as an impetus for restitution. This is of particular significance in the case of West Papua due to its complex experience of colonialism. Colonised first by the Dutch, it experienced a period of liberation only to be subsequently further subjected to Indonesian control. As an internal minority within Indonesia, West Papuans are subject to both colonial oppression and restrictions of sovereignty over their indigenous lands. This iconoclasm of culture by Indonesia, and the abundance of Papuan patrimony within Dutch museums, serves as a foundation through which we can consider the restitution of Papuan heritage from the Netherlands. Following this, I shall assess why culturally relevant items from West Papua held in Dutch museums have not been repatriated, and whether or not they should be. This shall firstly be explained through a brief history of Papua and the Tropenmuseum. Secondly, I shall provide a background to the Tropenmuseum’s repatriation policies, as well as an analysis of the object agency of korwars as a rationale for restitution. I will then assess issues of repatriation from the Tropenmuseum to West Papua, defining these problems of restitution in their relation to socio-politics, legality and finance. Finally, I offer potential solutions to these issues and the problem of equitable representation in colonial museums. This is exemplified through the case studies of the Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme for the respectful resocialisation of Māori ancestral tūpuna27, and the Australian Museum’s training of indigenous Papua New Guineans and other Pacific Islanders in the technical and provenance aspects of museums, which serve as potential guides for the future repatriation of indigenous heritage globally (McManus, 2016, p.50). The paper concludes that whilst the damage created by imperialism can never be fully redressed, measures can, and must, be found to amend the historical injustices of the colonial museum.

Keywords: West Papua, cultural heritage, colonialism, the Netherlands, museums

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**CLASH WITHIN ‘CIVILIZATION’: UNDERSTANDING POLITIC OF DIVERSITY IN INDONESIA BY TRACING GENEALOGY OF AN EPISTEMIC COMMUNITY**

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This paper examines the struggle for freedom in Indonesia just before and after the ‘Reformasi’. It would be seen from the perspective of an epistemic community namely Utan Kayu Community, a community which later established Salihara Community. The story of the community began in 21 June 1994 when Tempo magazine was banned along with Detik and Editor media. This created one of crowds that brought Soeharto government into end in May 1998. The community continued

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to promote freedom of all kinds. It included the promotion of freedom of the press, freedom to established associations, freedom of speech and opinion, freedom of broadcasting, freedom of information, freedom of religions and beliefs and other freedoms under the freedom of thought and expressions.

Promotion of freedoms by this community has been contested with other interest groups who have different principles and values, different episteme. On the other side, proposed values by other interest groups that are not in line with theirs have been challenged by this epistemic community. This discourse has been gone through various ‘clashes’ in Indonesian public sphere, including in social media, in many important national moments, since the Reformation 1998 and still can be seen in the current situation. This is a clash within Indonesia ‘civilization’, within ‘unity in diversity’. All want to be adopted and institutionalized into policies and practices of the state. At the end, this is about the struggle of managing different imaginations of Indonesia. This paper shares an anthropological work for understanding politics of diversity in Indonesia by tracing genealogy of an epistemic community.

Keywords: freedom, epistemic community, politic of diversity, Utan Kayu - Salihara community

INTRODUCTION

"The threat faced by Indonesian society today is not a bad theology, but political and cultural battles. We are fighting over space and influences to determine the limits of state power and formulate Indonesiaanness. The Indonesian nation is a future project, something that did not exist before, but must be built" (I Gusti Agung Ayu Ratih’s Cultural Speech, 2008)

Reformasi 1998 (Indonesian Reform in 1998) had brought down Suharto and the New Order government. Freedoms existed in various aspects of life in Indonesia. They were not taken for granted but to be fought for, challenged and continue to be contested. Public spaces were opened and every citizen had the right to obtain and filled them with various ideas and interests. We could see the struggle for spaces and influences on how Indonesia today and future might be discussed, designed dan created on our everyday environment, on the streets, in the parliament, in the media, and various existing public spaces. Voices of dissent which were not possible to emerge and obtain spaces in New Order era have become a phenomenon that is easy to find at present. After Reformasi, there has been an open struggle for meaning and construction on what Indonesia nation was: a formulation of imagined Indonesia.

However, our relatively young democratic experience has stuttered many people with these freedoms. Instead of appreciating diversity that had been existing throughout Nusantara history-reflected in the slogan "Bhineka Tunggal Ika"—Unity in Diversity—some people used the freedoms to push their views and attempted to create uniformity through power, capital, and, violence.

In certain situations, where some people still have not been able to communicate rationally and prefer to impose their will on others by violence, we often saw clearly the state’s inefficacy in addressing these conflicts. This is the problem we faced in Post-Reformasi Indonesia, a country that some analysts thought had been more democratic but full of rows (noisy democracy). It stimulated some people to miss New Order’s situation that looked more orderly. This is Indonesia today: a country which is being imagined by various parties differently but still felt to be one nation.
APPRAOCH AND METHODOLOGY

In this paper I studied about ideas and that important role of ideas in the process of changing society. Toward and during Reformasi period up to the present had been influenced by various contestations of thoughts. Some ideas had been promoted by certain institutions. In this study the variables that I considered important were the rise and development of individual networks that formed an epistemic community, which carried a certain episteme. Epistemic community, as stated by Haas (1992: 2-3) is defined as a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue area.

This study examined this phenomenon through a network of civil society who called themselves Komunitas Utan Kayu and Komunitas Salihara, which since Reformasi era until today still continue to fight for their ideas on freedom and diversity, attempted to institutionalized them into state's policies, institutions, and practices.

Competing ideas have become common phenomena in post-Reformasi and supported by diverse views of different epistemes, which often triggered cultural disputes that lead to social tensions. Such situation happened because of the work mechanism of episteme comprised of three discursive components: scientific disciplines, institutions and figures, and combination of the three produced a machine of truth (Foucault, 1980). While Foucault discussed episteme on madness and validity of truth to tell about it, this study would discuss it on the theme of freedom and diversity within pluralistic Indonesian society.

This study used qualitative data collection methods, and it was conducted by tracing the origin and transmission of ideas in the communities studied, and tracing various intellectual genealogies. The genealogy method that had been applied modestly is both a tool for research and for understanding (Fox, 2002). The concept of genealogy as a study of origin, evolution and network of a group of people through a period of time (Latif, 2005) was useful to observe the movement of diachronic development and intellectual chains between generations, which would help us to understand some contestation of ideas that had been, were, and would be contested to define Indonesia.

In this study I also tried the use of netnography techniques (initiated by Robert Kozinets in 1995), a data collection technique that uses internet-based information and data, through the use of Twitter, YouTube, Blackberry Messengers, blogs, Facebook and the use of internet sites. It is a data collection technique that has its own strengths and weaknesses, but is important to develop in the current era of information technology and social media.

The research was conducted intensively between 2007 and 2012, but I believe that the phenomena were still relevant to current situation and I wanted to propose this approach as part of an anthropologist’s efforts to understand politics of diversity in Indonesia, one of central themes in this symposium.

From social movement to epistemic community

Komunitas Utan Kayu was a group of people who were united by history. It was born from a social movement that emerged after the banning of three national news media on June 21, 1994, particularly Tempo magazine. These individuals gathered and united because they opposed the banning of Tempo magazine, which had impeded the right of access to information on the one
hand, and removed the right to publish news, on the other hand. The banning of Tempo and two other media are deprivation on freedom.

The resistance movement was organized by the community at Jalan Utan Kayu 68H using their own field of expertise: information. "There were two kinds of people who were here with me. The Tempo alumni and the underground," said Goenawan Mohamad, editor in chief of Tempo, on situation at that time in Steele (2005). People who rejected the ban on Tempo, who actually were not only media activists but also people from various circles and backgrounds, joined. One and a half months after the banning, the 'Srnagalih Declaration' was declared on August 6, 1994, and Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) was born.

AJI was an independent journalists’ alliance that stood up against the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI) that fired its members who founded AJI instead of defended them. Some signatories of Srnagalih Declaration and co-founders of AJI were those who were actively involved with Komunitas Utan Kayu.

On December 1994, Institute for the Studies on Free Flow of Information (ISAI) was developed and established in January 1995 ISAI in Utan Kayu residential area. This was the parent institution that later supported a number of important initiatives in Komunitas Utan Kayu. ISAI was the one that published 'fast-paced books' (without permission letter of press publishing or SIUPP), a metamorphosis of Tempo's cover story, that produced journalistic investigations on a number of important issues and events that were impossible to be published in other mass media at the time. From a 'secret office' called 'Blok-M' (to trick intelligence), this ISAI Unit 2 drove the development of underground press.

"Actually, when we look again, the past was very simple. How could it be that the media with blurred pictures like this could brought people into jail. It was a past memory, but if we don't remind ourselves, we will not realize what we get now was what we fight for with our simple ideas at the time.” (Ayu Utami, when hosting the opening ceremony of the 70 Underground Press Covers at Utan Kayu 68H on June 21, 2011).

If ISAI is the origin of Komunitas Utan Kayu’s emergence that had been actively engaged in arranging and seizing freedom after the three national media had been banned, supporting the underground press, then moved through clandestine operation and partly on the surface, then KBR 68H News Radio is the second generation of Komunitas Utan Kayu which has been moving on the surface and continues to expand networks and initiatives to voice freedom, through the means of radio.
When the study was being carried out until 2012, KBR 68H was relayed by around 800 radio stations throughout Indonesia and around 80 radio stations in Asian countries through the Asia Calling program. Whereas now, KBR 68H is using a digital format (KBR Prime), while the rubric and programs it produces still disseminate the initial ideas that Komunitas Utan Kayu had when it was first established; similar to the “Hang out with Gus Dur” event that they held in their early days.

Another part of Komunitas Utan Kayu is the Liberal Islam Network (JIL). This network originated from a discussion mailing list (islamliberal@yahoogroup.com), which was deliberately formed on March 8, 2001 with a mission that included evolving liberal interpretations of Islam in line with the principles adhered to and disseminating them to the widest possible audience, encouraging the opening of a dialogue space that was free from conservatism pressure, which in turn would grow the thoughts and movements of a healthy Islam.

During the initial period of JIL, there was a discourse that drew public attention. It was coming from the writings of Ulil Abshar Abdalla in the Kompas daily on November 18, 2002, entitled “Refreshing Understanding of Islam”. The article has sparked controversy for two consecutive months in Kompas until finally the editorial board used its authority to halt the publication of the long arguments.

This debate was later published through a book titled “Liberal and Fundamental Islam; A Battle of Discourse” (Ulil Abshar Abdalla, 2003). Furthermore, other critical discourses emerged from subsequent writings and publications involving JIL and Komunitas Utan Kayu.

During the time the study was conducted, the active JIL website also continued to voice an array of liberal thoughts about how to understand Islam in a rational and open manner. Facebook accounts of JIL figures generally had close to or more than 5,000 friends. The tweets of these figures were also appearing and conversing lively in Twitter, remarking on latest cases with their views that trigger discourses.

These ideas-loaded writings had driven some Islamic groups to position JIL and Komunitas Utan Kayu as opposing parties. They launched a series of counter discourse and counter movement through the publication of books, video recordings, mailing list networks, opposing Twitter account, demonstrations, evictions, attacks, to the point of sending a book bomb as what took place on March 15, 2011.

Komunitas Utan Kayu founded Teater Utan Kayu (TUk) to fill the arts and literature domains. Teater Utan Kayu functioned as a platform for various activities developed in Utan Kayu 68H after the Tempo Magazine was banned. The theater’s art
activities and painting exhibitions held at Galeri Utan Kayu were part of an effort to cover up the underground movement of this community through the presence of a public crowd.

In addition to Goenawan Mohamad, who was indeed a productive artist, several prominent figures in art and culture who have been involved in the discourses around the profession also joined TUK institution. The organizing of the Utan Kayu International Literary Biennale in 2001, 2003, 2005 and 2007, also had become prestigious regular events with the objective to cater the arts and culture activists.

Nevertheless, the presence and development of this TUK then caused new controversy among activists in the world of art and culture. In fact, on December 20, 2006, veteran poet Taufik Ismail delivered a cultural speech on the stage of Jakarta Academy, under the title “Culture of Shame Eroded by the Movement of Free Desire”.

In his 37-paragraph long speech, the Generation 1966 poet protested that he was disturbed by the emergence of a large wave that invaded the nation, namely the wave blown by the Free Desire Movement (that he abbreviated it as GSM – Gerakan Syahwat Merdeka). He said, the movement was not an official organization and did not stand alone, but instead collaborated with a global network, supported by a giant funding, a combination of underlying ideologies, and using print and electronic media as their loudspeakers. Taufik Ismail concluded that GSM had deconstructed morality and social order, with the ideology of neo-liberalism, materialistic views, and supported by the capitalism of the universe.

Taufik Ismail's speech was just one of many criticisms launched against Goenawan Soesatyo Mohamad (GSM) and the presence of TUK, which could symbolize a feud between the two cultural figures who both signed the Cultural Manifesto on August 17, 1963, during the era of Guided Democracy.

Then came the Statement of Opinion from the Writers of 'Ode Kampung' at Rumah Dunia Banten in July 2007, which also hit TUK. The group led by poet Saut Situmorang and his friends tirelessly "stripping" TUK leaders. In Saut's sharp eyes, they did not deserve the title of writers. Saut continued this dispute by pioneering the establishment of "boemipoetra" community, which released “the boemipoetra Manifesto".

The debate had kept on until a new public space at Jalan Salihara Pasar Minggu was inaugurated in August 2008, with parts of the Komunitas Utan Kayu, Teater Utan Kayu and Galeri Utan Kayu metamorphosed into Komunitas Salihara, Teater Salihara and Galeri Salihara. In this new location, works of art, literature, theater and discussions were held intensively and their quality maintained by Teater Utan Kayu figures who were now leaders of Komunitas Salihara, through the institutionalized body of Salihara Council of Curators.

The Salihara Festival was held regularly alternating with Salihara Literary Biennial, in line with a series of art, literature and discussion events that are continuously organized throughout the year. The main message from Komunitas Salihara conveyed through the phrase "Cultivate Freedom Together with the Public" seemed to have generated a community that still reflected the spirit brought from Utan Kayu: a spirit to fight for, and to cultivate, freedom.
Understanding politics of diversity from an epistemic community and its ‘enemy’

This paper shares the experience of understanding the politics of diversity that is currently taking place in Indonesia by dissecting the issues and discourses that are being discussed and grown in Komunitas Utan Kayu and Komunitas Salihara network.

As an entry point and study area, this community is relatively small. It is therefore easier to manage in ‘reading’ the broad issue of politics of diversity. This community, in my view, is an epistemic community in the field of culture, a field that is commonly influenced by relative values, as a cultural relativism. Seeing the way this community works in producing and reproducing cultural discourses, and also studying the views of those who oppose them, we can quickly comprehend the things that have become important issues related to the politics of diversity in Indonesia, and also on the global level, since the community’s character is part of a global professional network (transnational knowledge-based network).

Essentially, this community can be differentiated into three professional domains on which they actualize, namely 1) the domain of media, including information, print and broadcast media; 2) the domain of art and literature, and 3) religious domain, especially Islam. In these three domains, the main figures emerged in their respective areas and then networked with other figures outside this epistemic community, both at the local, national and global levels. In tracing the discourse of a community, they often clash along the way with other communities (epistemic or interest groups), who have different views and original ideas.

The peak of the feud in the media domain, for example, surfaced when Tempo magazine was banned, and independent press figures joined the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), becoming opposition to the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI). AJI was boosting press freedom and freedom of expression, while PWI had been known to be the accomplice to the regime that used media banning as their silencer gun.

These figures have been fighting for freedom of the press, and together with a network of other professional individuals they moved to drive policy changes that guarantee freedom of broadcasting and freedom to access public information. They also oppose the Bill of State Secrets and also criticize the heavy monopoly of the media industry in Indonesia. Then the synergy with activists on the issue of diversity also gave birth to new derivative institutions such as the Journalists Union for Diversity (Sejuk, which means cool).

In the domain of art and culture, the figures who are rising currently in Komunitas Salihara are ‘professional’ individuals who bring their own networks in local, national, and global levels to continuously fighting for freedom of thought, freedom to create, and freedom of expression. The network of these figures also generated a diverse of new knowledge and creativity in literature.
Looking at flashbacks, such disputes in the art and literature domain had actually taken place massively at the end of Soekarno’s administration in 1963-1965, when the signatories of the Cultural Manifesto had to confront the leaders of the Body of People’s Arts (Lekra), a wing organization under the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

In the Reformasi era, the rivalry between the two signatories of the Cultural Manifesto, Taufik Ismail and Goenawan Mohamad, could be the evidence of differences in the ideas they believe in, the episteme. Contestation in the domain of art and literature will continue to revolve, although not as starkly as it was at the end of the Guided Democracy period.

One of the events that have arisen and enriched the domain of art and culture was when the works of female writers who were later referred to as the school of Fragrant Literature came to the surface. They openly wrote issues that have been considered controversial for female authors to write, such as politics, religion and sexuality. Ayu Utami is one of the main figures of this literature school.

This phenomenon also led to the Statement of Opinions of the Ode Kampung writers who were also supported by several main writers from the Forum Lingkar Pena (FLP). The dispute could be viewed from different perspectives, between those who think that “the writer is dead” (Barthes, 1967) and its dichotomy, that is: the writer is responsible for his writing even after death.

Meanwhile, on the sphere of religion, the clash of civilizations that Huntington wrote about (1996) presumably also take place in Indonesia. However, this clash does not only take place between civilizations, but also occurs within a civilization and across generations. This intra-civilizational clash is also closely related to the episteme differences of each group, which at the same time reflect similar contradictions that have been, are, and still happening on global level. The emergence of the ‘Indonesian Without JIL’ movement, is one of the counter movements against JIL.

In his cultural speech at Taman Ismail Marzuki in March 2010, one of the main figures of JIL Ulil Abshar Abdalla conveyed that we should not need to reminisce the past anymore neither hope that religion can be forced back into private space and no longer disturb people’s lives. Now we better deal with this phenomenon with a positive stance but still critical. According to Ulil, there has been a rise of religion as a movement of ‘reform from within’.

In the context of the rise of Islam, this can be distinguished through the comprehension of (1) salafism or a movement that refer to the past: an awakening that takes the form of ‘returning’ to what is often viewed as the ‘pristine’, sacred, and original past, or to a Tradition with a capital T which is considered to represent a religious model that relatively ideal and perfect; and other comprehension referred to as (2) khalafism, or contextualism, the movement that looks to the present, reviews religious teachings under the light of this era. Both salafism and khalafism, according to him, must go hand in hand simultaneously.

The return of religion to the modern social political arena is a reality that is increasingly common in the course of Indonesia as a nation after Reformasi. The fight between meanings and competition of public space by using identity politics, have currently been quite disturbing. This is something that people feared could reach its peak as already happened in two other domains. According to Ulil, religion in the Indonesian context, might have been categorized as a cultural
marker, as an aspect of culture that gave a strong sense of ownership and gave rise to identity, which for some people became the imagined of Indonesia in the future.

The incident of Monas during the Sacred Power of Pancasila Day 1 June 2008, prohibition of Hizbut Tahir Indonesia (HTI), the 212 Joint Prayer Action and its subsequent series of demonstrations, which related to the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election and the 2019 National Election which has just ended, are some important events that can describe such condition.

In most of these incidents, the researcher can probe them from the discourse’s entry point that has been developing in the epistemic community network being studied: by observing the macro-condition of politics of diversity in Indonesia, from one tiny lens in one corner of Jakarta.

CONCLUSION

‘We are an epistemic community who doesn’t start from theory, but from social movement ’

(Goenawan Mohamad)

Promotion of freedoms by this community has been contested with other interest groups who have different principles and values, different episteme. On the other side, proposed values by other interest groups that are not in line with theirs have been challenged by this epistemic community. This discourse has been gone through various ‘clashes’ in Indonesian public sphere, including in social media, in many important national moments, since the Reformaion 1998 and still can be seen in the current situation. This is a clash within Indonesia ‘civilization’, within ‘unity in diversity’. All want to be adopted and institutionalized into policies and practices of the state. At the end, this is about the struggle of managing different imaginations of Indonesia.

As a reflection, the definition of epistemic community as formulated by Hass is challenged when it is applied to the area of cultural studies, when placed within the context of ‘professional networks with recognized expertise and competencies’ in areas loaded with cultural relativity.

Who has the authority claim and who has the right to judge that an artwork (painting or poetry) is more beautiful or worse than the other?

Furthermore, in the religious sphere, who has the claim of authority to declare that someone is a religious expert and the other is not? Just take a look at the presence of celebrities who suddenly become clerics and expert witnesses whose expertise is doubted, as in the Constitutional Court hearing during the Judicial Review of Law No.1/PNPS/1965 regarding blasphemy.

So who has the authority to hold the keys to heaven? Here, the Foucault episteme concept will help complete the analysis of research, in particular those related to power relations and how meaning is determined by power—something that has not been discussed in the concept of Epistemic Community from Hass.

For qualitative research methodology to advance, I share my experiences on netnography for gathering data from various social media, a method that needs to be developed more seriously in this information technology era.

In the end, as stated by Rabinow (1986, in Garnder and Lewis, 1997), anthropology is currently facing a ‘crisis of representation’, so he called for more studies that are ‘looking up’ (to study up), studying communities of ‘powerful people’ in addition to studying ‘the powerless’: an attempt to
'anthropologize the West'. Within the corridor of the anthropological paradigm of development, development failures do not only need to be examined for constraints on the 'non-elite level' or 'local community'; but also on the 'elite level', which are rulers, donor countries, government officials, civil society, and other development agents, including the epistemic community. This study is part of that effort.

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THE DYNAMICS OF RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN TRAP OF COLONIAL LAW LEGACIES AND SOCIAL CHANGE
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Although the Republic of Indonesia's constitution recognizes the existence of indigenous peoples and their original rights, what happened in the following period was precisely the denial and / or violation of the rights of indigenous peoples (Zakaria, 2000). The 1998 reforms seemed to bring the wind of change. That recognition is increasingly confirmed through Article 18B paragraph (2) and two other articles. After that, there were also 5 Decisions of the Constitutional Court which confirmed that recognition.

Even so, for example, the total area of customary forests that have been officially recognized has not yet reached 25,000 ha. In fact, the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) claims that there are at least 40 million ha. What happened?

So far there have been several studies that show that this has happened because of the weak commitment and institutional capacity of the existing policy implementers. Unlike the argument, this paper shows the main problem lies in the logic of law itself. The legal logic used is trapped in the logic of positivism in understanding customary law that growing and developing since the colonial period, so that it is unable to accommodate social changes that are necessarily faced by indigenous communities.

At the end of the article the author voiced the need for a breakthrough in building a new legal framework / logic that would be used to regulate the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights as mandated by the constitution. Mainly by using socio-anthropological understanding, so that the constitutional mandate can be fulfilled more optimally.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND THE RESTRICTION TO IMPLY RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
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Although religious freedom has been recognised in Indonesia, religious minority groups still struggle to practise their faith. Case studies reveal how religious minority groups experience

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