA to conduct professional development programs which were accountable, while expert in indigenous affairs.

The elimination of customary institutions, by the presence of LPMAK from active role in development created tensions between LPMAK and Lemasa. Both institutions have conflicting views on development of indigenous people. Lemasa, on one side, has the perspective that, as a customary institution they have an obligation to help and assist their members, the amungme, to answer basic questions about how to fulfill their daily basic needs in Timika, while their indigenous land had been destroyed and surrendered for the sake of mining concession. There is no other way for the Amungme to go back to their previous settlements where they could cope with their indigenous lifestyle easily. Without assistance in understanding the social change occurred in Timika that affected their indigenous lifestyle, the mining has pushed them to adapt to social changes in a new land for their indigenous survival. From these understandings, Lemasa, as the Amungme indigenous representatives, understand their indigenous affairs and think that they have to have their own development program for the survival of their people. The role should not be restricted to only dealing with cultural preservation as LPMAK is concerned.

Different from Lemasa, Lemasko is more passive in responding to changes in development roles and authority. Their compromise perspective has created minimum debate and rather adapts to changing contexts. In LPMAC, both Lemasa and Lemasko affairs are under the Cultural and Religion Bureau, which concerns the partnership with indigenous institutions to support and preserve their indigenous values.

On the other side, the LPMAC Cultural and Religion Bureau handles special partnerships between the organization and Lemasa and Lemasko under the cultural program, and pushed the Lemasa and Lemasko to only focus on dealing with their indigenous affairs and letting development interventions become the authority of LPMAC. This is also based on the organizational condition that is still colored by internal conflict. In Lemasa, this internal conflict, leads to the lack of capacity of the staff and, to some extent, this has become a limitation for them in conducting development programs. Similar to Lemasa, lack of institutional capacity has added to Lemasko's inability to properly manage development funds and further encouraged disunity through internal clash and social jealousies between their beneficiaries.

However, in 2012 the debate between LPMAC and the customary institutions Lemasa and Lemasko on the role of these three organizations has transformed into cooperative action between them. Lemasa and Lemasko, as customary institutions, bring the debate into a parent-children relationship. According to LPMAC, Lemasa and Lemasko consider themselves the elders, to which LPMAC should respect. Lemasa and Lemasko bring this issue to the proposition that LPMAC should not control, intervene nor limit their area of intervention. To settle the debate and create a supportive tendency to LPMAC's program, the organization, through its cultural and religion bureau (under partnership bureau), provides block grants to Lemasa and Lemasko to show the organization's willingness to give back the rights of development authority. In Lemasa's view, LPMAC, as children, should follow and all activities conducted should respect the parents while Lemasa will guide LPMAC in keeping their development intervention based on their customary values. To this relationship, LPMAC believe that it would be useful to support them in overcoming obstacles for their development program to Amungme and Kamoro.

“As our main challenge is how to recruit people to our program in customary way, customary approach of recruitment that could increase their sense of belonging to the program that we are doing to them is needed. Those are important to ensure their participation and customary institution has capacity to do it” – respondent EZ

As formal and representative institutions of respected indigenous people, the customary institutions have potential in giving customary legitimacy as well as to aggregate all different indigenous aspirations over development among its members. It also has close ties, as a result of customary relationships that make them able to understand the real condition of their members especially those who are remotely located. The ability in understanding their cultural values and norms is a strength in supporting the development program to indigenous people of Amungme and Kamoro.

The provincial government, through its regent, by the establishment of LPMK has also lost its role and power in channeling and managing the development fund, and is back to its basic role in making policy and supervising development in Mimika regency. Negation of previous government roles has also created polemic on the development in Mimika regency. It is debatable in whose sphere or authority developing Mimika such as providing schools and health support to the community is. At some cases as will be further elaborated in the next chapter, LPMK development intervention becomes the pioneer and sole provider of basic service that the government should provide. In relation to the debate, the government program of village development strategic planning under national program of community empowerment (PNPM) that is supposed to target beneficiaries in Mimika is become small in proportion. Additionally, the fact that the government program is mostly targeting the physical infrastructure development within public sphere not in individuals is significant. Nevertheless, the government role in policy making and broad technical capacity has become a critical point and compliment to various LPMK development programs. The regency government, through its departments supports their technical capacity while LPMK provides for the non-technical part.

Although the three organizations all aim to empower the indigenous people, the empowerment itself has been manifested differently. Borrowing a concept from Page and Czuba (1999), the empowerment path of Lemasa is influenced by the

powerlessness that Amungme faced due to uneven development since the coming of Freeport. The Traditional Consultative Meeting, which is also embedded in *Lemasa Naisorei*'s structure, enables the organization to define their empowerment. It attracts the participation of people in defining the importance of the issue by seeing themselves above the social inequality that made them powerless. This idea of powerlessness is further legitimized and employed as Lemasa's driving force of empowerment path in Mimika. It influenced the defining of the Lemasa's target of empowerment as solution of their social problem through the operationalization of their indigenous resolution. Differently, Lemasko's path of empowerment was influenced by several factors. Firstly, Kamoro's cultural tendency, as mentioned in chapter two, is placing the survival of their culture for the tribe's existence to which their means of livelihood are attached to. As Fredericks (2009) argues, Lemasko see the root cause of their community powerlessness as the deterioration of their culture. Secondly, the organizational dynamics during its first years have also influenced their direction of empowerment. The weak institutional capacity and the discontinuation of the development budget after PWT2 added a portion to organizational direction to pursue empowerment. From those circumstances, the funding availability through Freeport intention to conduct regular Kamoro's cultural festivals enhances Lemasko willingness to focus on their cultural preservation, which Lemasko is knowledgeable in. Based on these two prepositions, Lemasko, as Kamoro's representative, is more included to conduct activities to rescue their culture as a mean of community empowerment. In contrast to Lemasa and Lemasko, LPMK's target of empowerment was driven by the harsh dynamics of the One Percent Fund, and the fund's implementation in terms of the socio-economic aspect of indigenous life. The economy, education and health were seen as the main challenges for the Amungme and Kamoro, and the cause of their powerlessness. For LPMK, building indigenous people's assets in economy, education and health are the key drivers to overcome their powerlessness.

Although different in terms of how they pursue empowerment, positive aspects of the various development actors can be translated into a network of actors in LPMK program planning and implementation. This is captured by LPMK, which

coordinates and functions at its best to strengthen its development intervention by building specific partnerships. Thus, I am going to narrow down the discussion of how different actors are involved in the empowerment program in each sector of LPMMAK development interventions in the next chapter.

Table 3 Shared Empowerment Program

Empowerment	LPMMAK	Lemasa	Lemasko
Health	√		
Education	√		
Economy	√	√	
Human Right		√	
Cultural Preservation		√	√
Environment		√	
Women		√	
Child		√	

Chapter IV

The Economy, Education and Health Empowerment Program

This chapter elaborates how indigenusness has been involved in empowerment program in Mimika. In discussing this relationship, the LPMMAK program in economy, education and health is used to show how the current empowerment program has accommodated indigenusness of the Amungme and Kamoro. This chapter argues that indigenusness has not been adequately included in the empowerment program. Although the three LPMMAK empowerment programs have developed the capacity of indigenous people and the collaboration between development actors has further strategically enhanced its efforts of empowerment, it has disregarded their base of indigenusness. Their ecological background, gender and livelihood have attracted criticism from the community and customary institutions, that the direction of the current empowerment program does not fit with their indigenusness.

4.1 “A revolving scheme” (Program dana bergulir) LPMMAK program in Economy

LPMMAK program dealing with the economy was released in 2002. Its program implementation up to 2007 created dynamics that encouraged development actors to interact more with the beneficiaries of this program. From its first implementation up to 2007, the capital assistance program was under the grant scheme, meaning that beneficiaries who received money did not have an obligation to report back on either programmatically or financially on how they used and managed the money. Obviously, with this scheme development become inactive and the fund was seen as simply distributing money as it was prior PWT2 program and LPM – IRJA with the fund prone to a misuse. Moreover, it had attracted social problems in the community. The scheme stimulates negative prejudice and unfair competition that leads to clashes between people who have and those who do not. The grants were received was mostly

used to buy unproductive luxurious goods that encouraged jealousies while not improving livelihoods.

The grants received, were only used to buy luxury goods such as motorcycles or to fund unproductive activities, which is different to the fund's initial purpose. Thus, jealousies and horizontal conflict among community members led to conflict between LPMAC and its beneficiaries. Apart from the conflict regarding questions of how the organization should share the grant equally to all beneficiaries, there was also a misunderstanding about the fund should be used within society. With the grant scheme, understanding developed that the grant was basically Amungme and Kamoro's right, and there was no need for the beneficiary's to be accountable for their efforts. With these understandings, some community groups demand LPMAC to make further contributions to local people's development.

After six years of implementation, the achievements of the program in terms of improving people's life are questionable. Respondent EZ likens the intervention to *ibarat menanam garam di air laut* (like planting salt over the seawater). The development intervention has not yet improve beneficiary's livelihood in any aspect. The economic condition of beneficiaries is similar before and after the program. These conditions have attracted other development actors to start questioning LPMAC's development intervention as only political, and not focused on developing local people. Facing this conflict, LPMAC through its Economic Bureau, has changed the approach to more attracting local people and changing mindsets to lessen or diminished such consequences occur in the future. The aim is to develop beneficial and positive relationships between the organization and beneficiaries by lessening the tensions of conflict over LPMAC's development. The Community Self-Sufficient Group (Kelompok Swadaya Masyarakat) approach was used to restructure the program, money distribution was replaced with providing the tools of productions equal to an agreed amount of money. Respondent DM, from Kamoro community, has received around 1200 chickens complete with other utilities and necessity to start his layer poultry business. Up to the time the author visited his farm, respondent DM who is part of a newly 3 month community self-sufficient group has trickle down effect to

the surrounding communities by employing three other Kamoro men in his farm and his daughter to have another business.



Figure 11 Kamoro Community self-sufficient group (Kelompok Swadaya Masyarakat) with layer poultry business at Muare village getting ready to harvest the eggs daily at 4 PM





Figure 12 Amungme Community self-sufficient group with his layer poultry business is collecting the eggs



Figure 13 Amungme Community self-sufficient group (the two of the right) with his catfish farming is feeding the fish during LPMAC (on the left) monitoring activities



Figure 14 Kamoro Community self-sufficient group “Tunas Baru” with their farming business is harvesting morning glory to be sold at afternoon market in Timika



Figure 15 Revolving program has helped Kamoro Community self-sufficient group “Naiti” to start his fish selling business

The community self-sufficient group consists of at least three peoples: chair, treasurer and member. In this stage, LPMMAK does not limit the type of business they undertake as long as there is a good plan and it passes the assessment. Similar to previous schemes, the candidates have to send their proposals to economic bureau

through their tribe's representatives, for instance the Kamoro should channel it through Kamoro subdivision while the Amungme should go through Amungme subdivision. At this stage, there is indirect assistance from the government program. Respondent EZ said they can determine this through how the proposal is written. If the proposal is typed, it means that government program (RESPEK) has assisted in composing their business proposal and plan. If the proposal is handwritten then it is purely done by the candidate themselves. She further elaborated that the RESPEK program trained beneficiaries how to write proposals since the program requires it of them.

With the revolving scheme, LPMK tries to infuse fairness and healthy competition into education of the tribe to actively and aggressively pursue their survival. This is done to oppose the habit of relying on nature to fulfill daily needs. As respondent EZ stated, their mentality is "Kami tinggal kesitu cari ikan sudah bisa makan" - we just take steps here and there to extract resources within our surrounding environment then we can get food to eat.

The new revolving scheme bridges a responsible community with self-sufficient groups by managing their financial matters; setting measurable time limits; introducing risk regarding refunds; as well as setting specific agreements between the organizations and their beneficiaries. The revolving scheme means that there is specific funding allocated to the self-sufficient group based on assessment criteria. The funds that are disbursed should be returned within agreed timeline. For this purpose, LPMK and every self-sufficient group are specifically tied to contracts of fund management. The contracts note that if within agreed timeline, the group fails to return 20% of the total fund they were disbursed in first phase, then it will be allocated to another group and the assistance is terminated. However, if they succeed in returning the fund in the form of savings to particular bank account, the group will be eligible to get further financial assistance.

Before the community self-sufficient group is granted the assistance, their proposal is assessed and analyzed by their subdivision using three criteria. First, on its profit and loss possibility; second, its business feasibility; and finally by a field visit to the business location stated in their proposal. After the proposal and business passes this assessment, both parties come to a specific agreement and a grant

disbursement is divided into two or three phases. Through this revolving strategy, every beneficiary will receive total assistance of USD 3000 for a year, with at least 20% to be returned by end of the year. The grant is disbursed in the form of production tools and as such, the beneficiaries can start their business. Additionally, specific socialization and training on finance management is given after the group entered the program.

In the case a of layer poultry business, the economic bureau of LPMMAK indirectly collaborates with the veterinary department of Mimika regency. Both have a complimentary form of monitoring assistance to beneficiaries. The economic bureau only has three monitoring phases: first, assessment as explained above; a six month evaluation; and end of year evaluation to see beneficiaries progress in conducting business. While LPMMAK provides monitoring on grant use, the government provides technical knowledge to the beneficiaries through its monitoring activities. The government, through its veterinary department provides assistance on regular basis. The officer visits the farms regularly to see the progress and provide on-the-ground training of technical skills in raising poultry. The same happens for pig breeding business where the government assists the farmer technically on how to boost production. However, the economic bureau and veterinary department do not have official collaboration in monitoring. In the case of respondent DM, the government canvassed the community door to door to find out whether some households had significant farming activities that need technical assistance. As respondent DM explained:

“Initially, the officer just came to my house and found out that I have small farm in my backyard. Since then, they come regularly to visit and check my poultry. They also provide technical training on how to identify whether the poultry is healthy or sick and technically how to raise it etc. I found it very useful since the poultry is my main capital that crucial for the future of my business”

Referring to Hall and Patrinos (2012), empowerment of Indigenous people in economy, as explained in chapter two, is related to their basic cultural assets. The nature of indigenosity of Amungme and Kamoro has become an asset of empowerment. The nature of indigenosity, as it relates to economy, includes the ecological background in which indigenous values and knowledge are exercised, the

ability as self-sufficiency oriented farmers and the means of livelihood that central to women's role. Similarly, respondent TW stated,

“We have potential with our indigenous culture for a living, why don't LPMak and the government utilizes our skills for empowerment rather than trying to impose new system that strange to us?”

Although the revolving program, as explained above, aims to empower Amungme and Kamoro; their cultural assets have not been adequately utilized as productive capital. In terms of their ecological background, the existing empowerment program has a different manifestation in different ecological circumstances. In terms of empowerment of LPMak, the program allows people to see their own potential and development. Through production tools and financial assistance, the program gives essential freedom to the beneficiaries and enables them to exercise their own skills and knowledge as a means of empowerment. However, the different contexts and physical environments have made indigenous people disoriented and disconnected from their basic indigenesness. As respondent TS stated:

“It is better to live happily in our previous village rather here with a forceful living”

Both Amungme and Kamoro are attached to their ecological landscape, ideally they could exercise their indigenous knowledge and maintain their value at the same time. Compared to Kamoro, Amungme are more adaptable to the current ecological context. Although limited in scale, Amungme have basic acknowledgement of intra-tribe trading of their agricultural production, while this is not known in Kamoro culture. In Kamoro, life is tied to the 3Ss (*Sungai, Sampan, Sagu*) the river, canoe and sago, and this has been practiced across generations. The 3Ss form their identity and the skills which they utilize for living on indigenous land. The first S represents river, that determines the place of living is along the river line. Second, the canoe, reflects the skills needed to fulfill their daily necessity by sailing canoes, fishing on the swamp and exploring river to find for fish and *karaka* (crab) by using *sero* and *rawit* made from tree bark as their fishing gear. Once they back from fishing, it is obligatory to share the catches with their relatives to maintain their social cohesion. The third S is sago that determines the food they eat. Apart from being a fisherman, the Kamoro

will find sago by going to the river banks or to mangroves. Regarding the 3Ss, respondent TS criticized the LPMMAK empowerment program in economy as disempowering by forcing them to change to a means of livelihood that they are not expert and have no knowledge in. It alienated them from their indigenesness of being fisherman and urged them into settled farming, such as raising chicken, cows, or planting vegetables in complex farming techniques. As experienced by respondent DM who employs three Kamoros on his LPMMAK supported layer poultry business, the Kamoros face difficulty in absorbing the knowledge of poultry rising. They cannot cope with the regularity of poultry rising techniques and management of settled farms that is completely different with the 3Ss principle that emphasize fishing on the rivers.

Different from Kamoro, the Amungme indigenesness itself has been challenged by the “revolving scheme” program. Their means of livelihood is closely connected to the role of women, while in the existing empowerment programs the role of women has not been a focus of the program intervention. The woman is central to the economic development of Amungme, as expressed in Amungme language: *inindegeben ninjagam* (the understanding of this value will be elaborated further in the next section), as the source of lives and decision makers regarding indigenous livelihoods. By maintaining women’s role in economic development respondent MB further elaborates:

“I often held our custom through *bakar batu*, an activity that meat being grilled on a stone and where people sharing their thoughts and talk about issues, that made especially to women just to open a forum with other Amungme women to share their challenge they face and discuss for a way out to brace up particularly related to their basic premises of fulfilling their family needs of food and living”

Within these conceptions, empowerment is by no means only intended to increase production, but also to enhance communal responsibility to help women fulfill their obligations as tribes’ economic developers. The “revolving program” in economy, but contrast, disregards the role of women in Amungme community. The program fails to recognize women as key drivers of empowerment.

Empowerment is also related to the extent that the surrounding structure limits or encourage its exercise (Fredericks, 2009). To the economic program, Lemasa

uses the proposition of the “revolving scheme” as a way to delimitate their efforts in utilizing their indigenous capacity. Lemasa view empowerment of their community as a means of finding solutions for their marginalization in the market. Lemasa has used program only to support the community in the production process, while their agricultural production has remained untouched. Although being supported by the production tool, Amungme farmers are still powerless, as they cannot compete with skilled businessmen in the market. Without preparation to enter the market, the producers are not able to sell their production to earn income. This concern comes from the fact that market around Timika is dominated by the migrants who are more skillful in marketing their produce and entrepreneurial efforts. Most of Papuan sellers sell their goods without proper kiosks, as respondent TM noted. These vendors put goods on the ground without proper handling, whereas the migrants all occupy kiosks. Lemasa view this limitation as to only avoiding the traditional people not to grow as their potential because it is not yet accommodating their production. As respondent TW expressed:

“If they (referring to development actors) just supports us in farming, then what should we do with our agricultural product and how to make money from it, in the market we could not compete with the migrants who are better in managing their business. Our sellers tend to sell the products in high prices while the migrants not. Additionally, the difference of agricultural price in traditional market to which indigenous sellers are trading is contradictory with extremely low prices to the big company. Realizing that big company is the market opportunity that indigenous farmers could be attracted to boost their agricultural production”

In particular to Amungme, Lemasa realizes its member’s potential in farming and animal husbandry that can be used and tailored to the changing environment in Timika. Lemasa’s proposal for how to empower them through their potential by also adjusting it with the needs of current context. Although the revolving program mechanism, by distributing production tools, would enable them to do productive activities to fulfill their daily needs, the current LPMK economic program is only touches on distributing physical working capital without further assistance as respondent TW said,

“Their basic skills in subsistent farming is not enough to empower them to compete with the migrant who are skillful in agriculture, as the Amungme is not yet absorb settled farming as the migrant does”

Similarly, respondent TM said,

“Basically we do not do trading, daily we find food for us to eat, it is not possible to force us to change our basic livelihood, we do not know how to do other things than our indigenous skills. However, we cannot ignore the reality in the market in Mimika nowadays that we indigenous inhabitant are now buying our own food from the migrants”

4.2 Taruna Papua school in education

The Taruna Papua, as an empowerment program for Amungme and Kamoro, is managed under education bureau of the organization. The school, located in Timika, is used a boarding school model that integrates catholic modes of dormitory living and national school. The school that is managed by the catholic foundation under Mimika diocese’s supervision has a vision to being a school that is able to form youth who are tough, knowledgeable, skillful and have good character. In achieving their vision and mission, the school, through LPMK education bureau, has collaborated with some interest groups in Amungme and Kamoro education including the government, Lemasa, Lemasko and the community itself. The collaboration process is undertaken from the initial student recruitment process. Students do not apply for this school, but rather they are appointed and transported from their location to the school.

Even the purpose of recruitment is to allow the children to get a proper education, according to respondent EZ, it has dynamics over its main purpose. Especially in the case of those remotely located in the mountainous region of Amungme, and coastal side of Kamoro, legitimacy and skepticism become the main challenges in recruitment. A lifestyle shift and distrust were the major concerns of the parents sending their children to school in Timika. In overcoming this challenge, the education bureau has collaborated with customary institutions to approach the community by carrying out customary deliberation to discuss the importance of getting education for their children. Apart from resolving the challenges in

recruitment process, the education bureau also worked with the Lemasa and Lemasko in giving them advice and recommendations to identify locations of their community that have not been approached by the empowerment programs. Other recommendation also to identify people or households that have school aged children and willing to send their kids to boarding school outside their community.

The school, however, does not interfere with recruitment process. To which that this process is part of economic bureau; the school's task is to educate children while they are in school. With a boarding style of school, the school education strategy is to allow an assimilation process to occur within a controlled environment inside the dormitory and school. As stipulated by respondent LGW, by meeting and interacting with students from other tribes who have different knowledge and paradigm, a new understanding of their environment will emerge and there will be change in mindset and attitude. However, they have limited interaction with their neighbors to avoid negative consequences of the fact that some of non-school children in Timika have addiction issues.

There is further collaboration with the government during education process to answer challenges in education. It is believed the nomadic lifestyle affects their mindset, and this has become the major obstacle in the children's approach to modern education. To address the challenge that Papuan students are different in terms of their nomadic lifestyle and age, the school follows the national curricula with some adjustment to meet Papuan student needs. Character building compliments the school's purpose through personality coaching in the dormitory to shape their ability to absorb the dynamics of modernization.

To complement the education at school technically, the education bureau built a study center outside the school called Multi-Purpose Community Center (MPCC). MPCC is a study center that provides additional learning to students that is not available at school. With regular, planned visits, the student can learn about English extracurricular. The center is also equipped with various laboratories, at which student can use facilities. However, it is not only Taruna Papua or schools that managed by education bureau that can utilize this facility but also government schools in Mimika.

After the students finish their study, it is the job of the education bureau to channel them to higher education. The students are often sent to a school within Papua island, or outside to senior high school in north of Sulawesi or Java with advanced interaction with non-papuan people. For this, cooperation has occurred with education department of Mimika regency in appointing curricula and monitoring the development of respected Amungme Kamoro students.



Figure 16 The english class for primary student as extracurricular activity at MPCC. For conducting english class, the MPCC procure the teacher from outside the center while the students are coming from government school



Figure 17 The MPCC library as reading room facility provides various collection of both LPMK publication in Amungme Kamoro folklore and science subject. Shown on the picture below, the student were reading books after finishing their English class

Over the positive impact of the education program, it has also been criticized by the community themselves. Although realizing the importance of education as to increase their knowledge to understand their changing environment and improving their tribes bargaining power, the community especially the elders and parents are afraid that education they received will encourage a significant shift of their lifestyle. With existing curriculum and method, one major concern is that their young generation would forget and ignore their indigenous identity. As the young generation will busy with modern school, they will not have more attention to their cultural values and norm that might be perceived as traditional and backward. Apart from studying in the school, in support of their indigenusness, the community belief that the best place for studying is through their nature, by practicing it directly in the field such as joining their parents going for hunting or gardening. In such event, the kids thought science that's been inherited for generation for instance name of trees and vegetation used for medicine that used for their survival. Specifically to Kamoro, respondent TA mentions,

“By going together with their grandparents to mangroves and forest, children are thought how to drive canoe and identify palm trees which is ready to be harvest. To which this ability is found rarely happened recently, my concern that young generation will only know how to consume but have no idea how to produce the food”

Concerning that the nature is the source that provides resources and the factor that determines their indigenusness, to which also contains their customary values, respondent AS emphasizes the prominence of recognizing their ecological context that allows them to practice their customary values. For instance in Amungme society, their basic survival and values are taught since childhood by educating the children how to carry loads and how to fulfill their basic needs as previously explained in chapter two.

In parallel to those concerns, respondent EZ mentioned,

“LPMAK tries to send the student to attend school outside Mimika and Papua, but they often refuse to go back”

About the condition of their family, respondent EZ said:

“Educated young generation thought that LPMak and Freeport will take care of my family so I don’t need to worry about their circumstances and difficulties for instance in their health and education”

Interpreting above statement, the younger generation is actually realizing their community concern but ignoring it and diverting responsibility to develop their community to outsiders (the LPMak).

This phenomenon is also LPMak’s major concern in educating the Kamoro and Amungme. On the other hand, their identity is often seen as challenge by the educators, because people are sometimes missing from school for months for customary reasons. The parents engage their children in foraging or fishing for days, and that challenges the students ability to fully absorb their lessons, which further affects their success in gaining education similar to other non-Papuans.

4.3 Maternal and child health (KIA) program and Mitra Masyarakat hospital

One of LPMak’s significant empowerment program in the health sector is maternal and child health (KIA). This program is conducted on the basis of development of the human capacity of local people through women and children, which become pillars of health indicators in Mimika. Further, maternal and child health determines the future and development of local inhabitants of Mimika. KIA is one of the continuous programs that specifically targets reproductive aged women and children.

In conducting this KIA program to provide health access to the Amungme and Kamoro communities, health bureau of LPMak specifically builds strong partnerships with the health department at all levels in Mimika regency, from village level to regency level. With the aim of the partnership to improve health conditions and basic health services in Mimika, the health bureau also targets people with no access to government healthcare due to their remoteness that isolates them, for instance those as in Tsinga and Aroanop. In the case of Tsinga and Aroanop,

collaboration takes the form of infrastructure support, including helicopters for transportation of personnel and logistics, other non-medical facilities while government provides medicine, medical utensils and technical experts such as health officers, nurses, doctors.



Figure 18 Auxiliary community health center (Puskesmas Bantu) in Tsinga Valley

The partnership crystallizes through the community health center (Puskesmas) network of health departments within Mimika regency. With this Puskesmas network, KIA program has reached around 3401 infants and 22574 villagers who reside in the area. The Puskesmas has become the spearhead of the program, the whole program is embedded in Puskesmas' daily activity. The program has a specific strategy in its implementation that further elaborates how government and health bureau should work together in their efforts to improve public access to healthcare that is sustainable, high quality and accessible.

First, the health bureau of LPMK also partners with local government of Mimika in terms of policy making to support the program, particularly in increasing access through Puskesmas network and opening a new network of Puskesmas within LPMK community network which has not been approached previously. Second, they partner to improve program planning and implementation skills of the health officers at the regency and Puskesmas level. Third, they work together with the health experts and village governments to establish a self-help community group as health cadres, as well as to provide community based sanitation. Fourth, they focus on improvement of Puskesmas management by building their capacity in finance management, health monitoring system and facilitative supervision.



Figure 19 Distribution of Vitamin A in Banti Village as one of KIA Programs. With cross collaboration between LPMK Health Bureau and the community health officer, this activity is regularly conducted twice a year in February and August.



Figure 20 Various activities of integrated services post (Posyandu) under KIA Program. The integrated services post is center to which community regularly check their toddler from age 0 to 5. Shown in the picture below from left to right community health cadre training, handwashing training for kids, toddler weighing (1), toddler weighing (2), distribution of Vitamin A, and healthy kid post

The KIA program has been conducted since 2008, and is complimented by Mitra Masyarakat hospital as the prime hospital in Mimika that provides complex health services to Amungme, Kamoro and five other kinships. While puskesmas reaches beneficiaries in remote settlements, the Mitra Masyarakat aims to reach beneficiaries who reside in Timika with broader health services. The hospital is a joint program between the health bureau and the Catholic diocese of Mimika (Caritas Foundation) to manage and provide health services at the hospital. Like the case of Tsinga and Aroanop, the division of task in Mitra Masyarakat means the health bureau provides infrastructure facilities and medical equipment with funding support in managing the hospital, while the services are subcontracted to the Caritas Foundation. Health services at Mitra Masyarakat hospital are free of charge for Amungme, Kamoro and five other kinships upon presentation of their identification card.

4.4 Relationship of the three empowerment programs of LPMK and Customary Institution

Apart from cooperation with external parties, the three bureau of LPMK also have internal collaborations in implementing their program. Programs of all bureaus target the same community, and the structure of the economic bureau brings advantages to the other two. The structure of economic bureau is divided into subdivisions based on tribes to reflect the kinship system. Further, it has built considerable specific understanding in dealing with each tribe. This advantage has been used by the organization to ease their intervention by leveraging the kinship system. As the premise is to avoid negative consequences such as community misunderstanding of their interventions in Mimika, this strategy is used by the other two bureaus to calm community reluctance to accept them. In the simple words from the Kamoro community:

“kalau kami dikumpulkan terus, kapan kami ke kebun dan berlayar cari ikan”, if we always being gathered then when can we do gardening and fishing?

Those simple notions noted the problem of approaching beneficiaries. There needs to be a strategy to bridge up communication between the programs and their

target beneficiaries. As elaborated by respondent EZ, in approaching every new community or those who reside in remote villages where customary leadership is still strong, the economic bureau are communication initiators, who first approach them (as a messenger) by using kinships linkages and with the support of Lemasa or Lemasko. Bringing up communication through kinship linkages is not only important for introducing the program to the community, but also in approaching specific targets, particularly on the issue of women, which is sensitive and related to their central role in their indigenous livelihood. Regarding the stigma revealed by respondent EZ and confirmed by respondent DM, the opportunity for women to stand out, especially within the education program, is small and worse in the economic program. The lack of emphasis on women in economic and firing them into their customary roles in Kamoro society was further said by respondent DM:

“perempuan tau apa? bisa bikin kacau saja” what women knows? They can only mess everything up”

To that end, LPMK has a challenge in terms of breaking down the stigma that woman are a possession that no external parties outside the community can intervene with. In economy, those higher tensions have limited the participation of women within the program. The participation rate is different between Amungme and Kamoro societies: Amungme women are owners as well as daily managers of businesses, while Kamoro the heads of households, or the men, are the owners and the ones who take decisions in businesses and livelihoods. In education, ensuring female participation in school recruitment is another challenge, Their basic role of providing food to the household has limit them from going to school far away from community, and thus prevented girls attending boarding style education facilities.

For the above phenomenon, LPMK’s program integrates the expertise of Lemasa and Lemasko as customary institutions to bridge the indigenusness linkages to provide recommendations to program strategies, for instance, to assist beneficiary’s awareness of the importance of equal education for both women and men. This is done to manage understanding and to avoid apathy of LPMK’s intervention within communities, which could be opposed to their indigenous values. Thus after the communication has been established between the economic bureau and with the

chiefs and community members, other programs from other bureau can enter and begin their interventions. For this purpose, the three bureaus of LPMAK need to be integrated in terms of building close linkages in programing and timelines.

To the problem of negative consequences of intervention, Lemasa and Lemasko as customary institutions reacted as mediators and initiators across different LPMAK programs. In education, one of customary institutions' roles are approaching remote villagers and providing recommendations to ensure equality in the interventions. While in economy and health their prominent role is establishing positive communication and relationships in conducting customary deliberations as a forum for problem solving, they also give recommendations for solutions if problems occur regarding program approach to their community. The customary institution's role, however, is reciprocal with LPMAK's organizational role. The mutual relationship between these organizations is realized through granting institutional funding to them to strengthen their capacity in handling indigenous affairs, while the customary institutions provide legitimation of LPMAK's development interventions in the communities they serve.

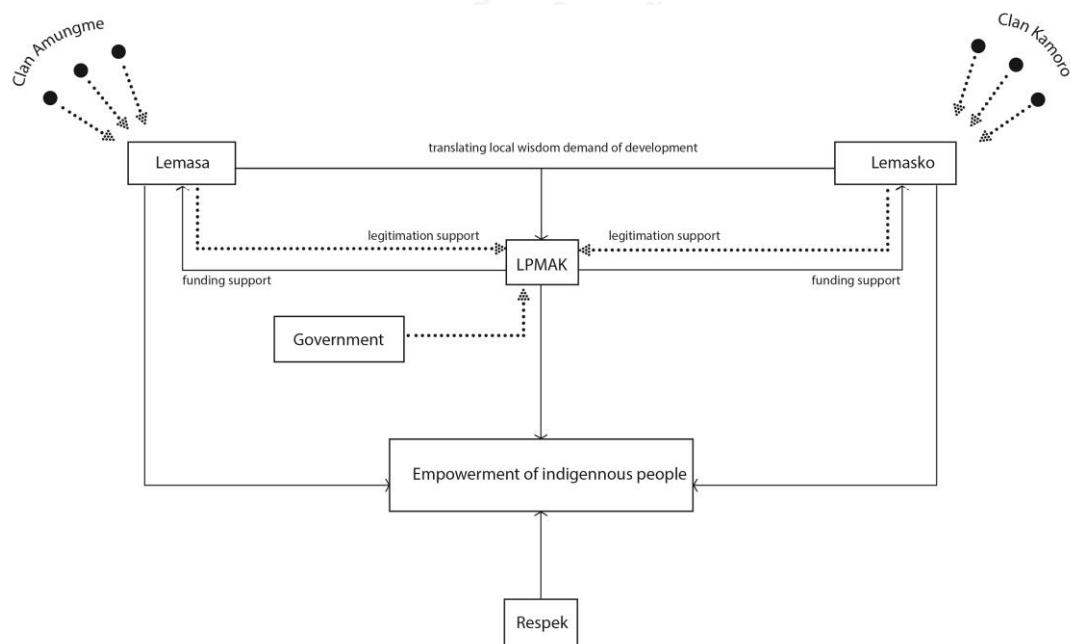


Figure 21 The network of development actors

4.5 The empowerment of Amungme and Kamoro

As mentioned in previous section, Amungme and Kamoro have criticized the current empowerment program as not suitable for their base of indigenesness. There is a gap in how to accommodate their ecological background, gender and livelihoods in parallel with existing empowerment programs. Introducing Amungme and Kamoro indigenous values of empowerment could eliminate this criticism and further strengthen the positive moves toward making the program fit with their base of indigenesness. Empowerment should be done within their indigenous framework that put women and their cultural practices as the center of the process. I presented the general idea of empowerment based on their cultural values that could be utilized to correct the current empowerment programs of the two communities.

4.5.1 *Inindegeben ninjagam*

In Amung language, the term empowerment is not known, however, they expressed the same meaning of empowerment as “*inindegeben ninjagam*”. The term expresses their indigenesness as the carrier of their custom, and it is attached to women. If one applies this conception, then assisting women means empowering tribes and their future. The central role of women is as caretakers and central managers, through whom indigenous values are practiced and social cohesion is maintained. Women are everything; they are the sun and the moon. This is further elaborated in three values, the first being *ninkingma*: women have strong shoulders. To women, as hard working people, respondent MB revealed that,

“Our life in mountain is hard, there is nothing to get instantly; we have to do gardening patiently, little by little. Take care of it every day like watering until it is ready to harvest and it is the women who do those jobs”

Second, *nagauma*: having hands to serve people. Hands in this conception, is associated with food production; making raw materials become something that can be eaten. They are able make food to share with others. This skill has enabled them to help people on their surrounding who are poor. Third, they have *ndatma*, or a brain.

This is their sense to give attention and affection to people in need. Respondent MB stated,

“Even without saying anything, women have their instinct and have thoughts to know how to take care of them/us”

As per these values, women are *nakalin nebelo*, warriors who do everything and take care of everyone. Further in the Amungme conception, women are like salt. In Amungme proverbs, without women in folklore, it becomes tasteless and dull.

4.5.2 Kamuru

As with the Amungme, the term empowerment in Kamoro society is also not directly defined, rather it is expressed through daily activity. It is expressed as *kamuru*, the activity of women gathering to do weaving. Through the weaving activity, women create a forum to discuss various issues that bother them, including one that relate to humanity, happening in their community, social and economic issues. Further, as respondent TK stipulated:

“*kamuru* is part of our culture that allow us to changing information, to keep up aware of everything both positive or negative matter occurs inside or outside our community. Because without talking, we will not be aware of anything happened in our tribes and reinforcing each other”

As per *kamuru*, empowerment is seen as togetherness. Empowerment collectively reinforces a people, not individuals. It is a mutual and collective effort to consolidate between community members. But, nowadays, *kamuru* is seldom practiced and there are fears of the loss of the value, as respondent TK said: “*saving our generations cannot be done*”.

Chapter V

Conclusion

This chapter provides a summary from the research into indigenous empowerment part of Amungme and Kamoro. The chapter will assess the indigenosity of Amungme and Kamoro for their empowerment through reflection of the concepts which are stated in chapter one. The final section will present conclusions of the thesis and recommendation to improve the empowerment program of Amungme and Kamoro.

5.1 Reflections on the concepts

By examining the Amungme and Kamoro identity and various development interventions directed to them since 1970s, various relevant concepts have been elaborated in this thesis. First, in relation to **indigenosity**, the Amungme and Kamoro relation to the land in Mimika has determined their indigenosity. The Amungme and Kamoro are basically nomadic people with specific historical connections to their land in Mimika. Mimika is perceived as their ancestral land, and is divided for these two tribes, the Amungme refers to their mother as the concept of land in the mountainous range, while Kamoro refers to coastal part as their origin. As per the Amungme view of land, the natural resources that have been exploited by Freeport is another means of destruction of their tribes. This connection is built from the mountain with its natural resources is perceived as the head of mother who are sacred and the source of life.

The same conception also applies to Kamoro, their 3S principle (Sungai, Sampan, Sagu): river, canoe and sago, place the river as the place that provides resources to fulfill their daily consumption needs and through which their custom is maintained. The resources that the rivers provide mean the Kamoro identify themselves differently from their relatives, the Amungme, who are indigenously farmers, and to the people who have transmigrated since 1970s. As Sena (2013) argues about the presence of customary institutions, these two tribes have their

separate indigenous leadership that is divided based on clans and villages. As a response to the development in their domain, this notion has been channeled to Lemasa for Amungme and Lemasko for Kamoro, as their social and political institutions; being strongly accommodated, practiced and act as liaison for negotiation with outsiders. On its development, these two institutions' main task is to ensure that their custom and indigenous skills are being maintained and enhanced within changing development context in Mimika.

Further, historical and close relationships to the land have determined Amungme and Kamoro's indigenous ownership of land they inhabit that further attracts dynamics and dispute between indigenous people, government and Freeport, that came to Mimika for resource mining and have occupied both lands. To this, both tribes have fought for development interventions to compensate for losing their indigenous lands and livelihoods.

Secondly, to the **gender and economic development** as part of their indigenusness, these resources further determined their subsistent economic production to which gender plays a key role. The role of women, in both tribes, is key to economic development being achieved and sustained. As stressed by Roy (2004), Amungme and Kamoro women the family and tribal economic activators. Women's basic skills of nurturing have been broadly used in all aspects of livelihood, from food production to wealth accumulation. Through these broad roles, women are owners and maintainers of indigenous knowledge systems and values. Exercising women's roles means practicing and preserving indigenous knowledge.

However, the indigenusness that determines their distinct values and identity makes them vulnerable to disadvantage by the economic advancements brought by the state through mining. The Amungme and Kamoro have suffered by the economic mainstreaming imposed on them. The coming of mining in 1969 and social development caused by bringing transmigrants to the area created more tension for the Amungme and Kamoro. Their land has been lost and the people have been displaced from their indigenous territory. This also forced an erosion of the role of indigenous women. For that, they have been alienated in the new environment and marginalized

with the change in livelihood context that the transmigrant is more powerful and dominated. However, to Amungme and Kamoro, indigenesness is capital through which development can be achieved to meet their distinct needs as stresses by the United Nation Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.

With regards to **empowerment**, LPMMAK's close collaboration with prominent development actors has increase dthe possibility of Amungme and Kamoro gaining the capacity to control their own recourses. As Rappaport (1981) argues, by increasing health and education while improving their economic wealth, the indigenous people's ability to adapt to contextual changes within their community is enhanced. LPMMAK's empowerment interventions in these three sectors to Amungme and Kamoro have unearthed a solution to their problems of marginalization due to the presence of transmigrants and a lack of benefit from mining in absorbing them into the labor force.

With regards to **indigenesness for empowerment**, although LPMMAK started to deal seriously with the development problems, and the Lemasa and Lemasko, as customary institutions, have been invited to be partners in the development process, the development initiative has not adequately accommodated the Amungme and Kamoro's fundamental indigenesness. The notion that LPMMAK's development interventions are intended to change mindsets to get out of customary restraints of indigenesness by absorbing modern interventions, the Amungme and Kamoro intend to keep their customs and utilize them alongside development in accordance with the concepts argued in this thesis. The lack of distinct development strategy has added further questions about whether indigenesness is supported within the development interventions. Especially in its economic initiatives, as the United Nations Permanent forum on Indigenous Issues stresses the importance of indigenous practices as the main source of indigenous people's empowerment and advancement, available economic programs for Amungme and Kamoro have not specifically acknowledged their customary skills and norms as the main capital for their prosperity. It is a process that they have played a political role in development to get what they could by adjusting their needs to fit what non-government can offer. But whether their indigenesness is empowered through the available development intervention is

debatable. The question is important when looking to promote indigenous knowledge in the economic system, as AIPP stresses. Remembering that the Amungme are farmers, while the Kamoro are technically a fishermen with lifeskills in 3Ss (Sungai, Sampan, Sagu) of river, canoe and sago, the two different knowledge sets result in different abilities to compete with modernization, to which the context and environment in Mimika has changed to be suitable for land farming. This phenomena, was interestingly stated by a respondent, it is “better to live happily in the village rather in the city but having our livelihood forcefully changed”.

Another point for empowerment is that initiatives are directed to collective empowerment. While the collective cohesion in Amungme and Kamoro community is crucial, the empowerment program is not yet going in the direction that maintains cultural integrity, rather it is working on the individual level, for which the prosperity of individual family is important.

Although non-government organization measure empowerment through increasing quality of life by engagement with modernization, increased educational levels, involvement in capitalist economy, and health, the Amungme and Kamoro evaluate empowerment by ties to the land, performing cultural practices and maintenance of social cohesion based on their indigenous values as Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) Foundation (2010) argues.

5.2 Conclusion

The Amungme and Kamoro are the indigenous people of Mimika, as determined by their origins and closeness to the land. The economic advancement since the coming of Freeport mining in 1967 has excluded them from taking advantage from such modernization. Adversely, they have been resettled and lost their indigenous land to which their indigenous lifestyle is attached. Their nomadic lifestyle and subsistence economy, that have women as the driving force who maintain their economy and custom based on their clans, has been disrupted. The government sponsored transmigration program to support the mine has further marginalized these two communities by changing the demographic landscape in Mimika. These three

groups were mixed in transmigration settlements and the composition and government support for the migrants further marginalized the Amungme and Kamoro. The economic development favored the state and the migrants but ignored Amungme and Kamoro. It encouraged horizontal conflict in socio-economic and has been recurring since then. Having their indigenusness disrupted, disadvantaged and marginalized through the above series of state imposed development programs forced them to fight for their development through Lemasa and Lemasko, as their customary institutions, in 1994.

The above socio-economic conflict has attracted civil society to intervene by delivering appropriate empowerment programs. Since its establishment in 2002, the LPMK approach to empowerment has aimed to bridge up the community to the changing context in Mimika in economy, education and health. To the basic premises that these three sectors have strong connections for beneficiaries improved welfare, the program has been integrated in its coordination to bring positive effects to the empowerment of these people. It encourages for a positive change in livelihood, from nomadic to a settled livelihood, to suit the changing context. In education, by bringing in dorm style and free education, completed with a supporting multipurpose community center, the organization aims for a behavior change of the people to be capable to understand and deal with the changing context within their environment and livelihood. In economy, the revolving fund aims to stir beneficiary's economy, while they are free to conduct their type of business as long as it passes an assessment from the organization. Beside this, it also trains them how to save for their future investment and necessities. Those education and economy programs are supported with the initiative in health sector. By bringing in child and maternal health as one of the focus of their programs, together with the RSMM hospital in Timika that provides free health services for increased health of the people so they are able to participate in the economy. However, those views of empowerment are different from the customary institutions', which see empowerment as bringing up indigenusness and that empowerment should be done within their indigenus framework. This different focus of empowerment is utilized by LPMK through integrating their different focus to enhance its empowerment program.

Although LPMAK has developed the capacity of indigenous people and the collaboration between developments actors has further strategically enhanced its efforts of empowerment, current LPMAK programing in economy, education and health does not fit with Amungme and Kamoro needs of empowerment. The program has disregarded their indigenusness and not to incorporate their cultural assets as the basis of their empowerment. The Amungme and Kamoro ecological background, livelihood and gender have urged criticism from the community as well as customary institutions regarding the program's different meaning of empowerment from theirs. Therefore, it is important to include their indigenous idea of empowerment and put it at the center of empowerment process to better fits with indigenous people's needs of development.

5.3 Recommendation

In accordance with the empowerment and indigenusness that has been discussed in previous chapters, the study proposes recommendations in several areas to improve current empowerment programming to better empower the Amungme and Kamoro.

In relation to the indigenusness of Amungme and Kamoro, the framework of current empowerment programming in economy, education and health should be reviewed to accommodate their general idea of empowerment, and to put women and cultural practices at the center of development. Specifically, empowerment programming should ensure the integration of their ecological background, gender and livelihood as the base framework of their empowerment program. First, in economy aspects, highlighting their indigenous assets as their productive capital will enhance their self-sufficiency thus avoid dependency on the programs. Departing from their indigenusness, the human capacity of indigenous people in economy, particularly in entrepreneurship and managing complex business such as farming, should be developed to complement the existing revolving program. These efforts are also useful to enable them to engage effectively in real market for their survival. Second, engaging their indigenous knowledge and practices of learning in education should be made available to eliminate the reluctance of the program. Third, engaging

their indigenous practices in health and building the capacity of women as main pillar in health would also be beneficial in bridging the gaps between current empowerment programs and the indigenous community. Furthermore, the empowerment of indigenous people should aim for collective empowerment, rather than impacting only individuals, by ensuring the promotion of their indigenous knowledge, production systems and participation in decision making. Finally, the coordination of LPMK, Lemasa and Lemasko across economy, education and health programming should be reviewed to ensure conformity with the new empowerment direction and their indigenous framework. The formalization of coordination of these three organizations is needed to create clear roles and responsibilities to counter possible empowerment constraints, thus meeting the empowerment needs of Amungme and Kamoro.



REFERENCES

- Amiruddin, & Soares, A. J. d. (2003). *Perjuangan Amungme: antara Freeport dan militer* (M. Mahendra Ed.). Jakarta: Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat (ELSAM).
- Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) Foundation. (2010). *Indigenous development or development with culture and identity. Submitted to the 9th session of the UN Permanent Forum on indigenous issues*. Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) Foundation. New York.
- Ayorbaba, A. (2011). *The papua way: Dinamika konflik laten dan refleksi 10 tahun otsus papua*. Papua: Tabloid Suara Perempuan Papua.
- Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Kabupaten Mimika. (2013). Kabupaten Mimika dalam angka. In B. P. S. B. K. Mimika (Ed.). Mimika: Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Kabupaten Mimika.
- Beanal, T. (1997). *Amungme: Magaboarat Negel Jombei Peibei*. Jakarta: Wahana Lingkungan Hidup.
- Blair, D. C., & Phillips, D. L. (2003). Indonesia commission: peace and progress in Papua. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Center for Preventive Action.
- Cook, C. D. T. (1995). *The Amung Way: the Subsistence Strategies, the Knowledge and the Dilemma of the Tsinga Valley People in Irian Jaya, Indonesia*. (Doctor of philosophy), University of Hawaii.
- Duflo, E. (2012). Women empowerment and economic development. *Journal of Economic Literature* 2012, 50(4), 1051-1079. doi: 10.1257/jel.50.4.1051
- Eastin, J., & Prakash, A. (2013). ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER EQUALITY: Is There a Gender Kuznets Curve? *World Politics*, 65(1), 156-186. doi: 10.2307/42002201
- Food Agricultural Organization. (1997). Gender: the key to sustainability and food security. Retrieved 29 April, 2014, from <http://www.fao.org/docrep/007/y5608e/y5608e02.htm#TopOfPage>
- Forsyth, T. (2004). Challenges to Local Knowledge. Training Manual "Building on Gender, Agrobiodiversity and Local Knowledge": Food and Agricultural Organization.
- Fredericks, B. (2009). Which way that empowerment?: Aboriginal women's narratives of empowerment. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship*, 4(2), 6-19.
- Freeport Indonesia. (2013). Kontribusi. Retrieved 7 August, 2014, from <http://ptfi.co.id/id/media/facts-about-freeport-indonesia/facts-about-contributions>
- Giay, B. (1995). *Zakheus pakage and his communities: indigenous religious discourse, socio-political resistance and ethnohistory of the Me of Irian Jaya*. Amsterdam: VU University Press.
- Gomes, A. (2013). Anthropology and the Politics of Indigeneity. *Anthropological Forum*, 23(1), 5-15. doi: 10.1080/00664677.2012.749179
- Hall, G. H., & Patrinos, H. A. (Eds.). (2012). *Introduction*. n.a: Cambridge University Press.
- Harple, T. S. (2000). *Controlling the Dragon: An ethno-historical analysis of social engagement among the Kamoro of South-West New Guinea (Indonesian*

- Papua/Irian Jaya*). The Australian National University, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Department of Anthropology. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/47146>
- Hisada, T. (2007). *Indigenous Development and Self-Determination in West Papua: A Case Study of the Socio-Political and Economic Impacts of Mining upon the Amungme and Kamoro Communities of West Papua*. The University of Waikato.
- Kabeer, N. (2012). Women's economic empowerment and inclusive growth: labour markets and enterprise development. *International Development Research Centre*.
- Kabeer, N., & Natali, L. (2013). *Gender equality and economic growth: is there a win-win?*
- Kafiar, F. P. (2013). Kearifan lokal suku Amungme dalam pengelolaan sumber daya alam dan lingkungan di kabupaten Mimika Papua. *Ekosains*, 5(1).
- Kampe, K. (1997). Introduction: Indigenous peoples of Southeast Asia. In D. McCaskill & K. Kampe (Eds.), *Development or domestication? Indigenous people of Southeast Asia*. Chiangmai: Silkworm Books.
- Karubi, N. P. (2006). *Development, micro-credit and women's empowerment: a case study of market and rural women in Southern Nigeria*. (Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology), University of Canterbury.
- Kasmel, A. (2011). *Evaluation as a tool for community empowerment - a study on three community initiatives in Rapla, Estonia* (Phd), University of Southern Denmark, Esbjerg.
- Kottak, C. P. (2002). Cultural Anthropology. Retrieved 29 April, 2014, from http://highered.mcgraw-hill.com/sites/0072500506/student_view0/chapter11/faqs.html
- Leith, D. (2003). *The politics of power: Freeport in Suharto's Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme dan Kamoro. (2010a). Kamoro. Retrieved 22 March, 2014, from http://lpmak.org/en/about_us/kamoro
- Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme dan Kamoro. (2010b). Strategic Plan. Retrieved 23 March, 2014, from http://www.lpmak.org/about_us/strategic-plan
- Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme dan Kamoro. (2012). Berkarya menuju masyarakat sejahtera. Mimika: Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme dan Kamoro.
- Levi, J. M., & Maybury-Lewis, B. (2012). Becoming indigenous: identity and heterogeneity in a global movement. In G. H. Hall & H. A. Patrinos (Eds.), *Indigenous peoples, poverty, and development*: Cambridge University Press.
- McCaskill, D. (1997). From tribal peoples to ethnic minorities: The transformation of indigenous peoples: A theoretical discussion. In D. McCaskill & K. Kampe (Eds.), *Development or domestication? Indigenous peoples of Southeast Asia*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- McLeod, J. (2007). Nonviolent struggle in West Papua: We have hope. In R. V. Summy (Ed.), *Nonviolent alternatives for social change* (pp. 70-100). Paris: EOLSS Publishers Co Ltd.

- Merlan, F. (2009). Indigeneity global and local. *Current Anthropology*, 50(3), 303-333. doi: 10.1086/597667
- Movanita, A. N. K. (2014). Bentrok antarkubu di Timika tewaskan tujuh warga. Retrieved 19 September, 2014, from <http://regional.kompas.com/read/2014/08/14/13071891/Bentrok.Antarkubu.di.Timika.Tewaskan.Tujuh.Warga>.
- Muller, K. (2000, January). *The Kamoro*. Papuaweb.
- Muller, K. (2004). Kamoro natural resources and resource utilization. Retrieved 22 April 2014, from Papuaweb <http://www.papuaweb.org/dlib/tema/kamoro/muller-sda/index.html>
- Muslimah, S. (2014). Pasca tewasnya 5 warga karena dipanah situasi Timika masih mencekam. Retrieved 19 September, 2014, from <http://news.detik.com/read/2014/08/14/131342/2662005/10/pasca-tewasnya-5-warga-karena-dipanah-situasi-timika-masih-mencekam?nd771104bcj>
- Ngadisah. (2002). *Gerakan sosial di kabupaten Mimika: Studi kasus tentang konflik pembangunan proyek pertambangan Freeport*. (Dissertation), Universitas Indonesia, Depok.
- Ngau, P. M. (1987). Tensions in Empowerment: The Experience of the "Harambee" (Self-Help) Movement in Kenya. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 35(3), 523-538. doi: 10.2307/1153928
- Page, N., & Czuba, C. E. (1999). Empowerment: what is it? *Journal of Extension*, 37(5).
- Pemerintah Provinsi Papua. (2011). Amungme Tribe. Retrieved 19 march, 2014, from <http://cloud.papua.go.id/en/culture/ethnic/Pages/Amungme-Tribe1207-5191.aspx>
- Pouwer, J. (1991). Mimika. In T. E. Hays (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of world cultures. Volume II: Oceania* (pp. 206-208). Boston: G.K Hall.
- Pouwer, J. (2010). *Gender, ritual and social formation in West Papua: a configurational analysis comparing Kamoro and Asmat*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Rappaport, J. (1981). In praise of paradox: a social policy of empowerment over prevention. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 9(1), 1-24.
- Rappaport, J. (1987). Terms of empowerment/exemplars of prevention: toward a theory for community psychology. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 15(2), 121-148.
- Rifai-Hasan, P. A. (2009). Development, Power, and the Mining Industry in Papua: A Study of Freeport Indonesia. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 89(2), 129-143. doi: 10.1007/s10551-010-0371-y
- Rollings, L. B. (2010). *The West Papua Dilemma*. (Master of Arts), University of Wollongong. Retrieved from <http://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/3276>
- Roy, C. K. (2004). *Indigenous women: a gender perspective*
- Scherer, C. (2011). Gender equality and economic development a two-way street, new World Bank report says. Retrieved 15 April, 2014, from <http://blogs.worldwatch.org/nourishingtheplanet/gender-equality-and-economic-development-a-two-way-street-new-world-bank-report-says/>
- Sen, G. (1997). Empowerment as an Approach to Poverty. *Background Paper to Human Development Report*.

- Sena, K. (2013). *Empowering Indigenous People*. Division for Social Policy and Development. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. New York. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/egms/docs/2013/EmpowermentPolicies/Expert-paper_Paul-Kanyinke-Sena.pdf
- Somba, N. D., & Perdani, Y. (2014). Police step up security in Timika after 6 killed, *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/08/15/police-step-security-timika-after-6-killed.html>
- Sullivan, L. (2003). *Challenges to special autonomy in the province of Papua, Republic of Indonesia*. SSGM Discussion Paper. ANU Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program. Canberra, ACT.
- Summers, J. A. (2011). Economic development broadly defined. Retrieved 29 April, 2014, from <http://ecdi.wordpress.com/2011/06/15/economic-development-broadly-defined/>
- The World Bank operational manual (1991).
- The World Bank. (n.d). What is empowerment? Retrieved 28 April, 2014, from <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/EXTEMPOWERMENT/0,,contentMDK:20272299~pagePK:210058~piPK:210062~theSitePK:486411~isCURL:Y,00.html>
- Tonkin, D. (1997). *Spears of Development? Comparative Impacts of The Freeport Mine, Irian Jaya*. (Bachelor of Arts), The Flinders University of Australia.
- Trajano, J. C. I. (2010). Ethnic Nationalism and Separatism in West Papua, Indonesia. *Journal of Peace, Conflict and Development*(16).
- United Nation Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. (2010). *Gender and indigenous peoples' economic and social development*. United Nation. New York. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/BriefingNote2_GREY.pdf
- Verveer, M. (2013). Women as economic drivers. Retrieved 4 May, 2014, from <http://journal.aarpinternational.org/a/b/2012/02/Women-as-Economic-Drivers>
- Wallerstein, N., & Bernstein, E. (1988). Empowerment education: Freire's ideas adapted to health education. *Health Education & Behavior*, 15(4), 379-394. doi: 10.1177/109019818801500402
- Whiteside, M., Tsey, K., & Earles, W. (2011). Locating Empowerment in the Context of Indigenous Australia. *Australian Social Work*, 64(1), 113-129. doi: 10.1080/0312407X.2010.533279
- Whiteside, M., Tsey, K., McCalman, J., Cadet-James, Y., & Wilson, A. (2006). Empowerment as a Framework for Indigenous Workforce Development and Organisational Change. *Australian Social Work*, 59(4), 422-434. doi: 10.1080/03124070600985996
- World Commission on Environment and Development. (n.d). Our common future, chapter 2: towards sustainable development.
- Wyoming Community and Regional Economic. (n.d). What is economic development? Retrieved 29 April, 2014, from <http://wyocre.uwagec.org/econdev1.php>

VITA

Ellen Sasha is Indonesian and is the second of the two children of Mr. Darwin Bin Baso and Mrs. Siti Barsih.

Ms. Sasha had previously joined with various Non-Government Organizations including Grameen Foundation as Operation Manager, where she worked to highlight the usefulness of mobile technology for the poor. She enjoys working with people at the “bottom of the pyramid” by engaging with them directly in the community. But working in the fields is not as easy as reading theories in books. A major challenge involves bridging the gaps between the diverse range of people that we meet every day. It’s not just the differences between larger communities, but the differences in small groups that can be striking as well. Before they will consider engaging with development assistance that we offer, we must earn their trust. Only then can we demonstrate the value of our work from their perspective. She love chatting with the community, closing the distance between her life with the underprivileged. In turn, this helps me understand their situation even more deeply, revise my theories and gain new insights for projects that I’am working on.

She began her passion on community development particularly on the melanesian community since her journey at political science in Universitas Indonesia and at Yayasan Kekal Indonesia where she firstly introduced to community empowerment.

She authored a book about conflict and concensus in Bougainville Papua New Guinea called “Bougainville – Papua New Guinea: perjuangan menuju otonomi khusus” published in Indonesia in 2012.