



PROCEEDINGS 2026-38

Program on Alternative Development

Empowering Southeast Asian Peoples on Addressing Food Security, Environmental Sustainability, Climate Justice through Alternative Regionalism

Fifth Conference on Alternatives in Southeast Asia

21-24 October 2024

Pangandaran, West Java, Indonesia



**GLOBAL TAPESTRY of
ALTERNATIVES**

**ISSN 2718-9295 (PRINT)
ISSN 2718-9309 (ONLINE)**



PROCEEDINGS 2026-38

Program on Alternative Development

Empowering Southeast Asian Peoples on Addressing Food Security, Environmental Sustainability, Climate Justice through Alternative Regionalism

Fifth Conference on Alternatives in Southeast Asia

21-24 October 2024

Pangandaran, West Java, Indonesia

UP CIDS PROCEEDINGS

2026-38

UP CIDS Proceedings is published by the

**University of the Philippines
Center for Integrative and Development Studies**

Lower Ground Floor, Ang Bahay ng Alumni
Magsaysay Avenue, University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City 1101

Telephone: (02) 8981-8500 loc. 4266 to 4268 / (02) 8426-0955

Email: cidspublications@up.edu.ph

Website: cids.up.edu.ph



cids.up.edu.ph

**Copyright © 2026
by the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies**

The views and opinions expressed in these conference proceedings are those of the author/s and neither reflect nor represent those of the University of the Philippines or the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies. No copies can be made in part or in whole without prior written permission from the authors/editors and the publisher.

ISSN 2718-9295 (Print)

ISSN 2718-9309 (Online)

Cover Image Credit

AltDev

Table of Contents

About the Proceedings	ix
Acknowledgments	ix
Preparatory Engagements Leading to the 5th MASSA Conference	xi
A Sundanese Welcome: A Showcase of Peasant Culture, Serikat Petani Pasundan	1
Opening Ceremonies Warm Sundanese Welcome from <i>Serikat Petani Pasundan</i>	1
Welcoming Remarks from Pangandaran Regency Head of Parliament <i>Asif Nimen</i>	6
Opening Remarks from the Secretary General of Serikat Petani Pasundan <i>Agustiana</i>	8
Welcoming Remarks and Message of Solidarity from <i>MASSA</i>	10
Conference on Alternatives and People-to-People Exchanges	13
Opening Remarks on “Why MASSA?” <i>Professor Emeritus Eduardo Tadem</i>	15
Solidarity Message from CCFD Terre Solidaire <i>Marion Poirot</i>	18
Keynote Address: “Alternatives: A Vision of Hope” <i>Hilmar Farid, PhD</i>	20
Reifying the “Bandung Spirit” in the time of climate catastrophes <i>Anwar Sastro Ma’ruf, Sapei Rusin, Hermawan Sutanto, Arif Yogiawan</i>	20
The struggle of the Serikat Petani Pasundan <i>Agustiana and Erni Kartini</i>	26

People-to-People Exchange I: Organizational Praxis and Movement Building <i>Ananeza Aban and Yuli Rustinawati</i>	30
People-to-People Exchange II: On Climate Crisis, Inequalities, and Grassroots Alternatives <i>Andrew Aeria, PhD and Ahmad Ashov</i>	35
Field Discussion in BangunKarya and Kampung Perjuangan	39
Warm Welcome in Bangunkarya	40
Ceremonial Awarding of the MASSA College in Bangunkarya	42
Thematic Exchange on the Role of Women in Agrarian Reform <i>Yani Srimulyani, Wati, Lasminah, Ani, Ai Dinah, and Suryani</i>	44
Open Forum with SPP Women	51
Participatory mapping and counter-cartography: Foregrounding alternative narratives as climate action <i>Ast. Prof. Ma. Simeona Martinez</i>	56
Weaving Alternatives: Global Tapestry of Alternatives <i>Shrishtee Bajpai, Carlos Tornel, PhD., Dr. Vasna Ramasar</i>	63
Solidarity Night in Kampung Perjuangan, West Java	70
Synthesis and MASSA Business Meeting	73
Reflecting our Movement: Review of MASSA structure <i>Raquel Castillo, Dr. Eduardo C. Tadem</i>	74
Discussion of MASSA School: College in Bangunkarya <i>Ricky Amukti</i>	84
Closing ceremonies	88
Announcing the 6th Conference on Southeast Asian Alternatives in Cambodia <i>Seavmey Ngorn</i>	90
Departure	93
Sending off the 6th Conference Delegation with a Traditional Art Performance	93

Get your policy papers published.

Download open-access articles.

The Philippine Journal of Public Policy: Interdisciplinary Development Perspectives (PJPP), the annual peer-reviewed journal of the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP CIDS), welcomes submissions in the form of full-length policy-oriented manuscripts, book reviews, essays, and commentaries. The PJPP provides a multidisciplinary forum for examining contemporary social, cultural, economic, and political issues in the Philippines and elsewhere. Submissions are welcome year-round.

For more information, visit cids.up.edu.ph.

All issues/articles of the PJPP can be downloaded for free.

Get news and the latest publications.

Join our mailing list to get our publications delivered straight to your inbox! Also, you'll receive news of upcoming webinars and other updates.

bit.ly/signup_cids

We need your feedback.

Have our publications been useful? Tell us what you think.

bit.ly/dearcids

Download related policy papers for FREE

cids.up.edu.ph/collection-database



PROCEEDINGS 2026-11
Program on Alternative Development

Peoples' Alternative Approaches to Addressing Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea and Beyond

12 September 2024

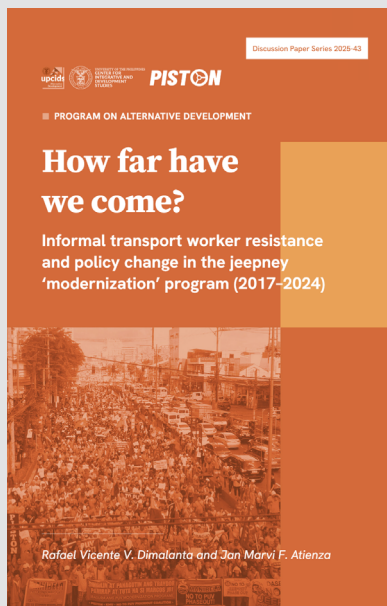
UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies, Ang Bahay ng Alumni



ISSN 2718-9286 (PRINT)
ISSN 2718-9289 (ONLINE)

PROCEEDINGS

Peoples' Alternative
Approaches to Addressing
Territorial Disputes in the
South China Sea and Beyond



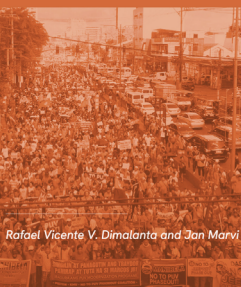
Discussion Paper Series 2025-43

PISTON

PROGRAM ON ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT

How far have we come?

Informal transport worker resistance
and policy change in the jeepney
'modernization' program (2017-2024)



Rafael Vicente V. Dimalanta and Jan Marvi F. Atienza

DISCUSSION PAPER

How far have we come?:
Informal transport worker
resistance and policy
change in the jeepney
'modernization' program
(2017-2024)

About the Proceedings

These are the proceedings of the Fifth Southeast Asian Regional Conference on Alternatives with the theme: “Empowering Southeast Asian Peoples on Addressing Food Security, Environmental Sustainability, Climate Justice through Alternative Regionalism.” The conference took place on 21 to 24 October 2024 at Pangandaran, West Java, Indonesia. For the first time after 2018, the conference was held outside the Philippines. The grassroots organizations Serikat Petani Pasundan (SPP- Pasundan Peasant Union) and the Konfederasi Pergerakan Rakyat Indonesia (KPRI) spearheaded the organizing of this conference together with the Movement for Alternatives and Solidarity in Southeast Asia (MASSA), a movement of grassroots and social movements based in the region. The UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP CIDS) Program on Alternative Development (AltDev) remains the conference secretariat.

The conference objectives are: (1) to facilitate People-to-People (P2P) exchanges focused on alternative practitioners’ organizational structures, enabling MASSA members, SPP leaders, and participants to share and learn from each other’s experiences; (2) to expand the understanding and application of alternative practices in the region; and (3) to strengthen MASSA as a network by discussing its organizational structure and processes.

Proceedings prepared by: Eunice B. Santiago, Junah Amor C. Delfinado, Ananeza P. Aban, Yuli Rustinawati, Ryan Joseph Martinez, Rafael Vicente V. Dimalanta, Erni Kartini, Ma. Simeona M. Martinez

Acknowledgments

The success of the 5th Conference on Alternatives in Southeast Asia was made possible through the generous support of the Catholic Committee Against Hunger and for Development, Solidarity of the Earth (CCFD-Terre Solidaire), the 11.11.11 Coalition of the Flemish North-South Movement, and the Ghent University Global Minds Fund. Members of SPP across all their districts have also contributed financial and logistical support. Financial support was also given by the Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA), the Indonesian peasant movement in which SPP is part of the national leadership. KPRI would also like to acknowledge the financial support of Trend Asia. These combined support not only made the event possible but also reinforced the ongoing collaboration, dialogue, and the pursuit of alternatives for regional integration from below.

Preparatory Engagements Leading to the 5th MASSA Conference

This MASSA Conference previously began as a Southeast Asian Regional Conference on Alternatives, organized as a regional assembly of alternative practitioners, scholar activist, people's organization and networks as an exchange platform to realize the ASEAN Civil Society Conference/ ASEAN Peoples' Forum (ACSC/APF) 2017 Vision towards undertaking a 'people-led alternative regional integration in Southeast Asia.' Its four iterations since 2018, has been hosted by the University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies Program on Alternative Development in the Philippines.

During the 4th Conference held in the University of the Philippines Hotel, Diliman, Quezon City, SPP representatives- Agustiana and Erni Kartini expressed their commitment to host the 5th Conference in West Java, Indonesia in 2024, thus marking a new modality of engagement, a more grounded and grassroots based program, on top of the logistical adjustment of hosting a conference beyond the controlled environment of the academic setting.

Preparations for this first undertaking of bringing MASSA down to the grassroots began as early as July 2024, in conjunction with the site visit of Andrew Aeria, Eri Trinurini Adhi, Ricky Amukti with guidance from Erni Kartini, to the proposed site of MASSA College in Bangunkarya, Pangandaran District. Andrew, Eri, and Ricky on behalf of MASSA, established contact with SPP local leaders and villagers in Pangandaran, who will compose the conference local organizing committee (LOC). They surveyed the area to inform the conference secretariat of potential content of the program and logistical requirements. Based on their field investigation, it was then proposed that the theme of the conference and the design of the program must be able to facilitate mutual learning between MASSA and the local community of Pangandaran.

Their report also proposed potential sites to be visited that may have the capacity to host the conference in Pangandaran. Among those that were proposed were the SPP established Sekolah Menengah Pertama (Junior High School) and Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan (Vocational Senior High School), the proposed site of SPP-MASSA School in Bangunkarya, and the Benson's Hotel, Pangandaran near the beach. The latter was proposed to be the primary conference site due to having the amenities and accommodation for the conference participants. Moreover, the owners of Benson's Hotel were generous

to offer the venue at discounted rates, themselves being members of SPP itself. MASSA unanimously agreed that holding the conference in Pangandaran will allow participants to immerse in the local culture and to integrate its core values and vision with that of the agrarian struggle of SPP. During the conference proper, both Benson's Hotel and selected homestays of SPP members near the hotel were the accommodation of conference participants.

Erni, following further coordination and planning of SPP from its own general meeting held in Tasikmalaya District, announced that SPP will ensure a festive cultural opening program with the attendance of local officials of Pangandaran and delegations from each of local chapters of SPP. She added that a culminating solidarity dinner will also take place in kampung perjuangan (struggle village or land), an occupied territory recently reclaimed by SPP.

The 5th Conference Program Committee was convened as a facilitation instrument to initiate the conceptualization of themes, objectives, outcomes, and activities. It obtained lessons from similar processes within regional gatherings such as the ASEAN Civil Society Conference/ASEAN Peoples' Forum where there is an open participation of delegated organizational representatives who deliberate and share responsibilities of conference organizing. This serves as one of the distinct differences signifying this year's iteration that departs from the previous modality primarily organized by the Program on Alternative Development.

The conference theme was deliberated on several occasions emphasizing the iteration for community integration with SPP peasants and active discussion of the present affairs and structure of MASSA. The theme that was eventually agreed upon was "Empowering Southeast Asian Peoples on Addressing Food Security, Environmental Sustainability, Climate Justice through Alternative Regionalism". This represents the intersection between food and climate justice that is fundamental in SPP's land reclaiming which distinctly describes its 20-year struggle. The SPP experience becomes one of the living case studies where MASSA's vision for a people-led alternative regional integration could take off.

Following the 4th conference held in Manila, the 5th Conference pivoted towards organizational development aimed at bolstering MASSA as a regional network of practitioners of alternatives. The Program committee thus identified three primary objectives for conducting the conference:

1. To facilitate people-to-people (P2P) exchanges focused on alternative practitioners' organizational structures, enabling MASSA members, SPP leaders, and participants to share and learn from each other's experiences;
2. To expand the understanding and application of alternative practices in the region; and
3. To strengthen MASSA as a network by formalizing its organizational structure and processes.

The objectives were expected to be achieved by adopting participatory governance based on advocacy and documentation of alternatives guided by the 9-point program outlined in the previous MASSA conferences, while incorporating insights from SPP and other alternative practitioners.

Activities were thus structured based on these core conference objectives. They amplified the sharing of responsibilities among the current MASSA participating organizations. Representing the local committee were SPP, KPRI, and assisted by Indonesia-based representatives of ASEAN SOGIE Caucus and Asian Solidarity Economy Council. Their task was to ensure the attendance and coordination of local participants within the network of KPRI and Jakarta-based organizations.

Planning the conference design collectively

The first day of the conference was designed to introduce the host SPP and its decades-long struggle for agrarian reform. The other purpose was to conduct substantive discussions on strengthening MASSA through exploring organizational structure, movement strategies, and decision-making processes, as well as campaign strategies and advocacy planning. There was careful consideration about fortifying the collective appreciation of alternatives through a people-to-people exchange. As the program progressed, the sessions were modified to include two more elements: [1] reflections on the 70th commemoration of the “Bandung Spirit”; and [2] lessons MASSA may draw from this momentous gathering of the third world.

The second day of the conference took advantage of the location being within the SPP territory by planning a whole day integration in *kampung perjuangan*. It was later modified to include a visit to Bangunkarya where the ceremonial land transfer would be held that signifies a deep commitment to realizing the SPP-MASSA partnership and the landmark MASSA school to be grounded in the community. In the visit and exchange in *kampung perjuangan*, SPP women, youth, and local village leaders were expected to share their lived experience on land reclaiming. This was to be followed by two thematic sessions on counter-cartographies, and participatory mapping of alternatives and climate inequalities. It was to be succeeded by a session on the global weaving of alternatives, which aims to frame MASSA as a significant part of the web of global alternatives. This session was to be presented by the Global Tapestry of Alternatives.

The third and final day of the conference aimed to synthesize the thematic sessions and workshops conducted in the previous conferences with the aim of substantially discussing the organizational framework of MASSA.

DAY 1

A Sundanese Welcome: A Showcase of Peasant Culture, Serikat Petani Pasundan

October 21, 2024

Opening Ceremonies

Warm welcome of Sundanese Peasant culture by SPP

The 5th MASSA Conference commenced with the delegates receiving a very warm Sundanese welcome from the peasant communities of SPP by showcasing their culture and traditional ceremonies. A series of cultural performances reflected the richness and resilience of Sundanese heritage. The performers were the peasants themselves, their children who are also the students and teachers of the SPP schools. The entire opening ceremony was a manifestation of culture as an alternative, a living counter-narrative on the purpose of culture beyond entertainment.

To begin the ceremony, two barefoot men representing *petani* (peasants) garbed in traditional dress, one whirling an umbrella, the other holding a small basket on his waist, performed body movements that signaled the welcome of all guests to Pangandaran. Dr. Eduardo Tadem of the Program on Alternative Development of UP CIDS, acknowledged as a *kepala* (leader) of MASSA, was adorned with a Sundanese headdress symbolizing a knight in Pasundan culture. A few of the cultural performers and local officials showed respect to some of the senior conference participants by adorning them with Sundanese shawls on their shoulders that signified salutations and honor, a cultural tradition of Sundanese origin in West Java.



Photo: Peasants as local artists representing Sundanese petani (peasants), and performing the welcome ritual



Photo: Serikat Petani Pasundan's young people showcasing the Sudanese traditional dance called Jaipong Lengser

Jaipong Lengser Dance is one of the typical dances from the land of Pasundan (the traditional name of West Java) which is usually performed in traditional ceremonies to welcome guests. This dance expresses that guests are royalties who must be respected and honored. The energetic and expressive movements of the dancers symbolize deep joy in welcoming the presence of guests. In the context of the MASSA Conference opening ceremony, this dance is interpreted as a form of respect for all conference participants. Participants were invited to mingle with the local community, share and learn from each other, and build warm togetherness. It is hoped that from this momentum, close friendships will be created and a sense of belongingness of one big family will grow.



Photo: Serikat Petani Pasundan's students performing the popular Indonesian protest song Darah Juang ("Blood of Our Struggle") with the use of the traditional musical instrument made from bamboo called angklung

As conference participants were seated, local delicacies and drinks were offered on their tables showcasing food as an integral part of peasant culture, their living tradition.

The women of SPP sang the SPP anthem. This was followed by the performances of SPP students who had a powerful rendition of the popular Indonesian protest song *Darah Juang* or "*Blood of Our Struggle*" using their *angklung*. This song symbolized the deep-rooted resistance and unwavering

commitment of the Indonesian peoples' movement for democracy and justice. Their musicality set the tone of the conference, reinforcing the themes of unity, continuing resistance, and the collective pursuit for justice.

One of the students recited a poem that tells the story of farmers. It describes how farmers work with heart each day in the fields, joyfully carrying their hoes. They are faithful companions in the land of hope. The rice they grow with care and love feeds the children of this nation, nourishing life so the future can continue to flourish.

The poem further exemplifies that though the country is not always on their side, farmers must not give up. They must stand tall, resist with quiet strength, and by using their hoes, must work with conviction so that the children of this land may live not only today, but also for a better tomorrow.

Di sini berdiri para petani
 [Here stand the peasants]
Kaupun menembus pagi
 [You penetrate the morning]
Cangkul di tangan bekalpun disandang
 [Hoe in hand with provisions on your back]
Engkau menuju tanah kerjamu.
 [You head towards your land for work]
Di sinilah kerja para petani.
 [This is where the peasants work]
Tancapkan cangkul di bumi pertiwi
 [Stick your hoe in the native land]
Tanamkan padi dengan sepenuh hati.
 [Plant rice with all your heart]
Memberi bakti kepada negeri tercinta.
 [Give service to your beloved country]
Jangan mati hati para petani.
 [Don't die, peasants.]
Jangan pula patah tangan dan kakimu.
 [Don't break your arms and legs either]
Mati hati musnah padi
 [If your heart dies, the rice will wither.]
Musnah padi laparlah negeri
 [If the rice withers, the country will go hungry]
Bangkitlah para petani

[Rise up, peasants]
Tanah baktimu tak akan mati.
[The land of your devotion will not die]
Cangkulmu pun akan tetap berdiri,
[Your hoe will also remain standing]
Walaupun negeri berkobar api.
[Even though the country is on fire]
Berilah padi untuk anak-cucu negeri.
[Give rice to the children and grandchildren of the country]
Tetaplah berbakti sepenuh hati.
[Keep being devoted with all your heart.]
Sampai matahari pun telah pergi.
[Until the sun sets.]



Photo: Cultural interaction between the host SPP and MASSA conference participants during the opening ceremonies

Around six hundred SPP members who significantly included young people and women from the four districts of West Java: Ciamis, Garut, Pangandaran, Tasikmalaya; and the city of Banjar, attended the ceremony to show their solidarity with the 5th MASSA conference participants. Enthusiasm and solidarity were clearly visible on the faces of everyone present, especially among the SPP members who had traveled from the different mountainous regions

of West Java—the primary region where the SPP struggle for land reclamation is rooted.

Notably, the venue of the opening ceremonies was held in a piece of land near the beach that is still considered a *kampung perjuangan* (struggle land) of SPP. It symbolized the ongoing reclaiming effort of SPP members in Pangandaran District.

Welcome Remarks

Asif Nimen

Head of Parliament of Pangandaran



Photo: Asif Nimen, head of the Parliament of Pangandaran, welcoming the participants

Asif Nimen, officially representing the Indonesian government, delivered the welcome remarks at the conference: he acknowledged the presence of MASSA members coming from different countries in Southeast Asia, a representative from Europe, and the Global Tapestry of Alternatives (GTA) representatives hailing from India, Latin America, and South Africa. He began with an overview of Pangandaran, highlighting its geographical and demographic

characteristics. He mentioned that Pangandaran spans 10 square kilometers, has a population of 450,000, and features a 91-square-kilometer coastal area. While tourism is a major sector in this regency, farming, according to him, remains the highest income-generating activity, especially among SPP members.

Nimen acknowledged the vital role of SPP in supporting and regulating the farming sector in Pangandaran. He underscored the importance of local government regulations, particularly in the registration and management of abandoned lands—an initiative pioneered in Indonesia exclusively in Pangandaran. This effort aligns with broader agrarian reform initiatives aimed at securing land rights for farmers.

He continues his commitment in overseeing the Draft Regional Regulation (Ranperda) regarding agrarian reform, which was proposed by the Pangandaran Farmers Union (SPP) since September 2024. The Draft Regional Regulation has now officially entered the discussion agenda of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD) Pangandaran- Pangandaran *representatif consil* (council representative) and is a priority for immediate discussion. In the future, this regulation will provide legal protection for farmers who have utilized and managed Perhutani (State Forestry Public Corporation) for more than twenty years.

Through this Draft Regional Regulation, farmers are expected to be able to obtain legal ownership rights to the land, so that their livelihoods and farming businesses are more secure. In addition, as a member of parliament of the Pangandaran Regency, he is also actively encouraging the development of independent villages in the fields of agriculture and livestock. He targets that villages in Pangandaran can grow into strong and sustainable production centers, with full support from the programs of the Agriculture and Livestock Service. This initiative will soon be communicated to the newly elected regent, so that it becomes part of the regional development policy in the future.

Nimen further encouraged continuing dialogue and collaboration, urging participants to learn from one another's experiences to strengthen the collective struggle for land rights. He emphasized the necessity of both perseverance and coordination in achieving agrarian reform objectives.

Reiterating the fundamental role of farmers in Indonesia's socio-economic fabric, he stressed that they should never be underestimated. He pointed out the

contradiction in food production, stating that despite the country's abundant agricultural output, a significant portion of rice and fruit is imported. He called for policies that prioritize local food production, advocating that all stakeholders must heed the voices of farmers.

Concluding his remarks, Nimen expressed gratitude to the organizers and participants for facilitating such an important event, reaffirming his commitment to ongoing discussions and coordinated efforts in the struggle for land rights.

Opening Remarks

Agustiana

Secretary General of Serikat Petani Pasundan



On behalf of all members and administrators of the Pasundan Peasant Union (SPP), Secretary General Agustiana warmly welcomed all attendees to the 5th MASSA Conference. Special recognition was extended to the technical committee, particularly Erni, Beno, and Yosep, for their unwavering dedication in organizing the event. Deep appreciation was also expressed to all participants

for their commitment and willingness to engage in the conference with sincerity and seriousness.

The address highlighted the diverse representation at the gathering, with delegates from thirteen provinces and guests from nine countries. Special appreciation was given to those who undertook long journeys, including participants who traveled far such as from Mexico, Latin America, France, Sweden, and Belgium. Agustiana acknowledged the challenges of travel, particularly for those from Mexico, who endured multiple connecting flights and then an overland journey to Pangandaran. These efforts exemplify the participants' deep commitment to solidarity, justice, and human dignity. Despite any logistical shortcomings, Agustiana, on behalf of SPP, expressed his profound honor in hosting the conference. Gratitude was extended to the MASSA Steering Committee for entrusting SPP with this responsibility.

Agustiana also provided a brief historical perspective on MASSA, an organization founded by academics, intellectuals, organizational leaders, and social movement figures. Many of these individuals played crucial roles in advancing political power shifts in Southeast Asia, for instance, the People Power Movement in the Philippines that contributed to the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship, and later inspired a reform movement in Indonesia that is instrumental in the downfall of Indonesia's New Order regime.

Reflecting on historical struggles, Agustiana also emphasized that regime change alone does not always yield immediate benefits for the people. In many instances, shifts in power merely open access to wealth and influence for a small group of parliamentary and government elites while leaving systemic, structural, and cultural inequalities intact. Without fundamental transformation, these changes fail to strengthen the leadership and aspirations of grassroots movements.

Agustiana also emphasized the mounting pressures of economic globalization, which increasingly favors liberal and capitalist systems. This global economic structure allows more developed nations to assert geopolitical dominance, enabling them to control and exploit less powerful countries through financial capital. As a result, national regulations often prioritize investor interests over public welfare. For instance, agrarian resources and economic assets are systematically restricted from public access, deepening social and economic inequalities. Meanwhile, workers across the ASEAN region remain trapped in exploitative low-wage labor conditions due to unjust economic policies.

Given these challenges, Agustiana underscored the crucial role of MASSA in strengthening social movements. He highlighted its contribution to fostering self-confidence, solidarity, and collective learning, particularly among members and administrators of SPP. Tracing SPP's roots, he recalled how it began as a youth student activist organization before expanding to support various farmer groups—many of whom have endured imprisonment, repression, and violence in their struggle for land rights, which are enshrined in national laws and constitutions.

He also introduced KPRI, one of the event's main hosts, by reflecting on how SPP's institutional membership played a key role in founding the Konfederasi Pergerakan Rakyat Indonesia (KPRI) two decades ago.

Upon detailing SPP origins, Agustiana invited the participants to reflect on the significance of being part of the MASSA network and the opportunities for collective empowerment. The ideological influence of MASSA continues to shape social movements, underscoring the need to strengthen leadership and grassroots organizing to achieve deep and lasting systemic change.

His address concluded with a reaffirmation of the commitment to solidarity, justice, and democracy, urging all participants to continue working towards transformative change for their communities and beyond.

Welcome Remarks and Message of Solidarity from MASSA

Raquel Castillo

Convenor of Solidarity for People's Education and Lifelong Learning (SPELL)

Raquel Castillo, Convenor of Solidarity for People's Education and Lifelong Learning (SPELL) and Representative of the MASSA Steering Committee, delivered the welcoming remarks and solidarity message on behalf of MASSA. She began by warmly greeting the participants, acknowledging the significance of gatherings where civil society, social movements, and grassroots communities come together to exchange ideas and strengthen their collective struggles.

Castillo welcomed attendees from various parts of Indonesia, as well as neighboring countries such as the Philippines, Timor-Leste, Malaysia, and

Cambodia, along with participants from distant regions including Mexico, India, France, and South Africa. She reflected on the deep historical and cultural connections between Indonesia and the Philippines, emphasizing their shared traditions, geographic similarities, and linguistic ties. She highlighted how both Filipino and Bahasa Indonesia have gender-neutral terms, such as '*anak*' for child, and noted common words between the two languages, including '*guru/guro*' (teacher), '*bangsa/bansa*' (nation), and '*massa/ masa*' (the people/ masses). Further, she particularly underscored the significance of the words '*cinta/sinta*' (love), '*bangun/bangon*' (to wake up, to rise), and '*asa*' (hope) in the context of collective struggles.

In addressing the gathering, Castillo emphasized the urgency of empowering Southeast Asian communities to confront issues related to peasant struggles, food security, and existential threats to their livelihoods and environment. She highlighted the importance of alternative regionalism as a strategic approach to these challenges and encouraged participants to share their victories and the strategies that led to them. She stressed that alternative perspectives and practices, even when disregarded by governments, have the potential to break barriers and inspire others to adopt creative and radical solutions. In this regard, she recognized the role of SPP and the communities of Pangandaran as sources of knowledge and inspiration.

To conclude her message, Castillo issued a resounding call to action, urging participants to strengthen their solidarity and rally around the fight for alternatives. She led the assembly in a collective chant: "Fight for Alternatives! Berjuang untuk alternatif!" to which the participants responded in unison: "Berjuang!"

DAY 2:

Conference on Alternatives and People-to-People Exchanges

22 October 2024



Photo: Asst. Prof. Jose Monfred Sy of UP CIDS AltDev opening the conference's program alongside Rizki Estrada of AFWA as the translator.

Jose Monfred Sy from the Alternative Development Program (UP CIDS AltDev) opened the conference with Rizki Estrada from Asia Floor Wage Alliance (AFWA) Indonesia assisting as the translator. Sy welcomed the participants, emphasizing the importance of recalling past conferences and acknowledging the presence of both returning and new participants. To foster a sense of solidarity and familiarity, attendees engaged in a roll call, enthusiastically shouting “Hidup!” “Lawan!”—which means “to fight”—or its equivalent in their own languages.

Attending Organizations to the 5th Regional Conference

Participants of the conference represented a wide range of organizations, such as:

1. ASEAN SOGIE Caucus (ASC)
2. Asia Floor Wage Alliance (AFWA)
3. Asia Solidarity Economy Council (ASEC)
4. Comité Catholique Contre La Faim et pour Developpement (CCFD)-Terre Solidaire
5. Crianza Mutua Mexico
6. Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC)
7. Gender and Development for Cambodia (GADC)
8. Global Tapestry of Alternatives (GTA)
9. Homenet Southeast Asia (Philippines and Indonesia)
10. Kdadalak Sulimutuk Institute (KSI)
11. Komite Esperanza
12. Konfederasi Pergerakan Rakyat Indonesia (KPRI)
13. Pemangkin Research
14. UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies, Program on Alternative Development (UP CIDS AltDev)
15. Serikat Petani Pasundan (SPP)
16. Solidarity for People's Education and Lifelong Learning (SPELL)
17. Uniaun Agrikultóres Ermera (UNAER)
18. Vikalp Sangam
19. Trend Asia
20. Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (Walhi)
21. Serikat Tani Majalengka (Majalengka Farmers Union)
22. Komunitas 16 Gunung (16 Mountains Community)
23. Komunitas Padalencang
24. Serikat Pekerja Kampus (Campus Workers Union)

25. Serikat Buruh Independen Rumah Sakit Premier (Independent Labor Union Premier Hospital)
26. Migrant Centre
27. Serikat Perjuangan Rakyat Indonesia (Indonesian people's struggles Union)
28. Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (Agrarian Reform Consortium)

After the roll call, the participants collectively chanted “Viva MASSA!”, Hidup MASSA! setting an enthusiastic tone for the rest of the conference.

Sy reiterated that the conference was hosted by Serikat Petani Pasundan and Konfederasi Pergerakan Rakyat Indonesia with support from UP CIDS AltDev, CCFD-Terre Solidaire, 11.11.11, and Ghent University Global Minds Fund.

Opening Remarks on “Why MASSA?”

Dr. Eduardo C. Tadem

Convenor, UP CIDS - Program on Alternative Development



Photo: Dr. Tadem delivering his opening remarks alongside Rizki Estrada as the translator.

Dr. Eduardo Tadem delivered the opening remarks, extending warm greetings to the attendees and partners. He expressed his joy and excitement, sharing that he had experienced one of the most restful nights of his life in Pangandaran, a location he described as an ideal and fitting venue for the conference.

Tadem highlighted the significance of holding the 5th MASSA Conference outside the Philippines for the first time, marking it as a historic and momentous occasion. He underscored the importance of being among the grassroots communities of Southeast Asia, reaffirming that MASSA is a movement “generated from below,” reflecting the values and aspirations of those working on the ground.

He further emphasized that the purpose of the conference was to deepen solidarities and collective visions, acknowledging and expressing gratitude to SPP and KPRI for their exceptional hospitality and support in hosting the event.

Upon expressing his gratitude, he recalled the theoretical and historical foundations for the MASSA, underscoring the need for a people-centered model of regional integration that stands in contrast to dominant, state-led frameworks.

This stems from the critique of traditional and state-led regionalism: highlighting the dominance of traditional regional organizations such as ASEAN, APEC, NAFTA, the European Union, and Mercosur, all of which largely adhere to neoliberal principles centered on trade liberalization, profit orientation, and elite-driven political agendas. While some non-traditional regionalisms, like ALBA-TCP in Latin America, offer alternative visions rooted in social welfare and mutual aid, these too remain state-managed and top-down in approach—what he terms “regionalism from above.”

He asserted that ASEAN, in particular, must be critically examined as a political project rooted in Cold War anti-communist alignments and driven by Southeast Asian elites. He argued that there is a crucial distinction between “ASEAN” as a bureaucratic body and “Southeast Asia” as a region of diverse peoples and grassroots initiatives.

On Envisioning an Alternative Regionalism. Tadem, on behalf of MASSA’s vision, advocated for a *Southeast Asian Peoples’ Regional Integration*—a form of “regionalism from below” rooted in the lived experiences and collective resistance of marginalized communities. This vision draws from existing alternative practices in the region that prioritize cooperation, mutual benefit, solidarity, and commoning, rather than competition and market domination.

To institutionalize this bottom-up regionalism, there is a need to consolidate scattered grassroots efforts into a cohesive framework that can promote transformative change. He identified four major gaps that a new regional network like MASSA must aim to fill:

1. **Fragmentation and Disconnection:** Many grassroots initiatives remain isolated, lacking coordination and mutual awareness across borders. MASSA must serve as a bridge to foster solidarity and shared learning.
2. **Lack of Research and Documentation:** While rich in practical innovation, grassroots organizations often lack the capacity or resources to document and analyze their own practices. MASSA can support these efforts by developing a robust, accessible database.
3. **Marginality of Alternatives:** Many alternative practices remain peripheral, under-resourced, or misunderstood as elitist. MASSA must work to mainstream these innovations and counter dominant development paradigms.
4. **Need for Conceptualization:** Empirical practices must be theorized into frameworks and paradigms that can guide broader strategies for social transformation. MASSA can help make sense of diverse experiences and develop a coherent narrative of alternative development.

A Nine-Point Program for Alternative Regionalism. To address these gaps, Tadem proposed a strategic roadmap composed of nine key activities:

1. Coordinate and link various alternative practices.
2. Convene regional conferences and workshops for grassroots actors.
3. Research, document, and build a shared database of practices.
4. Develop grassroots-centered training programs through initiatives like the MASSA School.
5. Analyze and conceptualize emerging practices to formulate alternative development paradigms.
6. Mobilize joint regional actions and campaigns.
7. Promote replication and scaling-up of alternative models.
8. Establish civil society-led mechanisms for cooperation and exchange.
9. Create decentralized and rotating regional structures for leadership and coordination.

On the Birth and Growth of MASSA. After five years of consultations and three regional conferences (2018, 2019, and 2022), MASSA was formally launched in 2022. As of October 2024, it consists of 48 partner organizations: 23 from the Philippines; six from Indonesia; four each from Timor-Leste and Thailand; three from Vietnam; two from Myanmar; and one each from Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, and the Thai-Burma border. It also includes six regional networks.

Looking ahead, MASSA aims to:

- Continue expanding its database of alternatives,
- Deepen knowledge-sharing and solidarity initiatives,
- Strengthen engagement with regional and global platforms that support alternative regionalism.

In closing, Tadem emphasized that MASSA is not merely an organizational initiative but a transformative political project—one that aspires to create a just, democratic, and sustainable Southeast Asia through the power of the people.

Solidarity Message

Marion Poirot

CCFD-Terre Solidaire



Photo: Marion Poirot of CCFD-Terre Solidaire delivering a solidarity message.

In her solidarity message, Marion Poirot, Project Manager of the Asia Partnership, from CCFD-Terre Solidaire expressed her privilege in witnessing the vibrant solidarity across Southeast Asia—an “alternative by alternative” approach that MASSA embodies.

Poirot reflected on the longstanding connections of CCFD with some of the participants and recalled that CCFD’s formal collaboration with MASSA began in 2019. This partnership eventually led to the publication of a monograph titled “Reimagining Post-Pandemic Societies: Alternative Practices across Southeast Asia,” which was published by UP CIDS AltDev. She congratulated AltDev for its significant achievements in producing case studies that reflect the realities and struggles of grassroots communities.

Poirot emphasized that while CCFD’s engagement with AltDev and MASSA had deepened only recently, this renewed connection reaffirmed their shared vision of alternative regionalism, people-to-people cooperation, and grassroots solidarity. She noted that this vision resonates strongly with CCFD’s mission of contributing to collective efforts that bridge ideas, communities, and struggles.

Poirot further highlighted the growing interest of CCFD’s partners whenever they learn about MASSA’s work, reflecting a broader recognition of the importance of grassroots-driven alternatives in the region. She expressed hope that the exchanges and discussions at the conference would continue to inspire and cultivate learning, solidarity, and collaboration among participants. She concluded by expressing gratitude to SPP for their hospitality and support in hosting the conference.

Keynote Address: "Alternatives: A Vision of Hope"

Dr. Hilmar Farid

Reifying the "Bandung Spirit" in times of climate catastrophe

Anwar Sastro Ma'ruf

Konfederasi Pergerakan Rakyat Indonesia (KPRI)

Sapei Rusin

KPRI

Hermawan Sutanto

Konfederasi Serikat Nasional (KSN)/ KPRI

Arif Yogiawan

Trend Asia



Photo: Panel of the conference's keynote address discussing the Bandung Spirit. From L to R: Anwar Sastro Ma'ruf of Konfederasi Pergerakan Rakyat Indonesia (KPRI), Sapei Rusin (KPRI), Hermawan Sutanto of Konfederasi Serikat Nasional (KSN)/ KPRI, Arif Yogiawan (Trend Asia)

“In the face of growing poverty and climate crisis, we must demand for alternatives that prioritizes peoples’ sustainability and justice” said Director General for Culture at the Ministry of Education and Culture Prof. Hilmar Farid sparking the spirit in his keynote address to the MASSA assembly, Dr. Farid remarked alternatives as a vision of hope to resolve the multiple global crisis most experienced by grassroots communities across the world. He emphasized the importance of the Bandung Principles and spirit as a foundation for movements that challenge the injustices the people face today. Rooted in anti-colonial and anti-imperialist values, these principles remain relevant as both a moral and political compass for contemporary struggles, particularly in the fight against climate injustice and the pursuit of food sovereignty.

People’s movements play a vital role in uniting communities and fostering solidarity to resist systemic oppression. A concrete example is SPP (Serikat Petani Pasundan), which demonstrates how grassroots organizing born from struggle can lead to meaningful change. Through solidarity, SPP has successfully advanced the cause of food sovereignty for local farmers and rural communities.

“MASSA is not just a network but a growing movement for radical change”, Hilmar underscored, is expected to carry forward this spirit of resistance and transformation. As a regional formation of grassroots network, Farid incites MASSA to remain grounded “grassroots movements are at the forefront opposing injustices – they are leading efforts to protect human rights, secure border rights, and resist destructive environmental practices. Movements engaged in fighting for human rights will find it inseparable from the fight for land justice.” Hilmar encourages MASSA to continue to advocate alongside the grassroots movement for public policies relating to climate that are “inclusive, equitable, and rooted in real needs of people.”

Prof. Hilmar Farid concludes with a remark that “The future of Southeast Asia lies in the past, by continuing to form the alternatives movement and the “Bandung Spirit” and by centering its role to its most marginalized, we can most achieve the challenges of our times towards creating a just and sustainable world for all.”

Following the invigorating keynote remarks, Sastro from KPRI facilitated a reflection session by revisiting and reinforcing the “Spirit of Bandung” within the context of globalization: he explored the legacy of the 1955 Asian-African Conference, emphasizing its continued relevance in contemporary global dynamics characterized by ongoing conflicts, systemic domination, and the exploitation of weaker nations.

Historical Context and The Spirit of Bandung. Sastro further delved into the reflections on Darwis Khudori's analysis of the 50th anniversary of the Asian-African Conference. The "Spirit of Bandung," first articulated in 1955 by leaders from 29 African and Asian nations, was reiterated as a call for peaceful coexistence, national sovereignty, racial and national equality, and solidarity with marginalized communities. He also underscored the significance of the principles established at the Bandung Conference, which sought to counteract hegemonic influence and foster decolonization. Although never formally codified, the core values of the "Spirit of Bandung" can be summarized as follows:

1. Peaceful coexistence among nations.
2. The right to self-determination and national sovereignty, free from hegemonic control.
3. The promotion of racial and national equality.
4. Solidarity with impoverished, colonized, and marginalized populations.
5. Emancipation through development based on the common interests of the people.

Sastro further examined the evolution of the "Spirit of Bandung" into the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), which was formally established during the 1961 Belgrade Conference. Sastro also discussed how NAM principles remain relevant, particularly in addressing modern geopolitical tensions, economic inequalities, and the struggle of nations to maintain sovereignty amid global power structures. With globalization exacerbating disparities between powerful and weaker nations, Sastro raises the question to the conference on whether viable alternatives exist to counteract these imbalances. He highlighted the pressing need for renewed commitment to Bandung's foundational principles in order to navigate contemporary geopolitical realities.

He concluded with a call to action to strengthen the network of movements that uphold the principles of the spirit of Bandung. He emphasized the role of MASSA, as an alternative regional network, in advancing political and social alternatives. He reaffirmed MASSA's commitment to fostering cooperation, promoting social justice, and implementing practices that challenge hegemonic structures. In light of ongoing global challenges, Sastro highlighted the urgency of revitalizing these principles to create a more just and equitable world order.

The Bandung Spirit and Postcolonial Freedom

Sapei expanded on this discussion, underscoring the significance of the Bandung Spirit in shaping post-colonial freedom. He emphasized that at its core, the Bandung Spirit represents a commitment to anti-colonialism and the rejection of racial and national discrimination. He outlined two key actions necessary for future progress:

Integrating the Bandung Spirit into the MASSA movement as a means of advancing freedom and liberating oppressed communities.

Strengthening MASSA's capacity to combat systemic discrimination and oppression effectively, one major concern raised was food sovereignty within ASEAN, particularly in relation to rice production. Sapei pointed out that while rice is a staple food across the region, the livelihoods of the farmers who cultivate it are frequently threatened by legal enforcement and systemic injustices. He posed a critical question: How can MASSA empower and protect these farmers to ensure the sustainability of rice production? Addressing this challenge is crucial to securing the region's basic food needs.

Beyond food sovereignty, Sapei proposed that MASSA should play a role in fostering cooperatives and grassroots-based cooperation across Southeast Asia. Strengthening local communities through cooperative structures, he argued, would contribute to regional economic resilience and self-sufficiency.

Finally, he stressed the importance of youth engagement in these advocacy efforts. He called for increased investment in education and knowledge-sharing across Southeast Asian countries, emphasizing that education is essential to cultivating a new generation of leaders committed to social justice and collective empowerment. Ensuring access to education and fostering knowledge transfer, he asserted, is a crucial step in sustaining the struggle for freedom and equity.

Beyond Geography: The Bandung Spirit as a Movement

Hermawan, representing the research arm of KPRI, also stated that Bandung is more than a city; it symbolizes the solidarity of peoples' movements. The Bandung Spirit extends beyond its historical role in anti-colonial struggles and remains relevant in addressing modern-day capitalist exploitation. He acknowledged past and present struggles of communities within Priangan, who continue to resist colonial legacies.

Capitalism, Climate Justice, and Peoples' Knowledge

Arip Yogi contributed to the discussion by addressing the issue of capitalist control over natural resources, arguing that it exacerbates suffering among marginalized communities. While climate justice has become a widely discussed issue, he expressed concern that many so-called solutions are shaped by a capitalist framework that prioritizes profit over genuine social and environmental well-being. He cautioned that adopting the language of climate justice as defined by capitalist systems leads to superficial, profit-driven measures that fail to address the root causes of ecological and social crises.

To counter this, Arip Yogi proposed the creation of a research and knowledge directory that systematically documents and responds to injustices, particularly those concerning natural resources. This directory would serve as a platform for empowering communities by compiling knowledge drawn from lived experiences. He emphasized the importance of identifying patterns in how communities resist oppression and ensuring that these grassroots strategies are strengthened and recognized. Through this initiative, MASSA and allied movements could develop practical responses to systemic injustices, paving the way for more equitable and sustainable resource management.

Open Forum Discussions on Bandung Spirit

Starting off the discussion is Yuli Rustinawati of ASC - she highlighted the often-overlooked contributions of women leaders in shaping the Bandung Conference. She referenced Maria Ulfah Santoso, a key figure who influenced the conference's direction and later meetings in Colombo, where women advocated for girls' and women's education, political participation, economic empowerment and access to daycare for working women. She also took notice of the all-male composition of this panel and further recommended for a gender-inclusive perspective in MASSA and other movements, by ensuring women have equal space in political and civil struggles.

Dr. Subekti Priyadharma or Ibek, representing the University's Union Campus and the University of Padjajaran, raised the question of the relevance of the Bandung Spirit in today's globalized world, given the disappearance of past geopolitical structures like Yugoslavia and the Cold War. He urged movements to explore new forms of regional solidarity beyond traditional state-led cooperation. He also questioned the role of states and local leaders in alternative regionalism, asking how accountability can be maintained in grassroots movements.

Shristee Bajpai from India and representing Vikalp Sangam, emphasized the importance of people-led movements rather than state-led conferences, noting that colonialism persists in different forms. She called for stronger grassroots communication and solidarity to counter oppression.

Vasna Ramasar from South Africa and representing the Global Tapestry of Alternatives, connected the Bandung Spirit to African liberation, stressing the need for eco-feminist just transitions and collective action against neo-colonial extraction. She advocated for grassroots-led education and resistance networks.

Carlos from Crianza Mutuas Mexico echoed these sentiments, arguing that top-down regionalism has failed. He advocated for alternative regionalism from below, built on learning, resistance, and shared struggles.

To conclude the keynote address, Sapei acknowledged everyone's insight: from the ongoing struggle against colonialism and capitalism, noting that resistance strategies must evolve alongside these changing systems, the critical role to put gender lens in every movement, MASSA work giving importance to women leaders in various movements, and emphasized the importance of strategic negotiation with state authorities. Using SPP Pangandaran as a case in point, he highlighted successful strategies in land claims and policy enforcement to ensure that authorities respect grassroots initiatives.

To close the session, Sastro expressed his optimism on people's movement in Southeast Asia that has the potential to move forward, particularly MASSA.

The struggle of the Serikat Petani Pasundan

Agustiana and Erni Kartini



Photo: Agustiana and Erni Kartini of Serikat Petani Pasundan delivering the introductions of SPP as a union.

Agustiana

Secretary General of Serikat Petani Pasundan

To introduce the host of this year's conference, representatives and comrades from the Serikat Petani Pasundan (SPP) each provided an overview of the organization's decades-long history and its organizational functions as an overview of the conference participants. Agustiana, SPP's Secretary General, shared insights on the ongoing struggle and vision of SPP in relation to it being a part of the broader alternative's movement of MASSA. He made a distinction on the importance of clearly positioning SPP as a people's organization that is rooted in grassroots practice and grounded in the lived experiences of the Pasundan peasantry.

Agustiana reiterated that while SPP engages and collaborates with allies—such as legal aid foundations and academic institutions, their core identity remains that of a people's organization. SPP is striving to translate the challenges

they faced as farmers and as a community into concrete practices aimed at overcoming them. He pointed out that internal conflicts often arise from personal interests and competition for visibility, which can threaten the unity and integrity of the movement. He stressed the need for discipline within social movements to remain focused on shared visions and goals.

One of the central themes of his reflection was the significance of Solidarity. For SPP, solidarity is not merely about shared positions or ideologies—it is fundamentally about people. He argued that intellectuals and academics have a role to play in expanding networks and disseminating the realities of grassroots struggles. In this spirit, SPP has shared 25 hectares of land with MASSA for educational purposes, exemplifying their commitment to mutual aid and transformative learning.

Agustiana described how academics have engaged with SPP by documenting their practices and framing their struggles. This collaboration has been crucial in amplifying the voice of the movement and grounding it in both theoretical and practical terms. He called for continued efforts to connect academic discourse with grassroots realities, reiterating that MASSA should define issues from the lens of the people rather than through capitalist frameworks.

Referencing the broader international context, Agustiana noted the connections between movements in Mexico, India, and Southeast Asia in forwarding the struggles of the people. He affirmed the role of the Serikat Petani Pasundan in contributing to regional solidarity and life-affirming alternatives.

Turning to the future of MASSA, Agustiana posed a critical question: how can the alliance or network implement its concept of alternatives in practice? He acknowledged the challenge of asserting sovereignty and people-led development in a global system still dominated by powerful, developed countries. He expressed hope that academics could help influence the public discourse, challenge dominant ideologies, and legitimize grassroots alternatives.

He also reflected on the recent ACSC (ASEAN Civil Society Conference) held in Timor-Leste. While political liberation had been achieved, economic and social challenges remain. For SPP, true solidarity means addressing these material needs—for example, inviting Timorese farmers to cultivate land in Pangandaran, or facilitating mutual support through hospitality services. He illustrated this with a concrete example from the current gathering, where local people in Pangandaran hosted participants—demonstrating how MASSA members can support one another practically and economically.

Agustiana concluded by affirming SPP's commitment to the values of MASSA and its openness to learning from others. He acknowledged that SPP does not aim to do everything alone and believes in the principle that "the best things happen because the best people do them." He called on MASSA, especially its academic allies, to help provide theoretical justifications for their actions while also helping to address economic questions that remain unresolved.

He ended his remarks with a hopeful note, asking Professor Tadem of AltDev and other intellectuals to continue sharing their ideas and social capital with the movement. As a final gesture of unity and resolve, Agustiana led the chant: "Hidup MASSA! Viva MASSA!"

Erni Kartini

Deputy of Law Serikat Petani Pasundan

Following the presentation of Agustiana on the broader regional and international engagements of SPP, Erni, Deputy for Law of SPP, brought the discussion back to the local level. Speaking on behalf of the community members of SPP, she shared grounded experiences of the peasant movement, highlighting its 25-year journey of struggle, resistance, and community building.

Erni emphasized that education has been a constant companion to the peasant struggle. It has played a vital role in helping farmers and villagers understand their rights, particularly in relation to land access. The SPP movement, she explained, is not merely a farmers' movement—it is a collective struggle that has historically involved students working side by side with peasants. Their joint efforts have paved the way for communities to secure land rights and even obtain land certificates under agrarian reform initiatives.

Central to SPP's organizing principles is the inclusion of youth and all genders, with discipline deeply grounded in collective ideology. Erni stressed that these principles are not just aspirational—they are already being implemented by grassroots organizations within the MASSA network.

Erni also underscored that the MASSA conference in Pangandaran is the first ever conference to be held outside of Manila: proving the power of grassroots solidarity and is an integral part in communities' fight and struggle.

She shared vivid examples from Pangandaran, where communities are actively resisting the expansion of corporate and capitalist interests. The occupied lands in this area continue to serve as a key strategic front in their struggle. Erni also shared that a more gendered lens is also incorporated into this: for instance, the land certificate is under the women's names not only under the men's names. Further, big companies occupy the Pangandaran area to operate resorts, fancy cafes and restaurants. But today, people strategically own lands. In a creative move to strengthen their occupation and sustain the movement, farmers have begun developing 'homestays'—a grassroots alternative to mainstream tourism that allows them to retain control over the land while resisting displacement by business entities.

Lastly, Erni also acknowledged the collective effort of MASSA network during the 5th Conference. She also emphasized the solidarity support from the Gender and Development for Cambodia (GADC), particularly in support of women leaders within SPP.

Open Forum on SPP

Raquel of SPELL raised a critical question regarding SPP's engagement with the local government: How does SPP monitor and assess the balance of power in such engagements? At what point might the state co-opt the movement's agenda, or begin calling the shots?

In response, Erni explained that SPP has engaged in participatory village-level planning, which is supported by local government frameworks. Local regulations on agrarian reform have already been enacted, protecting the rights of people and members of SPP to access land. However, she acknowledged that not all government programs can or should be accepted uncritically. SPP's approach is to influence policy from the ground up—starting with the village and ensuring collective decision-making remains central.

Another question addressed was also posed on the impact of tourism and the potential social costs associated with it. Erni responded by emphasizing that the development of local tourism initiatives—such as homestays—is being approached collectively and strategically, with a view to preventing individual appropriation and maintaining community ownership. These conversations around collective versus individual resource control are ongoing within the movement.

Yuli from ASC added into the discussion that aside from their primary organizing work, SPP members—especially women—are engaged in care work and other community-based responsibilities. These often-invisible forms of labor are deeply embedded in the people's struggle and underscore the multidimensional nature of grassroots resistance. In closing the segment, Erni reiterated the importance of education in organizing—not only through formal structures but also via informal, community-based learning spaces built and sustained by the villagers themselves. These educational spaces serve both children and adults and are essential to nurturing the political consciousness and resilience of the movement.

People-to-People Exchange I: *Organizational Praxis and Movement Building*

Ananeza Aban

AltDev

Yuli Rustinawati

ASC



Photo: Ananeza Aban of AltDev and Yuli Rustinawati of ASC facilitating the workshop on organizational praxis and movement building.

Upon the introduction of the main host organization of the conference, Ananeza ‘Angging’ Aban and Yuli Rustinawati facilitated the next session on Organizational Praxis and Movement Building. This session was formatted based on People-to-People Exchange (P2P) process—an initiative for mutual learning and solidarity-building among grassroots formations. The session aimed to surface shared and distinct practices of organizational structure, movement strategies, decision-making, and ways of working across different sectors and territories. The participants of the plenary were divided into six (6) groups in discussing the following guide questions:

- Why do you organize the community? And who is the community?
- What is the community dream? How do you make this dream come true together?
- How do you take care of each other?

Group answer highlights:

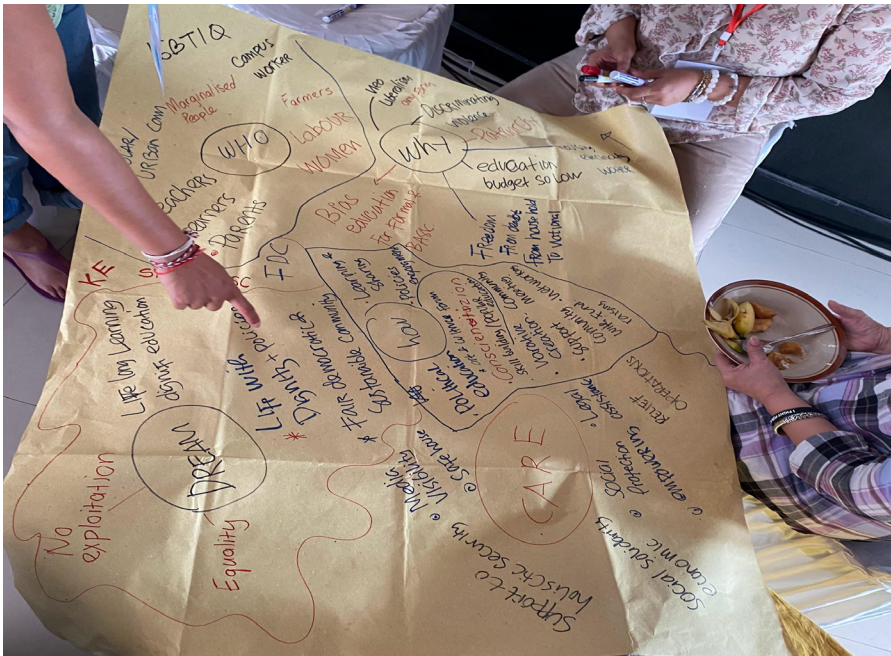


Photo: A group's diagram re-imagining their communities—beginning with how 'community' is defined and woven that reflects organizing and care

On why do you organize the community?

- To **resist structural injustices**: reclaim land, expose inequality, oppose capitalism, and respond to extractivism.
- To build **autonomous, democratic communities**: rooted in solidarity, mutual care, and collective decision-making.
- To support **marginalized groups**: women, LGBTQIA+, informal workers, students, farmers, and others.

Group Highlights:

- **Group 1 (Komite Esperanza, SPELL, FDC)**: Address issues from discrimination, low-income, and biased education to housing and debt.
- **Group 2 (KSI, KPRI, HMNSEA, AltDev)**: Challenge capitalism, reclaim commons, and uphold social protection.
- **Group 3 (UNAER)**: Struggle against colonial-state land grabs; ensure land for local production and dignity.
- **Group 4 (HomeNet, GADC, Vikalp Sangam, AltDev)**: Empower informal workers, women, and marginalized identities.
- **Group 5 (KPRI, SPP)**: Build awareness and resistance among remote media workers.
- **Group 6 (Other participants/individuals from Indonesia)**: Organize against state-imposed divisions; build solidarity and unity through friendship.

On who is the community?

- **Community is diverse**: includes workers, learners, farmers, women, LGBTQIA+, informal sector, etc.
- **Community is built, not given**: it is formed through shared struggle, values, and dreams.

Group Highlights:

- **KPRI**: "Unity of homes"; organized labor unions and local communities.
- **Vikalp Sangam**: highlighting their confluence of 85 organizations with varied struggles.

- **GADC:** Marginalized women, children, PWD, and diverse gender identities.
- **UNAER:** Farmers with ancestral land claims.
- **AltDev & HomeNet:** Partner with grassroots for co-research and solidarity.

On what is the community's dream?

Core Aspirations:

- **Dignified, just, and sustainable life:** equality, safety, prosperity.
- **Holistic welfare:** physical, economic, ecological well-being.
- **Alternative systems:** beyond capitalism and domination.
- **Community-run institutions:** universities, cooperatives, popular schools.

Group Highlights:

- **KSI:** Alternatives to capitalism, reclaim land, commons principle.
- **KPRI:** Just, equal, and prosperous independent communities.
- **UNAER:** Local production and land ownership.
- **Group 6:** Create a university, build community and diversity.
- **Group 5:** Organic movement rooted in grassroots.

How do you make this dream come true together?

Key Strategies:

- **Organizing and advocacy:** from local actions to policy campaigns.
- **Popular education and capacity building:** political education, workshops, schools.
- **Participatory processes:** consensus-building, dialogue, collective decision-making.
- **Creating alternatives:** cooperatives, sustainable livelihoods, local production.

Group Highlights:

- **UNAER:** Popular schools, cooperatives, intergenerational leadership.
- **SPELL & FDC:** Narrative creation, policy engagement, legal assistance.
- **AltDev:** Research with communities; model for alternative regionalism.
- **SPP (from Group 5):** Begin with political discussions before religious activities.

How do you take care of each other?

Forms of Care:

- **Mutual nurturing:** relationship-building and solidarity across boundaries.
- **Mental and emotional support:** gender cafés, mental health sessions, sharing spaces.
- **Community-based approaches:** door-to-door talks, regular discussions, home visits.

Group Highlights:

- **GADC:** Collective care through mental health sharing, community outreach.
- **HomeNet:** Listening to each other's problems.
- **Vikalp Sangam, GTA:** Weaving sisterhood, interlocal solidarity, sustaining organizing.
- **UNAER:** “Selulu” – collective struggle rooted in cooperation.

Recurring Themes Across All Groups

- **Solidarity beyond borders:** building interlocal, national, and international networks.
- **Friendship and relational ecology:** people-and-planet-centric care.
- **Education as empowerment:** critical consciousness and skills-building.
- **Resistance and imagination:** challenging systems while imagining better futures

People-to-People Exchange II: On Climate Crisis, Inequalities, and Grassroots Alternatives

Dr. Andrew Aeria

Pemangkin Research

Ahmad Ashov

Trend Asia



Photo: Andrew Aeria of Pemangkin Research writes down the discussion topics alongside Ahmad Ashov of Trend Asia, who co-facilitated the session.

This segment of the People-to-People Exchange focused on campaign building and centering grassroots alternatives in response to the intersecting crises of climate change, inequality, and systemic exploitation. The session instructed the participants from different regions and organizations to share strategies, build solidarity, and envision future advocacy efforts.

Andrew Aeria opened the discussion by asking the plenary to reflect on key climate issues to guide group discussions. The plenary identified urgent concerns including:

- Panas (Temperature Rise)
- Banjir (Flooding)
- Migrasi (Migration)
- Kerosakan Hutan (Deforestation)
- Krisis Pangan (Food Crisis)
- Krisis Energi (Energy Crisis)
- Sampah Perkotaan (Urban Waste/Plastics)
- Polusi Udara (Air Pollution)

Framing the discussion, Andrew and Ahmad posed the central question: What should our campaigns be? How can they be alternative, sustainable, and community-rooted?

Breakout Group Reports: Campaigns and Alternatives

1. On Food Sovereignty. The group centered their campaign on food sovereignty, emphasizing:
 - Producing what is consumed and consuming what is produced
 - Linking rural and urban areas via closed market systems
 - Community-managed cooperatives for production, distribution, and consumption
 - Reducing dependency on ultra-processed food
 - Grounding food systems in local culture and environmental stewardship

Contributions from other participants deepened this theme:

- HomeNet and SSS shared practices in urban agriculture, promoting food availability, safety, and solidarity (sharing excess produce).

- Ony from AltDev described community gardens led by mothers during the pandemic.
- KSI proposed integrative farming, political education, and agroecology schools for youth.
- Carlos from Crianzas Mutuas stressed holding corporations accountable (e.g., Nestlé, Coca-Cola), asserting that food sovereignty must confront monocropping and biodiversity loss.
- Sastro from KPRI introduced a model of popular economy using participatory research and cooperatives to manage consumption and distribution.
- Rizki from AFWA emphasized water accessibility as a gender and disability issue, proposing collective water conservation and fair distribution.

2. On Energy Justice

Group 1, the energy cluster (Raquel, Vasna, Anabel, Ricky, Eunice) outlined multifaceted campaigns on just and sustainable energy:

- Develop community energy projects (solar, waves, cooking oil reuse)
- Educate communities on energy justice and energy-saving practices
- Advocate for right to energy, access for all, and policy changes toward renewables
- Promote free public transport and bike infrastructure over electric cars
- Push for subsidies on household renewables, and taxes on fossil fuel corporations
- Redesign urban spaces: demand solarized public buildings, natural cooling designs, and more green/vertical spaces
- Promote just transition for workers in the energy sector
- Utilize engineering expertise in MASSA to develop alternative technologies

3. On Water and Biodiversity: Rizki from AFWA and Marion from CCFD highlighted water conservation as a critical issue impacted by corporate capture and climate change:

- Reforestation and biodiversity protection as buffers against flooding
- Water justice framed through lenses of gender, accessibility, and community solidarity
- Recognizing transwomen, persons with disability, and poor communities as disproportionately impacted

Shrishtee of Vikalp Sangam and Seavmey of GADC emphasized:

- Biodiversity loss linked to high temperature rise
- Forest protection and tree-planting as immediate responses
- Need for continued regional cooperation, connecting alternatives as resistance

Both facilitators synthesized the discussion by emphasizing that all campaigns articulated are inherently political projects, rooted in the realities and wisdom of communities. Participants were urged to reflect on how these discussions can inform the direction and priorities of MASSA. The key takeaway from them is that we can collaborate and weave together solutions that we have been building in our own organizations—and collectively take them as MASSA.

DAY 3

Field Discussion in BangunKarya and Kampung Perjuangan

22 October 2024



Photos: MASSA members at SPP's Pangandaran headquarters participated in a ceremonial tree planting and photo-ops before heading up to Bangun Karya, where the third day of the conference would be held. The tree planting served as a symbolic gesture of SPP's solidarity with MASSA—representing a seed of shared struggle and hope that will grow and take root in the soil of Pangandaran village.

On the third day, the host organization, SPP, brought the conference to two villages in Pangandaran. The first visit was to an upland village of Bangunkarya, where the community has allocated 15 hectares of agroforestry land and where the collective endeavor of co-creating the MASSA college will be established.

The trip to Bangunkarya took about 40 minutes from the Pangandaran coastal plain. As the conference participants disembark from their transport they were welcomed warmly by the villagers, who had prepared for the occasion in advance. A short ceremony with the local officials and residents was then held in the village to commemorate SPP's commitment and partnership with MASSA in the collective endeavor to establish a tertiary education school that will promote an alternative educational curriculum to serve the community's needs.



Photo: Participants of the 6th Conference signing the SPP banner before entering the conference's venue: it is part of the village's warm welcome to MASSA.

Warm Welcome in Bangunkarya

Erni, a representative of Serikat Petani Pasundan (SPP), delivered the opening remarks, acknowledging the presence of MASSA delegates and guests from Jakarta and Bandung.

Erni highlighted the village's journey toward development, emphasizing the community's long-standing struggle for land rights. She recounted how, 15 years ago, the villagers fought for their land, eventually securing 760 hectares as part of an agrarian reform initiative. With government support, Bangunkarya received village funding in 2016, leading to significant improvements such as road construction and electrification.

She underscored the importance of solidarity, stating that Bangunkarya was built through a strong sense of brotherhood, sisterhood, and familial bonds. The village is now recognized as a model for self-reliant and community-driven development, having successfully transformed itself through collective action.

After her speech, Erni called upon the village head, Yahya Suryana to speak on behalf of the community residents. Yahya, the Head of the Village, expressed gratitude for the visit, acknowledging the honor of hosting international guests. He shared his commitment to improving Bangunkarya's farmers' lives, emphasizing the need for dignity and self-sufficiency.

His leadership journey began in 2013. By 2014, he had taken charge of the Kampung (village). They lacked formal land titles at that time, but he worked diligently to secure funding from the government. The majority of the people in Bangunkarya village are farmers. By 2015-2016, these efforts led to financial support for infrastructure projects, resulting in the construction of roads and the introduction of electricity in 2017. SPP is also active in this village.

Yahya stressed the importance of collaboration between the local government and the Serikat Petani Pasundan (SPP), under the leadership of Agustiana, in ensuring sustainable village development. *"Bekerja sama dengan SPP adalah keharusan untuk kesejahteraan masyarakat di Bangun Karya"*. [Working together with SPP is a must for the welfare of the Bangun Karya community.] Over the past 11 years, Bangunkarya has evolved from government-owned land into a fully recognized community space, reinforcing his promise that the village will always belong to its people.

"Sebelas tahun yang lalu tanah ini adalah tanah negara yang diolah oleh perum Perhutani. Tanah negara ini ada di wilayah Bangun Karya, kenapa kami pemerintah desa harus kalah dengan Perum Perhutani?.. Seiring berjalannya waktu Perum Perhutani akan bubar!. Saya tidak takut karena ini semua demi kepentingan masyarakat". ["Eleven years ago, this land was state land managed by Perhutani. It is this Bangun Karya area. Why should we, the

village government, allow to loose this land to Perhutani? As time goes by, Perhutani will be dissolved! I am not afraid because this is all for the benefit of the community.”]

Yahya also shared that Bangun Karya village is located on government land managed by a state forestry company, but it remains an integral part of the village, even though the community does not own every parcel of land. He expressed hope and promise that in the years ahead, the forestry company will leave. He also recalled that household incomes in Bangun Karya have also significantly increased: from seven hundred thousand rupiahs to three million rupiahs per month per household. He once again thanked all participants and MASSA for committing to build the college, promising his continued support for it.

Ceremonial Awarding of the MASSA College in *Bangunkarya, West Java*

The Head of Village expressed his appreciation for MASSA’s efforts in initiating the construction of a school in Bangunkarya. He assured the village’s full support for this development and confirmed that infrastructure, including roads leading to the school, would be built to facilitate access. After his speech, a video footage showing the landscape of the 15-hectare area where MASSA College is to be built was shown to the audience. The video underscored that just like how the community cares for nature, this attitude will be embodied by the envisioned MASSA college.

Dr. Eduardo C. Tadem of the University of the Philippines was invited to share his thoughts. He expressed his deep joy and appreciation for the SPP, the villagers of Bangunkarya, and the leadership of the community. He emphasized the significance of MASSA College, describing it as a groundbreaking and unique initiative that has never been attempted before in Southeast Asia. He underscored that MASSA College represents an alternative educational model, distinct from traditional schools that primarily serve the demands of the market and capitalism. Instead, MASSA College is designed not to serve the market, but to serve the people.

Dr. Tadem acknowledged the challenges ahead but affirmed his confidence that these could be overcome, given the collective commitment to improving the lives of marginalized communities. He envisioned a curriculum and courses that are innovative, people-centered, and inclusive, catering to sectors that have

long been excluded from mainstream education, including workers, persons with disabilities (PWDs), and members of the LGBTQIA+ community. Through this initiative, he emphasized, these marginalized groups will not only be included but will become central to society's progress.



Photo: Dr. Tadem receives the certificate of appreciation on behalf of MASSA from Serikat Petani Pasundan and local officials of Bangunkarya.

In closing, he extended MASSA's solidarity with SPP and Bangunkarya, affirming their shared commitment to building an alternative and people-centered educational institution. "Let's do it! Viva SPP! Viva Bangunkarya! Viva MASSA!"

Thematic Exchange on the Role of Women in Agrarian Reform

Yani Srimulyani, Wati, Lasminah, Ani, Ai Dinah, and Suryani

SPP women leaders

Following the ceremony were three thematic sessions hosted with the community. The first session featured six women leaders across SPP, who shared their experiences in shaping their communities to appreciate feminist values and collective care.

The all-women panel from across generations of SPP was the main knowledge resource of the day. The discussion took center stage on how the *perempuan* [women] have historically taken part in the land reclaiming and agrarian reform movement. Female leadership is one of the most important milestones in the SPP struggle. This session highlighted how communities would be significantly stronger with women's contributions.

Yuli stood as the moderator of this session. To kick off the discussion, she mentioned the challenges women face, including systemic inequalities and the struggles they endure, even from within their own gender. She further emphasized the role of women in the struggle for land/ agrarian reform in Indonesia. She also stressed the importance of creating spaces like this for women to share their experiences and struggles, emphasizing that their voices are integral to the broader movement for social and agrarian justice.

With women now having more leadership roles within SPP, there are currently 200 women leaders from across the 70 villages in the 6 districts of West Java. Representing them in this panel are: Yani Srimulyani, Wati, Lasminah, Ani, Ai Dinah, and Suryani.



Photo: Panel of SPP women leaders (L-R: Yani Srimulyani, Wati, Lasminah, Ani, Ai Dinah, and Suryani) sharing their stories, narratives and insights about the role of women in the fight for agrarian reform and community welfare with Yuli (extreme left) as the moderator

The first speaker is Yani. She is from SPP Garut who has been active since 1995, the year when SPP organizing started in this district. She started to join the movement as a student and a member of the youth organization Forum Pemuda Pelajar Mahasiswa Garut (FPPMG) which gave birth to SPP. She stands as one of the founding members of SPP and currently sits on its board. She also works as the coordinator for KPA (Konsortium Pembaruan Agraria) in East Java.

She clarified that the villages have several struggles and there are various organizations composed of women. But not all women are fighting for agrarian reform. Most women's organizations in the area center on healthcare and childcare, leaving a gap in formal structures that address women's role in land ownership and management. SPP took the initiative to educate and mobilize women, ensuring that they are not only included in the land rights movement but also become leaders within it.

She then criticizes PKK (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga), a massive women's organisation created during the Soeharto era that only concerns women's duty as a (good) wife confined to do reproductive and domestic roles such as cooking, taking care of the children, and their husbands. Women

here are framed to take care of the family, thus alienating them to understand and get involved in other issues that affect them such as land rights and land reform. Recognizing this, Yani underscored that:

“Bagi SPP keterlibatan perempuan dalam perjuangan agraria sangatlah penting. Keterlibatan perempuan dalam SPP merupakan sejarah yang panjang. Perempuan-perempuan di SPP mempunyai tanggung jawab yang sama dengan laki-laki untuk bersama-sama memperjuangkan hak atas tanah”. [“For SPP, the women’s involvement in the agrarian struggle is deeply crucial. It reflects a long history. SPP women and men carried the same responsibility to fight together for land rights.”]

Yani acknowledged the many challenges that came with organizing women for agrarian reform, but she highlighted the strong sense of solidarity within SPP. Women consistently bring their struggles to the group, where they support one another in finding solutions and strategies. Their participation is not limited to ownership disputes. They also engage in land use planning, sustainable agriculture, and political demonstrations at both local and regional levels.

Yani described that women in SPP are deeply embedded in the movement, marching alongside the men during protests and negotiations, but also standing in the frontline to defend the land. Their strong presence in the agrarian struggle has not only strengthened SPP but has also shaped the next generation of leaders. Yani noted that the continuity of the movement relies heavily on women’s leadership, making them indispensable for the future of agrarian reform. This explains why the next generation becomes aware of their situation.



Photo: Yani Srimulyani explaining the importance of the role of women in agrarian reform, and the necessity of strengthening women’s organizing in communities

A key achievement of SPP is ensuring that land redistribution policies recognize women's rights, with ownership titles equally shared between men and women. One concrete result is the redistribution of land with land certifications also under the name of women: a 50-50 scheme. This marks a significant step toward gender justice in agrarian reform that affirms women's rightful place as landowners and decision-makers. SPP encourages the next generation to carry on this land distribution model.

Yani ended her point by stressing that the fight for land rights is not just about ownership. It is about dignity, sustainability, and securing a just future for the next generation. By continuing to organize, educate, and mobilize, women in SPP are transforming the landscape of agrarian reform and ensuring that their voices shape the future of their communities.

On women's empowerment, collective action, and the transformative impact of agrarian reform in their communities

Yuli asked what is special about SPP.

Wati opened the discussion by affirming the difference of SPP with other organizations. She explained that SPP is different from the others because its fight is contingent on the land. This equal recognition of men and women fosters non-discrimination. That is the purpose why land [titling] must also be equal. She compared this land ownership scheme within the Muslim tradition in Indonesia which is different from what SPP tries to realize. SPP champions that the land belongs to the people- to both men and women.

She also emphasized that equality is central to the movement where men and women work side by side. Although cultural and religious contexts may define gender roles differently, Wati stressed that the struggle for land rights transcends these differences, uniting all members of the community in a common cause.

Lasminah, a migrant worker, shared how she inherited her father's commitment to fighting for land rights. She expressed deep gratitude to SPP, which supported her family's claim to land and provided her with education about land reform. Through the SPP school, she not only learned about land rights but also about resilience and empowerment. She underscored that the movement addresses both physical and spiritual needs, providing a sense of purpose and dignity to those involved.

Lasminah has also joined demonstrations to defend their land and has experienced confronting the police. For her political development, she is grateful to have joined the ARAS (Academic Reformasi Agraria), an ongoing project with KPA which aims to calibrate the capacities of peasant women in organizing and management. This also boosts her courage as she used to get intimidation from the government and the gangs for her fight for agrarian reform.

Ani spoke about how SPP empowered her both as a woman and as an individual. She described her experiences struggling against the government's policies on land rights and building solidarity with fellow SPP members. For her, the movement is more than just a political fight—it is a source of meaningful relationships and shared experiences that have shaped her identity and strengthened her resolve.

The young Ai Dina, from Bangunkarya, shared that she was born into the SPP movement, with her parents being among the early generation members. For her, SPP looks after the family of the member. She also expressed deep appreciation for Agustiana. SPP taught her the values of kindness, equality, and human rights, as well as the significance of land and citizenship. Unlike other organizations where gender differences create barriers, she emphasized that SPP fosters inclusivity, ensuring that women fully participate in decision-making and community development.

She is an alumna of one of the SPP schools where she was taught agriculture, farming skills, activism, and leadership training. She said that SPP has an alternative curriculum that explains why her education went beyond traditional academic subjects. Now in college studying in Ciamis, she remains involved in SPP, even staying at the SPP secretariat office, balancing her academic responsibilities with her commitment to the movement.

Suryani, from SPP Cilawu, Garut, also started in SPP since childhood. She recounted that she was only aged 5 when she went to the forest with her parents to 'reclaim' it. For her, what is special about SPP is that it lives with the dignity of the people.

"Penduduk kampung kami selalu dipandang rendah oleh orang luar (kampung) karena pendidikan kami rendah, tidak percaya diri, miskin, kehidupan kami sangatlah susah. Tapi berkat SPP hidup kami berubah, kami lebih percaya diri. Sekarang orang lain lebih memandang kami. Orang bilang kampung kami adalah kampung dollar karena kami punya penghasilan luar biasa. Kami kaya".

["Our village used to be humiliated by outsiders because of our low educational level. Before we went to the village, our life was already hard up. People usually have low self-esteem. But when SPP came, everyone became confident, saw their identity. Most people already look up to us now. People say our village is "dollar village" because we have money. We are rich!"]

She highlighted SPP's transformative impact on her village, which was once marginalized, poor, and lacking access to education. With SPP's support, her village underwent a remarkable transformation as people now describe it a "dollar village", symbolizing their improved economic condition, greener farms, and better health and well-being.

She added that SPP members are also starting to have a space in decision making as well as in community governance. The women in their community have found their voices. They actively engage in activism, participate in local governance, and even compete in elections.

Yani added that Suryani actually holds a position as a community leader. She added that the stories shared by these SPP leaders reflect the indispensable role of women in the agrarian movement. They are not just fighting for land ownership but are also shaping its management, sustainability, and equitable distribution.

On sustaining the organization, the role of women in the leadership and their vision for the future

Yuli asked about the future of SPP if one day Agustiana is not anymore in the leadership: Who will replace him as the leader?

Each gave a word on how to continue Agustiana's work. The discussion centered on economic empowerment, women leadership development, education, and the dignity of women.

Wati stated that everyone can dream to become a leader if Pak Agus will no longer serve as the secretary-general. If it will be her, Wati's primary focus would be economic empowerment, recognizing that economic stability is crucial for sustaining the movement. She emphasized the need to develop dynamic women leaders who could not only participate but outshine others in leadership roles.

Ani shared that she would continue the same path, focusing on cultivating kind-hearted women leaders who would support both women and men in the movement. She stressed that a strong and united community requires both compassion and leadership development.

Suryani stressed the importance of continuing Agustiana's work while placing a stronger emphasis on women's education. She argued that if SPP wants intelligent and active leaders in the future, the education and empowerment of women must be prioritized. She recalled a lesson from her own schooling: *"Kepintaran seorang anak itu lahir dari ibunya, kita sebagai seorang perempuan harus cerdas, harus pintar. Anak-anak kita pun nantinya akan cerdas bahkan lebih cerdas."* [The intelligence and ability of a child is nurtured by a woman. If we want to develop future leaders, then we must first educate and empower the women who will raise these children.]

Lasminah recalled how she faced humiliation from men as a young woman. However, through the guidance of Pak Agus and SPP, she found courage. She emphasized that SPP has uplifted the dignity and position of women, ensuring that they are recognized as equals in the movement.

Yani, a veteran organizer for over 25 years, reflected on the evolution of SPP: "Initially, it was a male-dominated space, but gradually, their wives and eventually their children joined the struggle. These women here, I have watched them grow and become brave fighters for the struggle. We must give birth to new Agustianas—new powerful women with a bright spirit for SPP." Her vision for the future is to continue raising new leaders. *"Pertama memang kita mengorganisir bapak-bapak, lalu kita mengorganisir perempuan-perempuan, istri-istri dari anggota SPP. Kemudian kami melakukan hal yang sama mengorganisir anak-anak dari keluarga petani SPP. Saya menjadi saksi sejarah bagaimana Ai Dina sejak kecil dibawa orang tuanya berorganisasi hingga hari ini. Begitu juga Suryani mulai kecil hingga sekarang masih terus konsisten memperjuangkan apa yang diperjuangkan oleh orang tuanya. Saya merasa bertanggung jawab untuk terus melahirkan Agustiana-Agustiana yang baru untuk menjadi pemimpin dan pelopor perubahan di desa-desanya dan melahirkan pemimpin-pemimpin perempuan yang militan yang mempunyai jiwa kepedulian terhadap masyarakat kecil di desa maupun di kota"*.

She also shared that SPP is establishing training centers focused on agrarian reform. The building of the ARAS project, for her, will be a space for women organizing. This center will welcome not only SPP women but also other women farmers, in order to broaden the reach of agrarian training and education.

Yuli closed the discussion by further asking two key points: how SPP operationalizes gender equality in the land reclamation efforts; and how SPP provides both formal and informal education for all the women members.

Yani explained that the women have always been in the frontline of the struggle. SPP fosters "connective learning," where knowledge is passed from people to people. One of the interesting cases is the experience of a former migrant worker who came back to the village. She noted that SPP includes former migrant workers who have returned to reclaim their land. They are fully integrated into the movement. With these kinds of commitment, SPP women leaders are prepared to move forward the movement, ensuring that the fight for agrarian justice remains strong for generations to come.

Open Forum with SPP Women

On leadership transitions and the sustainability of agrarian movements

Jainal from the Indonesian Legal Aids Institution shared his observations on agrarian movements. The problem of this movement is time. It is really a long journey to fight and get back the rights including land. In some cases, the communities can get back their land but could not sustain the organization in terms of leadership and inter-generational governance. He noted that in some provinces, the agrarian struggle weakened due to leadership transfers. However, he was impressed by SPP's ability to develop and maintain strong leadership, particularly among the youth. He posed key questions to the group: 1) How has SPP maintained strong leadership over time?; 2) What is taught in SPP schools?; and 3) How does SPP ensure the sustainability of its movement?

Yani responded that it was difficult during the start. Building the school started in Garut in 2003 where she was one of the founding educators. The curriculum follows the national education standards set by the Ministry of Education, but SPP also integrates other learning approaches such as social analysis, organization, and SPP's history. All these reflect the agrarian struggle to ensure that students remain connected to their communities. The pedagogy is unique in the sense that it fosters a mutual learning process where both teachers and students learn from one another. This makes the teaching method different from other schools. The SPP school is "a school from the people, for the people".

Yani added that the socio-political regeneration happens through the formal SPP schools. The schools were not developed in isolation but were instead created through the initiative of local organizations that saw the need for an educational system rooted in the peasant struggle. The schools are self-supported by the members and this is the very foundation of sustaining them. Over time, SPP schools has successfully expanded, and today it operates 13 schools across West Java.

Recognizing the importance of both education and spiritual growth, SPP also established religious boarding schools, or *pesantren*, also built and financed through local efforts.

Outside of the 13 schools, SPP also has informal education for strengthening the ideology on agrarian reform such as the IPDA (Institut Pemberdayaan Desa dan Agraria or the Institute for Rural and Agrarian Empowerment). It is for all the SPP leaders and the village leaders. Many SPP leaders occupy positions in their village government such as head of village (*kepala desa*).

Yani highlighted several key strategies that SPP employs to sustain its movement. First, ideological training on land and farming is a central component of SPP's approach. These training sessions ensure that members, particularly the youth, remain committed to the principles of agrarian reform and sustainable farming practices. The movement also adopts an inclusive and equitable or mass-based approach, where education and training are not limited to a select few but are extended to all students, from primary to high school. This ensures that knowledge is continuously passed down through generations.

Informal learning also means that education takes place through everyday activities, community gatherings, and training programs. Furthermore, SPP actively commemorates significant national events such as the National Agrarian Day, reinforcing the historical and political importance of the struggle.

SPP's ability to maintain a strong leadership base, even among its youth, is deeply rooted in its educational system and ideological training. This integration of formal education, local knowledge, and grassroots organizing has successfully nurtured a new generation of SPP leaders who remain committed to the fight for agrarian justice.

On Care Work and Gender Roles in SPP

Arvin of UP CIDS AltDev critically asked how care work or social reproduction is distributed within SPP: Who takes care of the domestic work including child-rearing?

Lasminah said care work is approached collectively in SPP. Every activity within the organization is shared among members and there is a culture of discussing responsibilities with husbands to ensure equal participation. She shared that her husband fully supports her work as an organizer and has never placed her behind him. If she is not able to do all domestic work, her husband will handle them. She also notes that her husband is also an SPP member. For her, the struggle for land rights is also a struggle against marginalization. She believes that collective action between men and women strengthens the movement.

Ani said her husband has always supported her engagement with SPP which has made her work in SPP more effective. He is a government employee. But because he understands, he rather encouraged her to join the struggle. And they both fight against marginalization. She stressed that when a husband supports his wife's activism, the household functions more harmoniously, and their contributions to the movement are strengthened.

Suryani provided a different perspective. Unlike Lasminah, her husband is not an active SPP member and was initially restrictive about her participation in the organization. He did not understand the importance of SPP's work and even discouraged her from attending meetings or engaging with other members. Through constant socialization and dialogue, her husband's attitude gradually changed. She then managed to convince him that SPP's interest is for them and their family. She added that Yani was even instrumental in convincing her husband. As he began to see the benefits of SPP's advocacy, his perspective shifted, and he became more accepting of her role in the organization.

Suryani added, if the man is active in the organization, he also helps the woman understand her role. The discussion usually extends until the evenings because during the day, members are occupied with agricultural work in the fields. She emphasized that women should be given opportunities to organize and that men must recognize the value of women's participation in social movements.

Follow-up from Arvin: Feminist organizations, particularly those from progressive blocs, often critique the way care work is traditionally relegated to women. While it is essential for sustaining life and community, the burden of

care has typically been assigned to the women, reinforcing gendered divisions of labor. Arvin asked whether SPP has created a space for women to organize while keeping them responsible for care work, or whether SPP has actively transformed care work and social reproduction as structured within families and communities.

Arvin clarified that care work here implies household tasks like cooking, cleaning, childcare, and emotional labor that are often unpaid and undervalued. Social reproduction, on the other hand, is broader. He refers to everything that sustains the workforce and society, from biological reproduction (having and raising children) to education and the passing down of cultural values. When care work remains solely a woman's responsibility, it limits women's ability to engage in political and economic life, reinforcing gender inequality.

Lasminah reiterated that in every SPP activity, she and her husband work collaboratively. Whatever needs to be done, whether cooking, cleaning, or other household tasks, they divide this domestic work equally. If she cooks, her husband washes the dishes. If she is too tired, her husband takes on the responsibilities. This balance allows them both to participate in SPP activities without one being overburdened.

Ani pointed out that the level of support women receive from their husbands depends on whether the husband is an SPP member. If a husband is actively involved in the organization, he is more likely to support his wife's organizing work. However, if he is not part of SPP, challenges arise and a woman must take the extra step of educating her husband to gain support.

The discussion highlighted that while many SPP members experience equal gender roles at home, others still face barriers due to traditional and cultural stereotypes. Some husbands naturally support their wives' activism, while others require ongoing dialogue and education to have a paradigm shift.

On women's participation in the SPP decision-making process

Mon Sy of UPCIDS AltDev asked how decisions are made between wife and husband within SPP.

Wati affirmed that women are always involved and can make decisions. She emphasized that if men refuse to listen, women will push back.

Suryani reinforced this point by stating that if men disregard their voices, the women have ways to assert themselves. One of them is a ‘sexual boycott’, a form of protest to their husband’s request for sexual contact. Through this act, she explained, the women make it clear that their role in decision-making cannot be ignored.

Yani concluded that they all feel empowered and they are ready to give themselves to empower other women. She likewise highlighted the importance of also empowering men to recognize and support gender equality. She realized women’s participation and women’s leadership is still a big challenge in many agrarian reform organisations that is why she and the other women leaders in SPP are ready to share and help other organizations to build women leadership within the organisation.

“Kami siap di-deploy kemanapun untuk membantu perempuan dan membangun kepemimpinan perempuan, karena inilah pentingnya membangun solidaritas, saling menumbuhkan, menguatkan dan saling membesarkan. Hidup Perempuan!” [We are ready to deploy to everywhere to help boost women’s participation and women leadership. Long live the women!]

Yuli’s summary of the panel discussion: SPP fosters an environment of collective responsibility, where both men and women contribute to the land rights struggle. The organization also plays a crucial role in changing social norms by advocating for women’s full participation in leadership and activism. The consensus among the speakers was that when women are empowered and given the space to lead, the entire movement benefits.

Participatory mapping and counter-cartography: Foregrounding alternative narratives as climate action

Asst. Prof. Ma. Simeona Martinez

Co-convenor, Program on Alternative Development



Photo: Asst. Prof. Simeona ‘Ony’ Martinez explaining the workshop process on counter-cartographies and participatory mapping session.

In the second workshop, UP CIDS AltDev Co-Convenor Ma. Simeona Martinez facilitated a counter-mapping workshop to visualize alternatives across Southeast Asia to chart people’s struggles and aspirations, map out sites of alternative practices, and identify climate-related actors and issues that subject communities to extreme climate events. In the third session, the Global Tapestry of Alternatives conducted a “weaving session” wherein they introduced to the community the regional networks and strategies of Vikalp Sangam in India and Crianza Mutuas in Mexico.

For the Counter-Cartographies and Participatory Mapping session, Assistant Professor Ony Martinez provided an overview of the history, purpose, and uses of maps. Maps have long been wielded as tools of power, historically employed by colonizers to claim and control lands that indigenous and local communities have inhabited for generations. Today, this practice persists, as mining

companies create maps that highlight the resources in peoples' territories while disregarding the lived realities of the people who reside there. These maps are often incomplete or inaccurate, failing to fully capture the farmlands, coastal areas, and communities as they truly exist. Moreover, many of these maps do not reflect indigenous languages, further alienating communities from their land and heritage.

If the state asserts authority over land through mapping, then we, too, must create our own maps, those that accurately depict our local practices, livelihoods, and the ways we sustain our communities. Maps are not merely instruments of conquest; they are also tools of understanding. They help us interpret our surroundings, serving as graphical representations made up of symbols that communicate the realities of our landscapes. More than that, maps shape our spatial consciousness, enabling us to recognize the interconnectedness of land, people, and resources.

Mapping has always been a collective endeavor, deeply rooted in collaboration and shared knowledge. This principle forms the basis of participatory mapping—a process in which communities create and use maps themselves to ensure that their knowledge, experiences, and aspirations are accurately represented. Participatory mapping allows people to reclaim control over how their lands and resources are understood and managed. It has proven particularly valuable in counter-mapping, where communities challenge official maps by documenting ancestral domains, customary practices, and land-based traditions that have long been ignored or erased by state and corporate interests.

To emphasize the power of map-making, participants engaged in a collective mapping activity. Divided into four groups, they used symbols and materials to share their knowledge, experiences, and perspectives on climate change, as well as their aspirations for their communities. This exercise underscored the power of mapping as a tool not only for resistance but also for climate action and local sustainability. Through participatory mapping, communities can assert their rights, preserve their histories, and actively shape their own futures.

Group 1: Mapping the Struggle, Charting Our Aspirations

This activity allows participants to visually map the struggles and challenges in their communities while also illustrating their aspirations for change. Using simple materials like paper, pencils, and crayons, they sketch key landmarks—homes, farms, schools, and roads—alongside contested spaces, environmental

hazards, or other disruptions affecting their daily lives. Labels and descriptions provide context, helping to highlight the root issues their communities face.

Beyond identifying problems, participants also draw their hopes and visions for a better future. After creating their maps, they share their insights in small groups, discussing common struggles and unique perspectives. A representative from each group then presents their findings to the plenary, fostering a collective understanding of their communities' realities and aspirations for change.

Group 2: Participatory Mapping of Alternatives across Southeast Asia

This activity aims to gather and map alternative practices across Southeast Asia, allowing participants to visually represent innovative and community-driven solutions in their local areas. Working in two teams, participants will use a large map of the region to identify and list alternative practices in their communities, writing brief descriptions on metacards or sticky notes. They will then use various materials—found objects, yarn, beads, push pins, and adhesives—to mark locations where these practices take place, ensuring that each identified initiative is represented with both a symbol and a description.

Beyond simply mapping these practices, participants will explore connections between them. Using yarn, they will link similar or complementary initiatives across the region, illustrating the ways in which local practices resonate beyond their immediate contexts. The activity encourages discussion, as participants will have around 30 minutes to share and reflect on their experiences, strengthening their collective understanding of alternative approaches and fostering regional solidarity.

Group 3: Counter-mapping the climate crisis

This activity aims to call out corporations, governments, international agencies, and other influential institutions whose projects and interventions have worsened climate change impacts across Southeast Asia. Using a world map as a backdrop, participants will identify key actors responsible for exacerbating local vulnerabilities. They will write down their findings on sticky notes or metacards, detailing the specific harms caused by these entities, such as environmental destruction, displacement, or intensified climate crises.

Through discussion, they will ensure that local experiences and perspectives are captured in the exercise.

Once identified, participants will pin these notes to the corresponding locations on the map, visually representing the global forces affecting Southeast Asian communities. This mapping process will take 20 minutes, followed by a 10-minute session where the group presents their findings to the plenary. The exercise not only highlights the global scale of climate injustice but also strengthens collective awareness, equipping participants with a clearer understanding of the structural forces behind the climate crisis and the need for solidarity in addressing them.

Plenary Reporting

After 30 minutes, every group was asked to return to their seats and choose a representative/s to share their work.

For the first group, Anji, a KPRI member shared that in Paradijang, mapping has played a crucial role in representing the community's perspective on their land and resources. Unlike conventional top-down maps that often overlook local realities, the villagers' perspective highlights significant features such as rice fields and water sources, which are vital to their way of life. A key area of contention has been Pada Rinchang, a geothermal site where past conflicts arose over water resource control. Despite previous struggles, the community successfully reclaimed these essential resources, reaffirming their right to manage their land.



Photo: KPRI youth members sharing the threat of development aggression in Paradijang due to a geothermal plant project

However, new threats have emerged as plans to construct a large geothermal plant pose significant risks to both Paradijang and its neighboring communities, who are now being drawn into the conflict. Local farmers and agrarian workers, supported by Serikat Perjuangan Rakyat (SAPAR)—a grassroots movement with religious foundations—continue to assert that resources belong to the people and must serve their needs rather than corporate interests. The ongoing struggle in Paradijang reflects the broader resistance against large-scale industrial projects that threaten local livelihoods, water security, and community autonomy.

Meanwhile, another representative from the first group shared about the Sumatra map. The geo-narrative mapping of Sumatra, presented by Sastro and another KPRI member, highlighted the deep historical and spiritual connections between indigenous communities and their land. Out of the 76 villages in Sumatra, 24 have actively mapped their histories, emphasizing that understanding the past is crucial before charting their struggles. The Rakyat Penunggo, an indigenous society established in 1953, has long upheld a spiritual relationship with the land, where each place has a guardian spirit (*penunggo*) that protects the forest.

Even before colonial rule, these communities practiced Adat Law, which dictated how forests were opened and used sustainably. When the Dutch colonizers arrived, they exploited the land but acknowledged indigenous rights through four compensation conditions: allowing Indigenous Peoples (IPs) to access their land, recognizing their spiritual connection to the forest, granting the right to expand landholdings upon reaching adulthood, and ensuring that unused lands would revert to land defenders. However, upon Indonesia's independence, nationalization policies displaced the IPs rather than returning the land to them. As a result, many indigenous people who fought for their rights were killed by the state.

In response to ongoing land dispossession, the Badan Perjuangan Rakyat Indonesia (BPRI) was founded in 2003 to defend indigenous lands and communities. The organization remains active today, guided by four key principles: remembering history, maintaining regularization and leadership development (especially for women and youth), fostering solidarity beyond familial ties, and building economic power through cooperatives. The community continues to resist land grabbing, particularly by state-backed entities such as PRPN, and demands the return of 10,000 hectares of land and financial restitution. Their struggle has led to tangible victories, including the

occupation of 2,000 hectares by 24,000 people, legally reclaiming their rights to use and protect the land. In villages like Kampung, the spirit of resistance persists, with collective decision-making and sustained efforts to fight for the people and uphold the movement for indigenous self-rule.

The second group reflected on the map's limitations in accurately representing alternatives, noting that its size constrained their ability to map diverse initiatives. They observed a visible concentration of alternatives in certain areas, particularly Philippines and Indonesia, which highlighted gaps in other regions. This lack of mapped alternatives raised the need for MASSA to expand its reach and efforts in these underrepresented places, ensuring that more communities are engaged and included in the movement for alternative solutions.



Photo: The second group, which is composed of representatives from Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, and Cambodia, working on their map of alternatives in the region

For the third group that mapped climate-related challenges, the representatives highlighted three key dimensions of climate-related challenges: (1) the direct impacts of climate change, such as flooding, drought, migration, melting ice, and sea level rise; (2) the ways in which climate change has intensified destructive and extractive industries, particularly mining, which further depletes biodiversity and disrupts ecosystems; and (3) broader socio-political issues linked to environmental degradation, including conflict, war, and the role of institutions like the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the World

Mon further emphasized that counter-mapping is a strategic tool that organizations can integrate into their advocacy work. By mapping their campaigns and struggles, movements can better visualize the scope of issues they face, build stronger solidarity networks, and develop more effective strategies for resistance and reclamation. Maps, once used as tools of oppression, are now being reclaimed as instruments of empowerment, helping communities take back control over their narratives and their lands.

Weaving Alternatives: Global Tapestry of Alternatives -

Shrishtee Bajpai, Vasna Ramasar, and Carlos Tornel,

Global Tapestry of Alternatives

In this session, members of GTA shared about this global network's structure, work, and process in weaving alternatives. MASSA is among the weavers of GTA.

Vikalp Sangam: A Confluence of Alternatives in India

Shrishtee Bajpai

Vikalp Sangam

Vikalp Sangam serves as a gathering space for diverse alternative movements across India, bringing together different ways of knowing, doing, and imagining the future. It emerged in response to the fragmentation among issue-based organizations, which often operate in isolation despite sharing common goals. By fostering dialogue among groups working on various advocacies, Vikalp Sangam creates opportunities for collaboration, mutual learning, and collective action.



Photo: Shrishtee Bajpai sharing the work of Vikalp Sangam in making alternatives more visible and facilitating sharing amongst practitioners

One significant example of this convergence is the Maha Gram Sabha in Gadchiroli, Maharashtra. Recognizing the urgent need to unite against mining threats, a federation of 90 villages came together to assert their rights over forest lands based on sacred territorial boundaries. This movement was not only a response to external exploitation but also an effort to address internal injustices within their communities. Through collective decision-making and grassroots organizing, they reclaimed control over their land and livelihoods, demonstrating the power of solidarity in resisting destructive development projects.

Efforts towards indigenous self-rule and alternative governance models have been gaining momentum across India. In Mendha-Lekha, Maharashtra, the community has undertaken the radical step of commoning all private lands, ensuring that resources are shared and managed collectively rather than owned individually. This approach strengthens communal stewardship over land and natural resources, reinforcing traditional governance structures that prioritize ecological sustainability and social equity.

Similarly, the Deccan Development Society (DDS) has been at the forefront of empowering marginalized communities, particularly Dalit women farmers. Through collective farming initiatives, DDS promotes food sovereignty, livelihood security, and the conservation of traditional agricultural practices. A major aspect of their work involves securing women's land rights and reviving traditional crop diversity, particularly millet cultivation. By documenting and narrating their own stories of struggle and resilience, these women reclaim agency over their knowledge and agricultural heritage.

Beyond rural struggles, movements advocating for the Right to a Sustainable City have emerged, with urban communities working to reclaim decision-making processes in their cities. These movements emphasize self-reliance in essential resources like water, resisting top-down planning that disregards the needs and aspirations of local populations.

Vikalp Sangam (VS) plays a crucial role in supporting these diverse initiatives by making alternative stories visible and facilitating knowledge exchange. It provides a space for communities to collaborate, learn from each other, and collectively envision new possibilities.

The VS website serves as a repository for these experiences, documenting over 200 stories of alternatives, including more than 100 films, making these narratives accessible to a broader audience and fostering deeper engagement with grassroots innovations.

Crianza Mutuas Mexico (Mutual Nurturing Mexico)

Carlos Tornel, PhD.

The Crianza Mutua Mexico (CMM) initiative is a network-based process rooted in the principles of Zapatismo and emerging from the University of the Earth in Oaxaca, Mexico. It aims to identify, document, and connect “entramados comunitarios” or community networks that are actively dismantling everyday hierarchies, practicing the principle of sufficiency, and building autonomy from both the market and the state.



Photo: Representative of Crianza Mutua Mexico, Carlos Tornel, explains 'entramados comunitarios' (community networks) which are informal organizations that the network aims to connect and bring together

Inspired by the Andean notion of mutual nurturing—a way of relating that emphasizes learning, care, and reciprocal support among all beings—CMM invites groups that have broken with the dominant regime and embarked on alternative paths. These networks are characterized not by institutional structure but by shared motives, deep relationships, and political affection.

Entramados are not necessarily formal organizations but expressions of “societies in movement,” where collaboration for survival and transformation arises from bonds of friendship and solidarity. The initiative is committed to bringing visibility to these frameworks and practices as a form of collective resistance and inspiration.

The community networks that CMM seeks to articulate must embody concrete practices that dissolve hierarchies, foster life-affirming behaviors respectful of Mother Earth and all beings, and resist all forms of racism, sexism, and statist violence. These groups build autonomy not as isolation, but as joyful creativity and relational interdependence, intentionally avoiding the commodification of daily life and reducing the consumption and production of goods.

In essence, CMM welcomes frameworks that suppress hierarchies through horizontal coordination, practice sufficiency as a way to live well, and construct expanding zones of autonomy—laying the foundations for a new society already in the making.

Global Tapestry of Alternatives

Dr. Vasna Ramasar

The Global Tapestry of Alternatives (GTA) is an initiative aimed at weaving together diverse efforts around the world toward systemic transformation. It emerged from the recognition of an intertwined polycrisis—including the neoliberal agenda, cognitive injustice, food insecurity, data mining, tax injustice, extractivism, and ecological degradation—that demands collective resistance and imaginative alternatives. In response to these crises, countless movements and communities are actively resisting capitalism, state domination, patriarchy, racism, and colonialism, while simultaneously nurturing other ways of being, knowing, working, and dreaming.

Across the globe, constructive alternatives are flourishing. These include practices such as agroecology and permaculture, the assertion of climate justice, philosophies like ubuntu, ukama, and unhu, worker-owned production models, food sovereignty, biocivilizational thinking, degrowth, the solidarity economy, and the commons. These practices are grounded in values and ethics that emphasize diversity and pluralism, self-reliance for basic needs, radical democracy and self-governance, and a collective spirit rooted in cooperation, solidarity, and conviviality. Other shared threads include dignity and creativity in labor, equity, justice, meaningful participation, respect for all life forms, non-violence, simplicity, sufficiency, reciprocity, and an overarching celebration of life, interconnectedness, and joy.

Despite this richness, a major gap persists: these alternatives often remain scattered, fragmented, and disconnected, lacking a critical mass or a global platform for mutual learning, exchange, and collective empowerment. To address this, the Global Tapestry of Alternatives was proposed at the Degrowth Conference in Budapest in 2016, drawing inspiration from India's Vikalp Sangam and parallel initiatives in Mexico, Colombia, and other parts of the world. The concept gained further momentum through engagements at global events such as Degrowth Conferences in Malmö (2018) and Mexico City (2018), the Systemic Alternatives Symposium (2019), and the World Social Forum on Transformative Economies (2019). With support and endorsements from global and regional networks, an initial core team was formed, and the GTA was formally launched in 2019 as a space for mutual recognition, weaving, and amplification of alternatives that are already building a more just, caring, and joyful world.

Its core objectives include creating spaces for collaboration, learning, and mutual exchange; giving visibility to transformative alternatives through mapping, documentation, and outreach; offering active solidarity when needed; inspiring and supporting new initiatives; facilitating collective visioning of a just world; and building a critical mass for macro-level systemic change.



Photo: Vasna Ramasar, a member of the GTA facilitation team, explains how it functions as a collaborative and evolving process

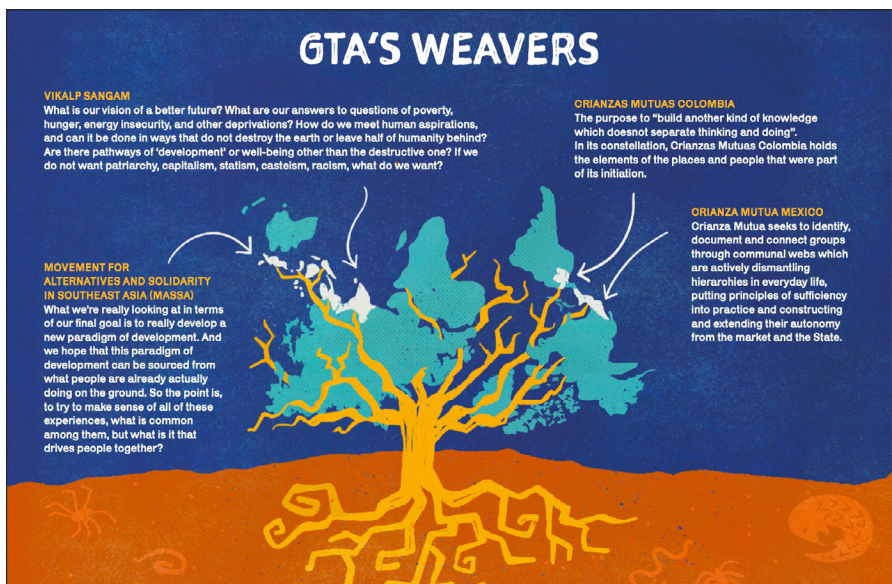
The process of GTA is rooted in fostering cross-cultural, cross-language, and cross-sectoral dialogues that honor multiple ways of being, doing, and understanding. Through creative communication strategies and joint gatherings, the initiative promotes the visibility of alternatives while encouraging mutual participation in each other's events. Central to this process is the co-creation of shared narratives and syntheses of radical alternatives, not only to complement but also to challenge one another in constructive ways.

Rather than an organization, GTA is intentionally structured as a process with no central controlling authority. It is held together by a 'facilitation team' who are a group of individuals committed to decentralization and horizontal weaving of movements. This praxis of weaving alternatives involves future visioning, people-to-people dialogues, intergenerational learning, confluences, and gatherings to deepen solidarity and reflection.

GTA undertakes a variety of activities, including a vibrant webinar series launched during the COVID-19 pandemic, focusing on themes such as resilience in times of crisis, alternative economies, and radical education. Dialogues among weavers have become a cornerstone for strengthening

mutual understanding and collaboration. The initiative also publishes a regular “Weaving Alternatives” compilation—highlighting stories of grassroots resilience—and conducts meta-mapping and collaborative documentation through open-source platforms. The Post-Development Academic Activism Group (PEDAGOG) serves as a GTA-affiliated space for scholarly engagement with radical alternatives beyond dominant development paradigms.

Moreover, GTA actively participates in global forums and initiatives, engaging in acts of resistance and nurturing radical alternatives on the world stage. It has spearheaded Adelante, a dialogue space between global processes and allied formations, including Grassroots to Global, the Global Green New Deal, Progressive International, the Beyond Development Global Working Group, the Towards a New World Social Forum group, and the Multiconvergence initiative. Through these efforts, GTA is not only a platform but also a living tapestry that connects and amplifies grounded alternatives shaping the contours of another possible world. Finally, an illustration was shown that depicted GTA’s weavers such as Vikalp Sangam, Crianzas Mutuas Colombia, Crianza Mutua Mexico, and Movement for Alternatives and Solidarity in Southeast Asia (MASSA).



In the photo: The Global Tapestry of Alternatives Diagram of Weavers

Solidarity Night

Kampung Perjuangan, West Java

Following the discussion, participants were invited to visit another village under the stewardship of SPP - concluding the day with a cultural solidarity night at the Kampung Perjuangan. The journey from Bangunkarya to Kampung Perjuangan involved a 30-minute vehicle ride, a short hike, and a river crossing. Upon arrival, the villagers warmly welcomed each conference participant with a personal handshake, forming a line to greet them individually and extend their hospitality.



Photo: Participants crossing the river through a bamboo raft and rope to Kampung Perjuangan for the Solidarity Night

A communal dinner, lovingly prepared by the villagers, was served on a long banquet table, encouraging everyone to share in the spirit of solidarity and togetherness. The evening culminated in a vibrant cultural night featuring a series of performances. Both traditional and contemporary song and dance numbers were presented by conference participants and local residents, celebrating the richness of cultural exchange. A guest artist also performed, further energizing the gathering and adding to the festive atmosphere.



Photo: Conference participants enjoying a traditional Sundanese banquet prepared by the community, especially the ibu ibu (women).



Photo: Members of the host community performing a traditional Sundance dance on stage, while MASSA participants below try to follow their dance steps

Through the song dance performances, participants were able to celebrate and showcase their diverse talents that symbolized their shared commitment to solidarity and collective action.



Photo: Villagers and participants enjoying the music of one of the performances during the cultural solidarity night.

The day, though long and physically demanding, proved to be deeply fulfilling. Participants gained valuable insights from the rich exchange of ideas and experiences on alternatives from around the world, facilitated by the various organizations present. The conference was capped by the cultural solidarity night, where shared meals, laughter, and performances brought everyone together in celebration. As the night came to a close, participants left with renewed energy, strengthened connections, and spirits lifted by a sense of collective purpose and joy.

DAY 4

Synthesis and MASSA Business Meeting

On the final day of the conference, October 24, 2024, the program began with a recap of the previous days' discussions. Facilitated by Angging and Yuli, the session revisited key themes and insights, placing particular emphasis on the importance of people-to-people exchanges and solidarity in confronting shared struggles. The discussion underscored the need for ongoing dialogue and collaboration on common issues, ensuring that conversations initiated in the conference would extend into sustained collective action.

One of the central insights highlighted was the critical role of political education and awareness-raising—both in formal and informal spaces—in deepening understanding of interconnected issues such as gender, climate justice, and intersectionality. Another key takeaway was the collective commitment to documenting alternative practices as vital sources of knowledge and resistance. Participants also emphasized the importance of mutual cooperation, care work, and partnerships that enhance advocacy efforts and support mechanisms.

Concrete areas of action included people-to-people exchanges on gender justice, popular education initiatives, and economic support for cooperatives and fair trade movements. Organizing strategies were also discussed, particularly the strengthening of movements through committee-based structures and collective decision-making processes. The session reinforced the importance of sustained engagement, collaboration, and shared learning in advancing just and sustainable alternatives.

Day 4 also focused on reviewing MASSA's structure, refining its vision and mission statements, expanding regional networks, and identifying potential funding strategies. In addition, the session continued ideation for the proposed MASSA College of Social Development. The day concluded with a renewed commitment to movement-building across Southeast Asia and an invitation to reconvene in Siem Reap, Cambodia in October 2025 for the 6th MASSA Conference.

On our potential energy as a movement: MASSA Internal Strengthening Process

Before formally beginning the planning discussions, Chandra emphasized the importance of planning in sustaining movements. He noted that while MASSA positions itself in opposition to corporations, it must recognize its capacity for long-term sustainability and thus adopt strategic planning and reassessment as key elements of its own strength.

Raquel acknowledged that the planning process was postponed from the 4th Conference due to time constraints but stressed the urgency of proceeding despite fatigue. She framed the session as a crucial step in MASSA's internal strengthening, ensuring that its vision and mission align with the needs and perspectives of its members.

On our collective understanding of Alternatives

Ed provided a foundational discussion on alternative practices, emphasizing that these are not abstract concepts but real, on-the-ground practices that communities have been engaging in for years. He categorized alternatives into four areas, with a particular focus on economic alternatives that prioritize livelihoods based on the commons principle. These alternatives are distinct from corporate and capitalist-driven models, as they emerge from the people's needs and collective actions rather than profit-driven motives. The goal is to connect these practices, foster collaboration, and develop collective solutions for Southeast Asian communities.

Ojan expanded on this by describing alternative regionalism as a means of connecting struggles across Southeast Asia, where regionalism is rooted in grassroots movements rather than state or elite-led integration.

From defining alternatives, a critical discussion emerged regarding MASSA's stance toward the 1%—corporations, capitalists, and dominant political forces. Ed posed the question of whether MASSA should work with them, to which Yuli initially responded affirmatively. However, Ed countered that the power and resources of the 1% necessitate resistance rather than collaboration.

Andrew added a broader analysis of power, arguing that it extends beyond military force to include cultural, media, and educational dominance, reinforcing the belief that alternatives do not exist. Drawing from Gramsci's

theory of hegemony, he stressed the need to challenge these entrenched ideas and rethink what it means to be Southeast Asian outside of the structures imposed by dominant forces.

Sastro highlighted the need to move beyond sectoral struggles, emphasizing the importance of regional engagements. He noted that while grassroots sectors such as urban poor communities and transport workers focus on specific issues, there is a pressing need for broader territorial organizing. He pointed to the consistency and endurance of corporate forces, which operate continuously and called for a similar level of coordination and persistence in people's movements. The presence of MASSA, he argued, provides a crucial space for connecting campaigns and finding common ground among different sectors. He also recognized the importance of global solidarity, citing the experiences of comrades from India, South Africa, and Mexico who engage in similar struggles through the Global Tapestry of Alternatives.

How we see our movement: MASSA's Vision and Mission

Raquel facilitated a brief activity in which participants were asked to discuss with their seatmates. They brainstormed whether these statements accurately articulated the organization's goals, whether they still resonated with the movement, and how they could be improved. The discussion centered on the importance of grounding MASSA's vision and mission in grassroots struggles, people-to-people interactions, and alternative regionalism. This exercise allowed for collective input on the organization's direction, ensuring that its foundational principles remain dynamic and responsive to evolving struggles.

Several key points emerged from the discussion. A representative from SPP emphasized the wisdom of local communities in shaping alternative regionalism, arguing that government-led policies, such as the Green Revolution, had erased Indigenous knowledge in favor of unsustainable development models. He stressed the need to explicitly recognize Indigenous Peoples (IPs) in MASSA's mission, as they have long maintained sustainable practices and food security. Others echoed this sentiment, emphasizing that policies should be shaped by the experiences of the 99%, rather than dictated by the 1%.

Participants then proposed modifications to the vision and mission statements. Yuli suggested emphasizing networking, knowledge-sharing, consciousness-building, and organization-building across and beyond Southeast Asia. A participant from SPP added that the mission should explicitly include resistance

by the 99% and efforts to expand political participation. Ziko from Jakarta highlighted the importance of including the dreams and hopes of grassroots movements, suggesting that the vision should be framed around the power of the people, justice, and human rights from below. Rizki further proposed that MASSA should develop guiding principles to ensure that alternative practices continue evolving in response to changing conditions in Southeast Asia. He stressed that the movement must go beyond documenting past experiences and actively generate new alternatives.

Ibek from SPK emphasized the need for inclusivity and regional solidarity, suggesting that the vision should explicitly reflect equitable and just regional cooperation. He also raised a critical point: while challenging the 1%, grassroots movements must acknowledge the presence of internal hierarchies. There is often an elite minority within these movements, and this reality must be addressed. Erni reinforced the importance of contextual sensitivity, noting that people-to-people exchanges must consider regional differences in how communities define concepts like *rakyat* in Indonesia and Timor-Leste. Meanwhile, Andrew cautioned that the language used in the vision and mission should be clear and accessible, avoiding overly academic phrasing.

Several overarching themes emerged from the discussion. First, participants called for the explicit recognition of the 99% and the wisdom of Indigenous and marginalized communities. Second, they emphasized the importance of resistance and political participation in shaping alternative regionalism. Third, inclusivity and intersectionality were identified as critical elements, with a call to ensure gender, disability, and other marginalized groups are represented. Fourth, there was broad agreement that the movement must continuously evolve, not just document past alternatives but actively create new ones. Finally, there was a strong push for simplifying the language of the vision and mission to make them more accessible.

Raquel concluded by acknowledging the depth of the discussion and the valuable insights shared. She assured participants that their feedback would be incorporated into the final revision of MASSA's vision and mission and encouraged them to continue reflecting and providing input as the process moves forward.

On the institutionalization of MASSA

The session on MASSA's governance structure focused on whether the organization should be institutionalized and how it could achieve a decentralized, democratic, and participative model. Raquel opened the discussion by outlining MASSA's current structure, which includes a steering committee composed of 15 organizations, a secretariat hosted by the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies (CIDS), and ad hoc committees for annual conferences. Participants were then asked to reflect on whether MASSA's existing structure was effective and whether institutionalization aligned with its goals.

The discussion revealed differing perspectives on institutionalization. Martha and her group supported formalizing MASSA's structure, citing the need for a secretariat to handle administrative work, a transitional leadership mechanism, and a program development arm. They emphasized that before expanding the steering committee, a representative board should be established to ensure geographic and issue-based inclusivity. Dika's group also supported institutionalization but stressed that leadership must remain collective. While a president or executive body may be necessary, decision-making should be built from below, potentially through referendums that engage all members. They highlighted the need for mechanisms that allow grassroots communities to actively shape MASSA's direction.

In contrast, other participants expressed concerns about institutionalization leading to bureaucratic constraints and potential co-optation by elite structures. Francelina's group opposed formalizing MASSA, arguing that institutionalization often aligns with the mechanisms of the 1% and risks making the movement less of an alternative force. Flaviano echoed this sentiment, questioning whether MASSA could truly claim to be an alternative if it followed conventional institutional models. He proposed sector-based administrative access instead of a centralized secretariat. For him, MASSA should embody democratic participation, where organizations have equal standing and draw strength from local wisdom.

A key issue raised was funding. Raquel questioned how non-institutionalized organizations, such as Komite Esperanza, sustain themselves and whether they could host future MASSA conferences. Francelina responded that Komite Esperanza relies on member contributions, avoiding government involvement to maintain independence. Bento noted that while MASSA itself does not need to be institutionalized, it can collaborate with institutionalized organizations

within its network. Seavmey saw both advantages and challenges in legalizing MASSA. Registration could provide funding opportunities and facilitate stakeholder engagement, but it also raised concerns about bureaucratic entanglements and the permanence of the secretariat. She suggested adopting a flat structure to ensure participatory decision-making while maintaining operational efficiency.

Rizki and Henry reinforced the idea that MASSA should prioritize institutionalizing knowledge rather than rigid structures. Henry proposed a flexible model where MASSA functions as a fluid network grounded in people-to-people connections rather than hierarchical governance. Ziko also opposed formal institutionalization, warning that it could create conflicts, particularly in managing funds. Instead, he suggested reshuffling the secretariat and steering committee every few years to prevent power consolidation. While acknowledging the challenges of membership contributions, he remained optimistic about MASSA's financial sustainability, given its strong grassroots base of farmers and labor unions.

Raquel sought clarification from Andrew, asking whether institutionalization necessarily meant government control. Andrew acknowledged the risk but argued that safeguards, such as accountability mechanisms and democratic oversight, could prevent elite capture. Ed provided a practical perspective, explaining that UP CIDS currently relies on external CSO and NGO partners to manage funds due to university bureaucratic constraints. Registering MASSA as a legal entity would allow it to receive funds directly, reducing inefficiencies while maintaining its democratic principles.

Sastro concluded by emphasizing that MASSA's governance should be strategic rather than rigidly defined. While legalization may not align with its broader vision, tactical approaches—such as selectively engaging with funding sources and maintaining autonomy—could help accelerate its goals. Raquel wrapped up the discussion by affirming that all perspectives would be considered in shaping MASSA's future governance model. She encouraged participants to continue refining their positions through online discussions, ensuring that the final decision reflects collective unity.

Growing together our alternatives: Expanding MASSA for Movement Building

The session focused on strategies for expanding MASSA while ensuring alignment with its core values and movement-building objectives. Raquel facilitated the discussion by dividing participants into groups, each assigned one of the following questions:

1. What are our criteria for membership?
2. How do we reach out and bring in new members?
3. How do we reanimate old members?

Meanwhile, three other groups were given the flexibility to work separately or collaboratively to address the question: What should be the three priority activities for 2025, and how should these be funded? Each group was given 15 minutes to deliberate and present their recommendations.

Group 1 (Andrew's group) emphasized that new members should be mass-based organizations committed to alternative, democratic, and equitable practices. They proposed that MASSA should actively seek out organizations that align with alternative regionalism (AltReg) and personally reach out to potential partners. Each member organization should take responsibility for bringing in at least one new group, reinforcing a collective effort in expansion. They also recommended developing a manifesto and communication kit to standardize outreach messaging and articulate MASSA's vision effectively.

Group 2 (Seavmey's group) proposed a mapping and assessment of both existing and potential members, using past research (such as the 2017 study) to identify aligned groups. They suggested creating engaging content showcasing MASSA's success stories to attract interest and utilizing online platforms to enhance accessibility and visibility. Additionally, they underscored the importance of referrals and endorsements from existing members to recruit new ones while ensuring alignment with MASSA's mission and vision. They also stressed the need for a strong commitment to participation and a diverse and inclusive membership, with a primary focus on Southeast Asia but not limited to ASEAN states.

Group 3 and Group 4 identified key programmatic priorities to guide MASSA's direction in 2025. Group 3 emphasized the need to expand popular education by making alternative education more accessible through grassroots initiatives and knowledge-sharing platforms. They also highlighted the importance of youth engagement, proposing mini-conferences and exchange programs to strengthen youth involvement in MASSA. Additionally, they stressed economic sustainability, advocating for a closed-loop economic system where groups within MASSA trade among themselves, focusing on food security and economic self-sufficiency. Alongside these priorities, they recognized the need to assess the pros and cons of registering MASSA in the Philippines, considering the potential legal and funding implications.

Group 4 reinforced similar themes, prioritizing food security and sovereignty through the strengthening of people's cooperatives to promote sustainable and autonomous food production. They also underscored the importance of environmental sustainability, advocating for waste management programs based on the 4R principles (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle, and Recover) as a means of both community development and securing funding through green initiatives. Lastly, they emphasized political education and cadre formation, recognizing the need to expand political education efforts to strengthen the movement's foundation, enhance membership engagement, and sustain MASSA's long-term goals. Together, these programmatic priorities reflect a comprehensive approach to movement-building, ensuring that MASSA continues to grow while staying true to its core principles.

The discussion on funding focused on identifying sustainable financial sources to support MASSA's initiatives while ensuring alignment with its principles. There was a consensus on two primary funding strategies: first, member contributions, which would encourage financial support from member organizations to sustain operations while maintaining financial independence; and second, capacity building for fund sourcing, which would involve strengthening MASSA's ability to seek funding from organizations working on relevant issues, including securing technical assistance to navigate grant applications and funding opportunities.

Raquel then posed an open-ended question regarding the engagement of corporations that wish to donate resources. This opened up a broader conversation on whether MASSA should accept corporate funding, the potential conditions attached, and how to ensure such engagements align with the network's principles of autonomy, democratic participation, and

social justice. While some recognized the potential benefits of corporate donations, concerns were raised about the risks of dependency, influence, and the ethical implications of such funding. The discussion underscored the importance of establishing clear guidelines on financial partnerships to prevent any compromises to MASSA's mission and values. Moving forward, further deliberations will be necessary to develop a funding strategy that balances sustainability with the movement's core principles.

Nourishing our supporters: On Funding Strategies

Marion Poirot, a partner representative from CCFD-Terre Solidaire, an external funder of MASSA, shared her insights on funding strategies based on her experience working directly within a funding organization. She emphasized the importance of securing financial resources to expand and strengthen the movement while maintaining independence from funders' agendas. Many organizations within MASSA value their autonomy, which raises the critical question of how to sustain financial stability without compromising their principles. One approach is to target reflexive funders, such as CCFD and 11.11.11, who align with MASSA's values. Mapping potential funders is essential, as organizations can be strategic in choosing donors, just as donors carefully select their beneficiaries.

Poirot highlighted that fundraising requires a diverse skill set and significant effort, including proposal writing, financial reporting, and maintaining ongoing communication with funders. A key challenge is how to share these responsibilities across the network efficiently, given the time-intensive nature of sustaining donor relationships. She advised that once partnerships are established, prioritizing long-term engagements would provide a more stable and secure funding stream.

She also shared that funders like CCFD actively research potential partners, often reviewing websites and reports to assess credibility and impact. In this regard, MASSA should ensure its activities are well-documented and communicated in reports and public engagements to enhance its visibility among funders. In addition to seeking external funding, alternative strategies such as member contributions and local donors should be considered. However, if a member contribution system is adopted, it is crucial to design a fair and equitable structure that accounts for the varying financial capacities of member organizations.

Insights/Suggestions: Reflections on MASSA

Prof. Ed recalled that during the 4th conference last year, Prof. Ben Quinones from ASEC introduced the idea of leveraging member organizations' assets as counterpart funding when applying for grants. He had previously asked each member organization to assess the total value of their assets, proposing that these could be used to match external funding sources. This strategy had proven effective for his organization, and he suggested that MASSA could adopt a similar approach.

Building on this, Prof. Ed proposed an alternative idea—encouraging each member organization to allocate a small portion of funds for MASSA in their funding proposals. He suggested contributions of around USD 1,000 to 2,000, which could be designated for specific purposes such as research, people-to-people exchanges, meetings, political education, conferences, or the development of the MASSA school. He urged member organizations to consider whether this approach would be feasible within their respective funding structures.

Ultimately, he emphasized the importance of clearly articulating the significance of their organizations and the collective value of MASSA. Strengthening the movement requires strategic financial planning, and integrating MASSA's priorities into funding efforts could be a step toward ensuring sustainability.

Discussion of MASSA School: College in Bangunkarya

Ricky Amukti



Photo: Ricky Amukti presenting the requirements necessary in building a college in Indonesia

Ricky prepared a presentation highlighting the key aspects to consider when building a college in Indonesia. Specifically, the session built upon the collective resolution to establish MASSA's College of Social Development (Sekolah Tinggi Pembangunan Sosial MASSA). As part of this ideation process, the session focused on the comprehensive and multifaceted steps involved in setting up a college in the country. Participants explored the legal, academic, infrastructural, and financial considerations essential for the successful establishment and long-term sustainability of higher education institutions in the Southeast Asia region.

1. Regulatory Requirements.

To initiate the establishment of a college, the Head of the Organizing Body must submit a formal request for a proposal to the Head of the Higher Education Service Institute (LLDIKTI) Region IV. This proposal will then undergo thorough analysis and evaluation by the LLDIKTI Region IV to

ensure that it meets the minimum requirements for accreditation, which include compliance with national higher education standards for both study programs and the university itself. The Organizing Body must be legally established with a notarial deed and must also possess a ratification decision from the appropriate government authority. This entity should be a non-profit legal body such as a foundation or association, following Indonesian law.

The land requirements vary depending on the type of institution: universities require 10,000 square meters, institutes need 8,000 square meters, and colleges must have at least 5,000 square meters. Additionally, the institution must have a notarized lease agreement for the necessary infrastructure, such as buildings. There are also programmatic requirements: universities must offer five study programs (three in the sciences and two in the social sciences), institutes require three programs, and colleges only need to offer one.

2. Curriculum and Academic Standards

Colleges must align their curriculum with national education standards set by the Ministry of Education to ensure that academic offerings meet both national and regional educational goals. The guidelines outlined in Keputusan Menteri Riset, Teknologi, dan Pendidikan Tinggi Republik Indonesia No. 57/M/KPT/2019 provide a foundational framework for naming and structuring programs of study. MASSA's proposed College of Social Development serves as a model institution that addresses the needs of regional social development while maintaining compliance with these national academic directives.

3. Infrastructure and Facilities

The physical design and construction of a college must prioritize accessibility and inclusivity for all students and staff. Sustainable infrastructure is critical, especially in regions such as West Java that are vulnerable to floods and landslides. Incorporating eco-friendly designs and disaster-resilient facilities will support long-term viability and community trust in the institution.

4. Partnerships and Collaborations

Strategic partnerships are essential for building a responsive and robust institution. Collaborations should be established with local and international academic institutions, labor unions, non-governmental organizations, and

development agencies. These partnerships can facilitate the co-creation of curricula and ensure that academic programs reflect real-world skills and workforce demands, thereby enhancing the employability of graduates.

5. Sustainable Funding Strategies

Government funding can be sourced through grants offered by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Provincial and municipal governments may also support infrastructure and operations through various partnership models. In addition, the Ministry of Research and Technology provides grants for institutions with a strong research component.

Private investors and partnerships offer another critical avenue. Corporations and private stakeholders may fund specific departments or scholarship programs, and public-private partnerships (PPPs) can enable joint investment and co-management of college operations.

Loans and financial institutions such as commercial banks, development finance institutions like the World Bank and Asian Development Bank, and Islamic financing entities provide capital for infrastructure and expansion. These financial mechanisms are especially viable when institutions show strong governmental and community backing.

Real estate development can be approached through build-operate-lease models, where developers construct college facilities and lease them back to the institution. Land grants or discounted land purchases from governments or philanthropic individuals can significantly reduce startup costs.

International aid agencies such as UNESCO, UNDP, USAID, DFAT (Australia), and JICA (Japan) offer funding for educational development, especially when aligned with sustainability, local culture, or marginalized communities.

Philanthropic foundations like the Ford Foundation, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, and local Indonesian foundations provide funding for infrastructure, scholarships, or program development. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) funds from businesses operating in West Java can also be tapped. A strong alumni network can further support annual fundraising efforts.

Tuition pre-sales and endowment models are long-term strategies for financial independence. Offering discounted tuition to early investors and building

an endowment fund with invested principal can sustain operations through generated returns.

Crowdfunding platforms such as Kitabisa, GoFundMe, or Indiegogo can mobilize small-scale contributions from a large number of supporters. Community engagement during fundraising creates a shared sense of ownership and boosts in-kind contributions like land and materials.

6. Business and Operational Models

The endowment model involves building a substantial principal fund through donations, which is then invested to generate returns used for operational costs. This model can support tuition-free education when effectively managed.

The public-private partnership model allows for joint funding between the government and private sector. In exchange for financial support, companies may help shape the curriculum to meet their workforce needs.

A government-funded model involves full financial support from public tax revenues. Countries like Germany and Finland successfully operate such models, prioritizing education in their national budgets.

The income share agreement (ISA) model allows students to pay a percentage of their income for a set number of years after securing employment. This defers the cost of education and ties it directly to post-graduate earnings.

Corporate sponsorship models involve businesses funding specific programs or departments in return for branding and recruitment opportunities. These partnerships strengthen workforce pipelines and enhance the institution's industry relevance.

In a donor-based model, the college operates on consistent annual contributions from philanthropists, corporate donors, and foundations. This approach requires strong community and alumni engagement.

The freemium model offers basic educational services at no cost while charging for premium features like advanced courses, certifications, or online resources. This hybrid strategy balances accessibility and financial sustainability.

Colleges can also earn revenue from auxiliary services such as student dormitories, cafeterias, bookstores, campus events, and facility rentals. These services can generate significant income, particularly in prime locations.

Online and hybrid learning models reduce operational costs and broaden student access. Institutions can scale efficiently by offering quality education through digital platforms.

Finally, grants and research funding provide additional revenue streams. Institutions that establish a strong research reputation can attract substantial funding from both governmental and private sources.

Establishing a college in Indonesia requires a well-integrated approach that balances regulatory compliance, academic rigor, environmental sustainability, financial viability, and community involvement. The case of MASSA's proposed College of Social Development serves as a concrete example of how institutions can be locally grounded while remaining globally relevant. By leveraging diverse funding strategies and business models—ranging from government grants and philanthropic donations to endowments and partnerships—a new college can achieve long-term success. Ultimately, the goal is to contribute meaningfully to social justice, educational equity, and sustainable development throughout the Southeast Asian region.

Closing ceremonies

During the closing ceremony, Dewi Kartika of the Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA) expressed her heartfelt gratitude to the host organization, Serikat Petani Pasundan (SPP), and to all MASSA participants. She also congratulated everyone for the successful conduct of the 5th MASSA Conference. On behalf of AltDev, MASSA's secretariat, Assistant Professor Ony Martinez shared her appreciation and presented a token of gratitude from the ASEAN Solidarity Economic Council to the leaders of SPP. Lastly, Seavmey, the representative of the Gender and Development for Cambodia (GADC), reflected on the key takeaways from the 5th conference and shared her hopes for the upcoming 6th MASSA Conference.

Remarks from Dewi Kartika, Secretary-general of the Konsortium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA)

Dewi began her remarks by acknowledging the Konfederasi Pergerakan Rakyat Indonesia (KPRI), an umbrella movement composed of 139 organizations across 23 provinces in Indonesia. KPRI includes federations of women, workers, peasants, fisherfolk, Indigenous peoples, and the urban poor. On the other hand, she emphasized their core mission in KPA: to organize peasants in pursuit of genuine agrarian reform and food sovereignty.

Dewi expressed her appreciation for MASSA's decision to select SPP as the host of the 6th MASSA Conference, and recognized SPP as one of the strongest peasant organizations advocating for land reform in Indonesia. She also thanked KPRI for mobilizing delegates and supporting the wide participation of grassroots communities at the conference.

She encouraged everyone to learn from the lived experiences of grassroots movements, particularly how SPP has reclaimed land and fought for land rights in the face of government opposition. Dewi highlighted SPP's success in establishing a community-based school without formal recognition, proving that people's initiatives can overcome bureaucratic and political barriers.

She cited SPP's donation of land to the movement as a powerful example of social capital, emphasizing that the focus should not be overly tied to formalities and legal procedures. Instead, she advocated for a bottom-up, organic approach rooted in collective ownership and the concrete struggles of communities.

Drawing insights from fellow movements in the Philippines, Cambodia, and other countries, Dewi noted that reclaiming land must be closely linked with building economic power among rural communities. Agrarian reform, she stressed, will not succeed without establishing economic sovereignty at the grassroots level. She underscored that food sovereignty must remain the central goal, as opposed to food security, which in Indonesia is often dictated by military and corporate agendas.

Dewi closed by congratulating the Cambodian comrades for hosting the forthcoming 6th MASSA Conference in 2025. She affirmed the importance of building alternative, solidarity-based practices among organizations, peasants, women, and youth. These alliances, she argued, are crucial in confronting

systemic injustice, tackling the food crisis, and resisting capitalist exploitation. She concluded by recognizing SPP and KPRI's longstanding partnership with regional movements and thanking everyone for their presence in Indonesia.

Announcing the 6th Conference on Southeast Asian Alternatives in Cambodia

Seavmey Ngorn

Gender and Development for Cambodia



Photo: Seavmey Ngorn of GADC closes the conference with her reflections and announcement that GADC will host the 6th SEA Conference

Reflecting on her experience in this conference, Seavmey shared that although the travel was exhausting, she was deeply moved by the warm welcome extended by SPP. Despite the late-night arrival, SPP members patiently waited to receive the MASSA delegation—an act of kindness for which she expressed heartfelt gratitude.

She admitted to feeling both nervous and excited about the responsibility of hosting the next MASSA Conference, but also acknowledged the inspiring role the network plays in uniting marginalized communities across Southeast

Asia. MASSA, she emphasized, is a space for those seeking alternative ways of transforming society and building solidarity from below.

Seavmey affirmed her commitment, along with fellow network members, to making MASSA a gender-sensitive and inclusive space. She stressed the importance of ensuring that all voices—especially those of marginalized sectors and people of diverse gender identities—are heard and represented in the movement.

She expressed satisfaction with the direction of the discussions throughout the 5th Conference, noting that the network is advancing with greater clarity and shared purpose. In conclusion, she shared her excitement and pride in announcing that the 6th SEA Alternatives Conference will be held in Cambodia.

Seavmey ended her remarks with a call to action: for everyone to come together, share knowledge, and learn from one another—for the people, and by the people.

Departure

Sending off the 6th Conference Delegation with a Traditional Art Performance

Shortly before the departure of the MASSA delegation back to Jakarta and their respective home provinces and countries, Nono, an SPP leader in Pangandaran who happens to be a professional *wayang* performer (puppeteer), showcased his adaptation of a *wayang*, a traditional Indonesian puppet theatre. Drawn from the stories of the Hindu epic *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, his *wayang* storytelling illustrated romantic drama with a tweak of parody that mirrored Indonesian society since pre-colonial times until the present. His performance, which exuded the universal themes of love, revenge, and justice received high appreciation and warm gratitude from the MASSA audience. (See photos below)



Photo: Nono of SPP Pangandaran, also a performing artist, manipulating his wayang characters during a performance to the MASSA delegates



Photo: Wayang characters in action through Nono's hidden hand and face



Photo: Nono receiving a warm applause from MASSA delegates after his theatre performance

Center for Integrative and Development Studies

Established in 1985 by University of the Philippines (UP) President Edgardo J. Angara, the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP CIDS) is the policy research unit of the University that connects disciplines and scholars across the several units of the UP System. It is mandated to encourage collaborative and rigorous research addressing issues of national significance by supporting scholars and securing funding, enabling them to produce outputs and recommendations for public policy.

The UP CIDS currently has twelve research programs that are clustered under the areas of education and capacity building, development, and social, political, and cultural studies. It publishes policy briefs, monographs, webinar/conference/forum proceedings, and the Philippine Journal for Public Policy, all of which can be downloaded free from the UP CIDS website.

The Program

The Program on Alternative Development (AltDev) aims to look at paradigms, policies, practices, and projects that are largely marginalized and excluded from the mainstream. As they challenge dominant modes, they do not figure prominently in the national and international discourse.

Editorial Board

Rosalie Arcala Hall
Editor-in-Chief

Honeylet L. Alerta
Deputy Editor-in-Chief

Program Editors

Education and Capacity Building Cluster

Dina S. Ocampo
Lorina Y. Calingasan
Education Research Program

Rosalie Arcala Hall
Program on Higher Education Research and Policy Reform

Romylyn Metila
Marlene Ferido
Assessment, Curriculum, and Technology Research Program

Ebinezer R. Florano
Program on Data Science for Public Policy

Social, Political, and Cultural Studies Cluster

Rogelio Alicor L. Panao
Program on Social and Political Change

Darwin J. Absari
Islamic Studies Program

Rosalie Arcala Hall
Strategic Studies Program

Development Cluster

Annette O. Balaoing-Pelkmans
Program on Escaping the Middle-Income Trap: Chains for Change

Antoinette R. Raquiza
Julius Lustro
Political Economy Program

Eduardo C. Tadem
Maria Dulce F. Natividad
Program on Alternative Development

Iris Thiele Isip-Tan
Program on Health Systems Development

New Programs

Maria Angeles O. Catelo
Food Security Program

Weena S. Gera
Urban Studies Program

Benjamin M. Vallejo, Jr.
Conservation and Biodiversity

Rosalie Arcala Hall
Local and Regional Studies Network

Editorial Staff

Jhimeel P. Valencia
Bryan Patrick Garcia
Copyeditors

Alexa Samantha R. Hernandez
Editorial Assistant

Mikaela Anna Cheska D. Orlino
Layout Artist



5th Regional Conference of the Movement for
Alternatives and Solidarity in Southeast Asia (MASSA)

Empowering Southeast Asian People on Addressing Food Security, Environmental Sustainability, Climate Justice the Alternative Regionalist

Pangandaran, West Java, Indonesia



**UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES
CENTER FOR INTEGRATIVE AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

Lower Ground Floor, Ang Bahay ng Alumni, Magsaysay Avenue
University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City 1101

Telephone	(02) 8981-8500 loc. 4266 to 4268 (02) 8426-0955	Email	cids@up.edu.ph cidspublications@up.edu.ph	Website	cids.up.edu.ph
------------------	--	--------------	--	----------------	----------------