

# Developing Transnational Indigenous Solidarity: The Case of Borneo Dayak Forum

Yuve Kukuh Sesar<sup>1</sup>, Reza Triarda<sup>2</sup>, Juliansyah Rahmat Maulana<sup>3</sup>

Universitas Gadjah Mada<sup>1</sup>, Universitas Brawijaya<sup>2,3</sup>

## ABSTRACT

Dayak people are an indigenous community inhabiting the Island of Borneo. They dub themselves as the natives and the inheritance of the island's heritage and culture. Before the intrusion of colonial influences, they were prosperous and great, but now they are ironically struggling to revive and retrace their ancestral heritage in their own home. This article seeks to explain and analyze the Dayak community's effort to advocate for their rights and culture by developing a transnational advocacy network called Borneo Dayak Forum (BDF) to promote sustainable living. This network serves as a platform that Dayak people capitalize upon to influence Indonesia's policy-making. This article argues that BDF has played a significant role in promoting Dayak people's agendas in achieving sustainable living, especially in preserving customary law and protecting indigenous lands.

**Keywords:** *BDF, Dayak, indigenous, transnational advocacy networks*

## INTRODUCTION

Economic liberalization looks more transformative by blending social and political life to make it possible for indigenous peoples to be involved in economic activities. Although the number of international charters continues to increase, and states create constitutions and laws worldwide that affirm and protect indigenous peoples' rights, most indigenous peoples still find themselves subject to discrimination, exploitation, dispossession, and racism (Sawyer & Gomez, 2012). Indigenous peoples are in an ambiguous position between the state and the owners of capital. The indigenous peoples' rights to their customary lands and resources are continuously ignored and isolated by the government. On the other hand, the government treats the resource as a national asset that forms industrialization at the expense of indigenous people's rights.

Internationally, discussion of indigenous peoples' rights began with the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169 on "Indigenous and Tribal

Peoples in Independent Countries" issued in 1989 and entered into force in 1991. ILO Convention 169 / 1989 is the result of a revision of ILO 107/1957 concerning "Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Semi-Tribal and Other Tribesmen in Independent Countries" and adopted by the International Labor Conference in 1957 (Suraat, 2009). This ILO 169 conference is believed to be a way to protect the rights of marginalized indigenous and tribal peoples in the state system. Of the three countries on the island of Borneo, namely Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei, not one of these countries has ratified this Convention, and only 24 countries have ratified it (ILO, 1989).

In the international policy context, some governments seem not attracted to giving further recognition to indigenous people, although there is a widespread concern. For instance, The Indonesian government rejected the ratification of the ILO Convention 169 because they believed that the concept of indigenous peoples could not be applied in Indonesia. The government considers all communities, including indigenous peoples, to have the same rights (IWGIA, 2018). Therefore, the government refused the request of a group claiming to be indigenous. However, this is precisely what makes the Dayak indigenous people continue to claim their rights as *indigenous people* on the island of Borneo.

The massive destruction of Kalimantan's rainforests continues unabated. This is seriously threatening the traditions and livelihoods of the Dayak people who exist in nature. The ever-expanding palm oil plantations and deforestation are a series of ongoing and increasing threats that the indigenous Dayak community inevitably has to face (Sutriyanto, 2019). The destruction of the Meratus mountain region in South Kalimantan is an example of how grave the situation is on the Dayaks' part. Indigenous people were being evicted, and their customary forests were deforested for mining and plantation activities. The company conducting such devastating activities also claimed to have secured the government's permit to carry out the operation.

The legal territory between Indonesia and Malaysia resulted in a clash of identities between two Dayaks who lived in two different countries. On the one hand, they realize that they are one Dayak, but on the other hand, they bear different nationalities. Benedict Anderson's opinion that the "original identity will lose its authenticity after interacting with a much more robust and bigger identity", especially in the era of globalization when there is a clash between local identity and global identity (King, Ibrahim, & Hassan, 2018: 180). The disaggregation of indigenous identity is representing clearly in the arguments.

In the absence of the state in accommodating their rights, institutional awareness began to emerge within the Dayak community to fight for their rights. *Dewan Adat Dayak Nasional* (National Council for Dayak Traditions) from Indonesia, Sarawak Dayak National Union from Malaysia, and Borneo Heritage Foundation from Brunei jointly convened and were determined to form the Borneo Dayak Forum (BDF) on October 18 2010 (Karana, 2013). BDF formed as a forum for Dayaks to fight for their rights and advocate for themselves based on common struggles and cultural backgrounds in their land (Lyons, 2018). The movement thrived on the belief that "there are no boundaries among Dayaks in Borneo" because they were separated only because of history, colonialization, and politics.

According to the Secretary-General of the BDF, there are two main objectives of the formation of BDF. First, to unite the Dayak indigenous people who so far only realize as Dayak sub-tribes that they are one unit of the Dayak indigenous people wherever they are. Second, increase the *bargaining power of indigenous Dayak people* to the government. This research aims to observe the dynamics between Dayaks and their efforts to advocate for their indigenous rights and the government's perceived indifference toward fulfilling indigenous aspirations. The establishment of BDF as a response provides such a political dynamics platform for Dayaks. It uses to gaining irrespective of their nationalities, to speak their aspirations.

## **ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Transnational Advocacy Network**

To justify the urgencies of this indigenous issue, the authors try to recall the thesis written by Rita Himmel from the University of Aveiro, entitled "*The Guarani-Kaiowa and transnational activism: participation of local communities in transnational advocacy networks.*" Rita tried to explain how the Guarani - Kaiowa indigenous people's participation in carrying out transnational advocacy. To measure the involvement of indigenous peoples, Rita only focuses on the Transnational Advocacy Network dimensions (Keck and Sikkink), which can affect the internal relationships between the networks built consisting of ideas, institutions, and resources (Himmel, 2013).

Rita (2013) begins her writing by explaining how the Guarani-Kaiowa tribe, a tribe in Mato Grosso do Sul in Brazil, has managed to attract activists and non-governmental organizations from local to international. Killings and violence against indigenous peoples coupled with judicial decisions contrary to the Guarani - Kaiowa indigenous people's customary interest. They decided to write a letter that

eventually spread throughout the world. However, it turned out that the letter was interpreted as the occurrence of mass killings. It turned out that what the community wanted to convey was that they did not want their land to be taken away even though they had to be killed. This tribe is also recorded as the second-largest indigenous group in Brazil and holds the record for the most violence against indigenous peoples in Brazil.

Three organizations are members of the transnational network, namely, Conselho Indigenista Missionario (CIMI), Amnesty International, and Justica Global. The author explained that there is a tendency to realize shared ideas among local communities, national and international activists, even though this is in a different framework in the dimension of ideas. The difference in the basic organizational framework does not interfere with indigenous peoples' participation because this occurs because of shared understanding. In this case, CIMI has an essential role in understanding these organizations because the legitimacy given to CIMI by indigenous peoples makes them an extension of indigenous peoples' interest in the transnational network they have built.

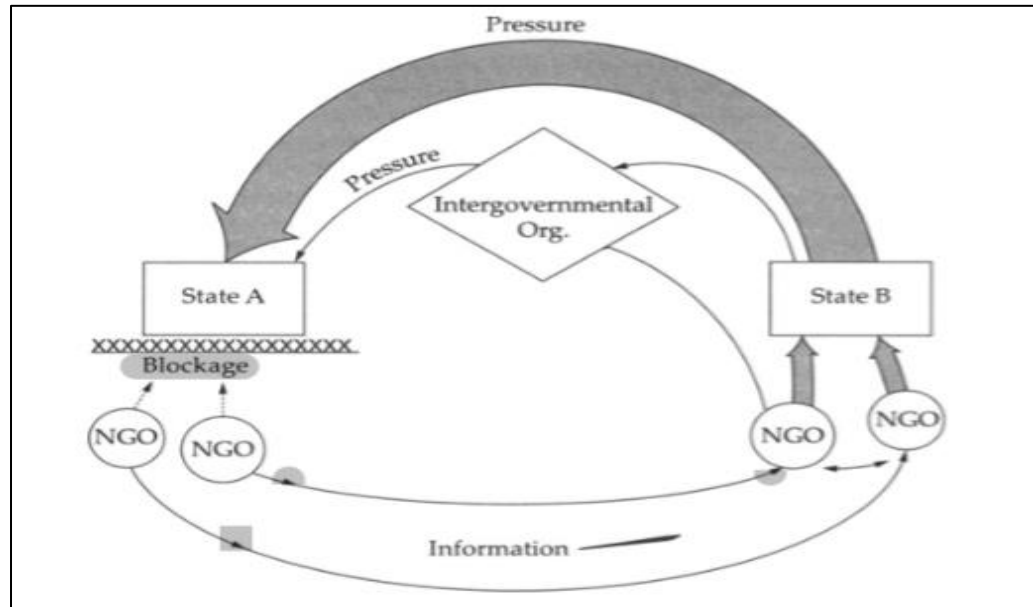
Furthermore, in the institutional dimension, Rita explained that there are two institutional mechanisms in indigenous peoples' participation, namely top-down and bottom-up. It can be seen from how the decisions given by indigenous peoples to start this movement, as well as when international organizations visit them. In the resource dimension, Rita found that it turns out that the resources do not determine participation in determining decisions but on the network resources that are owned. CIMI is a place for indigenous peoples to participate because CIMI has the resources to go directly to remote areas of the tribe and have good communication with them, resulting in direct interaction between local communities and international organizations. In conclusion, Rita shows that Keck and Sikkink's assumption that sees the network as a space for horizontal communication is not entirely correct. It can be proven by one of the network members, namely CIMI, who has a clear and central role with others and acts as gatekeeper among the information sent to other international members regarding the local situation and the local community regarding the global campaign. The position of CIMI is quite crucial in this case as an international organization that the Guarani - Kaiowa indigenous people trust because CIMI is considered to have become a "broker" who has promoted the Guarani - Kaiowa case. This article shows us that the indigenous couldn't complete their expectation without the networks. To justify the importance of networks, the

author will provide you a case about the Transnational Advocacy Networks uses within the Borneo Dayak Forum (BDF).

In analyzing advocacy efforts carried out by the Borneo Dayak Forum (BDF) regarding the issue of deprivation of the Dayak indigenous people's customary rights, we use the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) concept from Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. TAN is formed because of shared norms or values that become a common concern. Such concern is then used to persuade and get support from actors with more enormous powers, such as international organizations or countries. In this concept, the domestic and international environment is seen as a unit that accommodates activists' interests on specific issues. The two environments are then linked through an advocacy network that can be used to change a particular policy.

Not all social change efforts can be analyzed using the concept of the *transnational advocacy network*. A transnational advocacy network tends to occur in cases where the government of a country or policymakers begin to limit the political participation of non-state actors in determining and influencing the policy. At this time, the blockade emerged between the state and domestic actors, according to Keck and Sikkink (1998), making the efforts of these domestic groups difficult in carrying out social change efforts. The state, which is supposed to be the main actor in ensuring the fulfillment of rights, sometimes becomes the main actor in violating rights. When states begin to refuse to realize rights, domestic individuals and groups are less likely to get help from domestic politics. They end up looking for international connections to express their concerns and even protect their lives. The network built within the international sphere will ultimately strengthen NGOs or domestic groups' position in carrying out the social change in certain targeted countries or domestic areas. Keck and Sikkink then explain the relationship between transnational advocacy networks through an interaction pattern called the *boomerang pattern*. The *boomerang pattern* describes the relationship between domestic actors losing their power to carry out social change because of government or policymakers' restrictions. It is known as a blockade, where access to the government or policymakers is closed, and the government will become 'deaf' to issues raised by domestic actors. Until then, the domestic actor tried to find another way to get support at the international level. The alliance or network formed at the international level would pressure the government to pay attention to the issues raised.

Figure 1: Model of Boomerang Pattern



Source: Keck and Sikkink (1998)

Keck and Sikkink (1998) use four variables to explain the alliance activities, (1). information politics; (2). symbolic politics; (3). leverage politics, and; (4). accountability politics. In seeing how non-state actors form a transnational advocacy network to influence government policy.

**a. Information politics**

Information is something that remembers members in a network stay connected and makes the network effective. Keck and Sikkink consider information to be a *power* in the advocacy network they build. The available information can be used as a resource for direct influence in policy-making or could affect the actor who has *power* a stronger to influence policymakers. Information used in advocacy networks to influence policymakers is information in the form of facts related to issues raised by activists and testimonials, which are information from several people affected by the issue. Then, activists will interpret the facts and testimonies obtained into a *simple framing* issue by showing what is right or wrong to influence and stimulate other actors to move and influence policy-making.

**b. Symbolic politics**

*Symbolic politics* is the next strategy used in advocacy networks through 'moments' to change people's thinking or policymakers on the focused issues.

Activists did this after *framing* the facts and testimonies that had been done previously. The framing that is made can occur at the right time with the symbolic events that are considered quite powerful to form new understandings according to the issues you want to target.

**c. Leverage politics**

It is related to actors who have greater power in the network used to support and influence policy. There are two ways to gain influence, namely *material leverage* and *moral leverage*. *Material leverage* is usually related to money (economy) or goods. It can influence voting rights in international organizations, prestigious forums, and other benefits that can be obtained. Meanwhile, *moral leverage* can usually be described as *mobilization of shame*. We can define it as the use of international values to influence policy. For example, activists use rules or conventions that have been made in international organizations and are followed by the target country.

**d. Accountability politics**

This variable is related to the commitment that policymakers have regarding specific issues, but what happens is the best proportion to what is practiced. Here activists try to use the government's accountability to pressure the government itself to cause embarrassment, and inevitably the government must return to its commitments.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### The History of Dayak's Marginalization

From the historical standpoint of the indigenous peoples on the island of Borneo, the Dayak tribe is the native of the island. The Dayak community's livelihood is inseparably linked to their natural surroundings. Since times immemorial, shifting cultivation is widely practiced by the Dayak community as their primary agricultural system. This system often involves clearing a piece of land followed by several years of wood harvesting or farming until the soil loses fertility which entails farmers shifting activities from one field to another (Takdir, 2017). The Dayak community argues that the traditional system allows them to preserve land, forests, and the environment without sacrificing their livelihoods.

In Indonesia and Malaysia's independence's wake, Dayaks have been struggling with multiple issues, *inter-alia*, marginalization, displacement, and deprivation of their customary rights. The state is deemed to be responsible for the grave situation with which the Dayaks have to grapple. There are two dimensions

of threats the Dayak people continue to face, mainly: 1) lack of legal protection to safeguard their traditional land uses from logging, mining, and state-supported plantation activities; 2) the authorities' refusal to provide official space for Dayak language and culture, either in educational or administrative settings (Minority Rights Group, 2018, p. 180-181). These respectively contribute to the increasing difficulty of Dayaks to compete with incomers with comparatively more substantial social and economic capital.

In Indonesia, after the G30S rebellion occurred in 1965, anti-atheist sentiments emerged, which led to a negative stigma against Dayaks and other indigenous tribes. This problem was caused by the fact that many indigenous tribes, including Dayaks, still adhere to their ancestral religion, not the religion recognized by the Indonesian government. The military killed many victims of the Dayak tribe after the incident as a form of atheist cleansing believed to be closely linked to the teachings of communism. In the 1980s, after going through a long series of negotiations, Dayaks were finally accepted and allowed to carry out their religious traditions by the government.

In May 2014, the Indonesian Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) launched the first national investigation into land rights violations committed against *indigenous* Indonesians, sampling more than 2,000 communities according to the Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (AMAN) (Minority Rights Group International, 2018). In 2015, a Bill on the Recognition and Protection of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (PPMHA) was drafted. Unfortunately, until 2019 the draft was still held in parliament. Indonesia should prioritize this Bill as a country that has ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights on October 28, 2005, through Law Number 12 of 2005 (Faricha, 2013).

In the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, numerous articles stipulate that all people have the right to self-determination. However, in Indonesia, conditions for political rights and civil liberties have been declining since 2016. *Per Freedom House*, Indonesia's freedom score in 2019 was only 62 on a scale of 0-100 (Jayani, 2019). Systemic corruption and discrimination, and violence against vulnerable groups are significant factors in Indonesia's civil and political rights.

In Malaysia, especially in Sabah and Sarawak, rules regarding customary law were introduced during the colonial period until now, some of these rules still apply. However, these regulations are not properly implemented. They are rather ignored by the government, concerned with carrying out large-scale extraction of resources and plantation activities carried out by the private sector (IWGIA, 2019). The Ulu



and Dayak communities in Kalimantan continue to face increasing threats to their traditional lands. Thousands of Ulu people have been forcibly displaced in recent years to pave the way for a series of controversial dams in Kalimantan, forming the Sarawak Corridor for Renewable Energy (SCORE) (Minority Rights Group International, 2018). In 2013, a secret investigation carried out by Global Witness, a UK-based NGO, managed to uncover the nepotism and corruption rampant in exploiting the rainforests of Sarawak and its inhabitants for personal gain.

Also, in Malaysia, the Dayaks encountered a quite similar situation. The Dayaks, which were initially a sizeable ethnic group and had significant influence in the area, as evidenced by the Iban language as the *lingua franca*, were slowly being marginalized (Minority Rights Group International, 2018). The integration of Sarawak into Malaysia in 1963 initially provided legal protection for the rights of indigenous tribes, including the Dayak. However, throughout the 1970s, a lot of these rules were gradually repealed. The situation took place because of the burgeoning interest in natural resource exploitation which perceived customary rights as one of its impediments. Consequently, massive deforestation ensued, which also sparked outrage among indigenous people in the 1990s. The federal government, in response, detained demonstrators and insisted on protecting logging operations as the project was known to belong to Sarawak's leading politicians. The problem became even more complicated in 1994, as the largest dam in Southeast Asia, Bakun, was built at the expense of the displacement of approximately 10,000 indigenous peoples (Minority Rights Group International, 2018).

A shared awareness emerged from the Dayak community, culminating in a joint cross-country institution, Borneo Dayak Forum. Initially, the formation of BDF was only intended to secure recognition from UN *Commission on Indigenous People* that Dayak is *indigenous people* in Kalimantan. It is in line with the statement issued by the Secretary-General of BDF, Mr. Agustinus Clarus, whom we had a chance to interview some time ago. He said the purpose of establishing the BDF was for the Dayak people to be registered in the United Nations. The Dayak people's rights could later be protected internationally, as obtained by the Aboriginal indigenous tribe (Agustinus, interview, 2019). Registration as indigenous is not only done by Dayak people in Indonesia but also those in Malaysia.

International recognition will indirectly put pressure on the Indonesian and Malaysian governments to pay attention to the Dayak people's rights and try to fulfill their rights according to the applicable provisions contained in the

Convention. International Labor Organization (ILO) 169 on "Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries" and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Recognition of socio-cultural rights and natural resources rights are some of the propositions governments have yet to fulfill perfectly (Thadeus, interview, 2019). The advocacy strategy carried out by BDF can then be seen through the variables mentioned by Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, namely: information politics, symbolic politics, leverage *politics*, and *accountability politics* as follows:

### **The Power of Information**

To conducting advocacy related to the Dayak indigenous people's rights in Kalimantan, BDF looks at the facts that occur in the field through information obtained through the Dayak Adat Council in the smallest scope of the Dayak community. The Dayak Adat Council (DAD) has various levels, starting from the provincial, district/city, to sub-district levels. Thadeus Yus, the founder of BDF and chairman of the West Kalimantan Province DAD, said that BDF is considered an umbrella organization for Dayak indigenous peoples in Kalimantan. Dayak organizations at the local level were used as branches for BDF in gathering information. The strong institutionalization of the Dayak indigenous people has made DAD a reasonably strong position in the community. The role of several traditional leaders in the advocacy process is also crucial. When the information obtained by these leaders will be disseminated to indigenous peoples in their respective areas, BDF seeks to share information using units interconnected with other components of smaller scope. Such a method will also make the advocacy process more efficient.

The strength of the network they have built can be seen from the activities they create together. An *Open Space Forum* is proof of the advocacy network built by BDF. In this activity, BDF collaborates with the Agrarian Reform Movement Alliance, *Center for Research and Advocacy Manipur*, *Cordelia People Alliance*, and the Papuan Customary Council. This activity aims to show the human condition that occurs against the rights of indigenous peoples. Not only that, this activity was also the beginning of the launch of the *Asia Pacific Network of Environmental Defenders (APNED)*. Unfortunately, the facts that have been collected are not well published and documented by BDF. The information obtained by BDF is only stored as a fact which is only used internally in the formulation of advocacy forms that must be carried out to the government. Strengthening the built network is also carried out

through the spread of information at the *grass-root level* and is neither open nor public. In this way, the public will not get information about the issues to be advocated by BDF because there is no credible information that the public can know.

BDF also using a framing method. It conducts several activities to showcase its existence. These activities are expected to increase public attention at the national and international levels, making it easier for them to carry out advocacy. During the last five years or, to be precise, BDF has carried out various activities to show indigenous peoples' existence and show the Dayak indigenous people's condition during one management period. The activities that BDF has carried out include the International Tumenggung Conference held in Sintang District in 2018, the International Dayak Cultural Congress held in 2017 in Bengkayang Regency, the International Dayak Congress in 2017, which was held in Pontianak, and Napak Tilas. Tumbang Anoi was just done in July 2019 in Central Kalimantan Province (Agustinus, interview, 2019).

In 2018 the International Tumenggung Conference was created by BDF and in collaboration with DAD and MADN. The purpose of establishing this activity is to form a Tumenggung institution as the Judicial institution for the Dayak indigenous people to decide customary cases (Wahidin, 2018). The formation of the Ketumenggungan institution was also based on the history of Tumbang Anoi in 1894, which aimed to stop tribal wars and headhunting. With this institution, it is hoped that it will become an institution that can solve customary problems even at the international level. From this activity, an agency was formed under the name Dayak International Justice Council (DIJC). DIJC looks forward to becoming the highest customary institution for the Dayak community, or it can be called the Dayak parliament (Demus, 2019). With this Dayak parliament's existence, all decisions related to the Dayak community will be decided through this Dayak parliament. Thus, the Dayak community will be increasingly protected when companies enter into customary areas without permission.

Then, the International Dayak Congress was organized by BDF in collaboration with MADN and is the first Dayak congress in the world that is international (Agustinus, interview, 2019). BDF carried this out as the first significant activity to unite the Dayak people from all corners of the island of Kalimantan. The congress was also attended by representatives of several countries, namely, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, New Zealand, Taiwan, Madagascar, Australia, and the Philippines. Not only that, but five Indonesian ministers were also present to open and become speakers for dialogue with indigenous peoples,

including the Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Culture, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning, the Minister of Law and Human Rights, and the Minister Education (Prihatini, 2017). With the momentum of the presence of the ministers, this congress also produced the Seven Dayak Protocols.

In disseminating information through the media, it is seen that BDF has not used it optimally. Use of social media such as Facebook to transmit information and invitations, and YouTube to upload videos of the Dayak people's works in songs. We discover that there is a common thread of opinion that BDF tries to provide from these activities. Here the author finds that BDF is trying to create a *framing* to show that the Dayak tribe is an entity that deserves to be fought for and protected. The Dayak tribe can take care of their own homes with their own culture since their ancestors' time. Dayaks also have an essential role in maintaining the ecosystem through their cultures passed down from generation to generation.

### **Symbolic Political Movement**

We observe that BDF used Napak Tilas (history-tracing) Tumbang Anoi as momentum to reunite indigenous peoples who were divided due to colonialization. It happened because Tumbang Anoi has been a symbol of the Dayak community's unity since 1894. So far, Tumbang Anoi has not been paid much attention even by the Dayaks themselves. However, with BDF's efforts to hold this Napak Tilas, BDF succeeded in making this activity a reminder for the Dayak community that the unity of the Dayak tribes started from that place. Big hopes were also formulated in that place. A peaceful Borneo became the dream of the ancestors. The ancestors managed to harbor their egos in stopping the culture of *Ngayau* (headhunting). It is what Dayaks should continue today.

We consider these messages successfully delivered by BDF. This moment was deemed to be appropriate in the advocacy efforts carried out by BDF. Attention to Tumbang Anoi has also increased. In this activity, BDF and Dayak representatives from various regions formulate the Tumbang Anoi Protocol. The protocol has two levels: nine national protocols and five international protocols, which were read out on August 17, 2019. We also found consistency in every activity carried out by BDF with a greeting that is characteristic of the indigenous Dayak people. BDF succeeded in institutionalizing a Dayak greeting to become an official salutation in the international Dayak conference or any gathering. The greeting is *Adil Ka'Talino, Bacuramin Ka' Saruga Basengat Ka' Jubata*, and must be answered with *Arus !*. If spoken

in Indonesian, the greeting means, 'Fairness to fellow humans, reflecting on heaven, breathing from God', and the answer means 'oblige!'. It shows that the Dayak people's identity must be fair to their fellow humans, reflect, behave and act according to the conditions in heaven, and believe that life is in God's hands because God is the one who gives breath and life (Agustinus, interview, 2019).

We also noted the presence of the Dayak *Panglima* (chieftain) on each BDF agenda. The presence of *Panglima* is seen as a symbol of the Dayak community's strength and a representative for small groups of the Dayak people. This Dayak commander can be likened to a general in an army and has unique abilities that no one else has. On the one hand, BDF as an institution also has a special Ministry called the *Given Ministry and Special Function*. Within this ministry, there are approximately 10,000 Dayak tribal troops who are ready to protect Dayak sovereignty. Here we also discovered symbols in the form of words that BDF always uses in every greeting spoken to the Dayak people internationally. From this greeting, the authors see that there are efforts made by BDF to unite all Dayak people with one belief or the same guideline, regardless of where they come from. This universalized greeting will also indicate the presence of the Dayak tribe in that place.

### **Building Alliance, Gaining Leverage**

BDF efforts to become a permanent member of the United Nations by registering Dayak as *indigenous people* are the right way to advocate for the Dayak people. The UN is an international institution with strong credibility with 193 sovereign countries from all over the world. Hearing the voice of the Dayak community at the UN is tantamount to voicing it across the globe. After the world finds out what happened to the Dayak people in their land, there will be *external pressure* given to Indonesia. Thus, Indonesian policies will also be influenced because the government can protect them as sovereign states. This violation of indigenous peoples' rights also allows for an economic dynamic when concerned investors stop investing in Indonesia.

In carrying out its advocacy, BDF requires an injection of funds to support the operationalization of activities. According to Agustinus, 60% of BDF funding sources come from Dayak community leaders who have sufficient economies, and the remaining 40% are supported by NGOs that are members of their network. However, up to 28% of funding comes from a Swedish nature conservation NGO, the *Swedish Society for Nature Conservation* (SSNC). SSNC is concerned about the destruction of forests in Borneo. It is because SSNC found that as many as seven of

Sweden's largest banks were investing heavily in companies linked to the destruction of rainforests and the persecution of indigenous peoples in Borneo. Their concern for Borneo's island is also evident from their 84th report made in 2016, with the title "*Silent Approval: The role of banks linked to the crisis faced by Borneo's indigenous peoples and their Forest*" (Arounsavath, 2017). In this report, SSNC also explains how the Dayak community's condition is affected by the oil palm industry and coal mining development. SSNC also sees that indigenous people are the main actors and become a force in protecting nature to become a sustainable environment (Johnson, 2014). Because so far indigenous peoples have always been victims of cooperation and investments, the government legalized destroying Kalimantan forests.

Indonesia is one of the countries in Southeast Asia that has not ratified the *International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169 on "Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries."* It was done because Indonesia considers that there is no one tribe or indigenous community unique. After all, since its inception, Indonesia was formed from various tribes and indigenous peoples within it. We argue that Indonesia did not ratify the Convention prevents BDF from having plausible reasons to show that Indonesia has violated international agreements. The only thing that can be analyzed through this indicator is Indonesia's position as a United Nations member and the United Nations resolution regarding indigenous peoples. Every member is supposed to obey the UN's rules, but the UN does not force every country to follow them in its implementation. This resolution can serve as a reference for BDF in carrying out the '*mobilization of shame*' against Indonesia.

We found that AMAN, since 2014, has continued to oversee the Bill drafted by Indonesia regarding the Recognition and Protection of Indigenous Peoples. That year was also the year of the inauguration of Indonesia's new president, Jokowi. There were six Jokowi promises to the indigenous people he made in the first term, and until his first term was completed, none of these promises had been realized (Cahyadi, 2014). DAD has always echoed the PPMHA bill as an extension of BDF interest in Indonesia to demand the Jokowi administration to pass it immediately. It is hoped that with the entry of this Bill into law, the life of the Dayak customary community will be protected by state law.

BDF does not use this strategy directly but only through its representatives in each province in Kalimantan. Although BDF does not operate under AMAN's auspice, DAD, an extension of BDF, actively coordinates its agenda with AMAN. With AMAN's assistance at the domestic level and DAD as an extension of the BDF, echoing and reminding the Indonesian government of the commitments that have

been made is one of the strategic efforts undertaken by BDF to influence Indonesian policy.

## CONCLUSION

BDF is currently aggressively disseminating information about Dayak indigenous peoples at the international level using the direct visit method. The visits conducted by BDF were aimed at assessing the situation and conditions that occurred and seeking support for expanding networks and disseminating information about the Dayak community. The use of Dayak solid tribal institutions is also very effective in communicating information in the domestic sphere. The Dayak community's belief in DAD makes it easier for BDF to collect data and determine advocacy targets that must be carried out. The relationship between DAD and another in each province makes information about the Dayak people's condition throughout Kalimantan easily known. The fast flow of information from the domestic level also allows BDF to have more actual information in its advocacy process at the international level.

However, the role of the media has not been fully utilized by BDF in its advocacy process. It was done because there were assessments from part of the community and the Indonesian government who saw BDF as one of the forerunners of treason activities. However, BDF should still be able to disseminate information by involving their members in strategic positions in the government, as is done in Malaysia, musicians, and social media such as Facebook. BDF has also used the momentum well. It can be seen from the Tumbang Anoi activity, which was held to coincide with the Freedom commemoration. BDF also uses symbols such as the Dayak greetings and the red color to characterize them in voicing their advocacy for the indigenous Dayak community. The involvement of Dayak Commanders can also indicate the presence of BDF in carrying out its advocacy.

The UN's involvement in the advocacy process carried out by BDF is also seen as strengthening the network built by BDF. The existence of BDF in international institutions will enable BDF to disseminate information to the world. With stronger actors in this advocacy network, the BDF can put tremendous pressure on the Indonesian government to change its policies through the UN. For now, the BDF struggle has only reached that phase. BDF is still unable to carry out a '*mobilization of shame*' against the Indonesian government because Indonesia has not ratified the global values agreed upon through the ILO Convention 169.

We conclude that BDF's efforts in advocating for the Dayak community's Eco-Social and Cultural Organization's rights on the island of Kalimantan have not been entirely successful in influencing the Indonesian government's attitude. Some strategies have not been carried out optimally by BDF. Still, it can be seen from the efforts that BDF has made with the dissemination of information, the use of momentum and symbols, and the involvement of other actors at the international level. AMAN only represented the BDF movement at the domestic level in providing direct pressure to the Indonesian government. The effort that BDF is making for now is to strengthen their network internationally. With the strong network they have built, the Dayak community will be noticed internationally.

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