



Institute of
Social Studies

THE ROLE OF NGO IN MOBILIZING RURAL POOR PEOPLE
(A CASE STUDY ON THE EXPERIENCES OF THE CHRISTIAN EVANGELICAL
CHURCH IN MINAHASA - INDONESIA)

A Research Paper presented by

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in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for Obtaining the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

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The Hague, October 1989



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THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS
OCTOBER 1989

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I dedicate this Research Paper to :

ANTJE ADELEIDA MANDAGI
and
WILHELMINA MARIA KALALO

who have special places in my life.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my gratitude to The Board of Mission of the Netherlands Reformed Church which has financed my studies and the Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa for giving me chance to study in the Institute of Social Studies. Especially I grateful to Rev. S.A.E. Nababan, Rev. W.A. Roeroe, and dr. B.A. Supit for preparing and encouraging me to take this chance. I deeply indebted to Mrs. Wicky Meynen, my supervisor, for her guidance in writing this research paper and also to all of ARD staff, who play important roles in preparing me during my study. I would like to thank to 1988/1989 ARD participants, who made me at home in studying process; and last but not least, to Hanneke Sprong, the Secretary, for her tirelessly helps.

This research paper could be written owing to data support through personal communication with Jaspert Slob, Elizabeth Demuth, Laurens and Maria Politton, Laurens and Joice Paat, Elga Sarapung, Johan Kondoy, G.J. Umpel and Tonny Kaunang; and also through written-data which are made available by Jootje Waworuntu, Indera Nababan, Neltje Kawengian and Jantje Pemba. For all of them I would like to express my gratitude.

LIST OF ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYM

BIMAS	Bimbingan Massal (Mass Guidance)
BPS	Badan Pekerja Sinode (The Synode Executive Board)
CA	Change Agent
CD	Community Development
CO	Community Organization
CU	Credit Union
DAC	Development Assisting Centre
DKG	Dinas Kesehatan GMIM (GMIM Health Office)
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (Regional Representative Council)
GMIM	Gereja Masehi Injili Minahasa (The Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa)
INMAS	Intensifikasi Massal (Mass Intensification)
LKMD	Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa (Institution of Village Community Resilience)
LPSM	Lembaga Pembina Swadaya Masyarakat (Development Institution for Promotion of Community Self Help)
LSD	Lembaga Sosial Desa (Village Social Welfare Institution)
LSM	Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (Community Self Help Organization)
NGO	Non Government Organization
NZG	Nederlands Zendeling Genootschap (The Netherlands Missionary Society)
PENMAS	Pendidikan Masyarakat (Community Education)
PERMESTA	Perjuangan Semesta (Total Struggle)
PGI	Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia (Churches Communion in Indonesia)
PKMD	Pengembangan Kesehatan Masyarakat Desa (Village Community Health Care)
PPM	Pengembangan Prakarsa Masyarakat (People Initiative Building)
PWG	Pembinaan Warga Gereja (Lay Training)
UDKP	Unit Daerah Kerja Pembangunan (Unit of Development Working Area)
VOC	Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (East India Company)

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Minahasa land occupies the eastern section of the northern peninsula of Sulawesi, Indonesia. By using term Minahasa Land I mean an area which covers Manado and Bitung municipalities and Minahasa regency itself¹. Manado is the capital of North Sulawesi province. Majority of Minahasa population are Minahasans which occupy upland of Minahasa. While in coastal area, generally is occupied by people who originally migrated from Sangihe & Talaud and North Maluku. These migrated people mostly are fishers, workers either in large or small-holders' plantations, and share-croppers. Most of them originally are Sangirese (c.f. DAC 1988:1). The old religion of Minahasan believed in many gods, called empung, but there was an Highest God, called Muntu-untu, who lives in Kasendukan (heaven) and was believed as the creator (N. Graafland 1987:89). The gods were assumed as human. They were the ancestors who were brave commanders, rich, and well-versed executor of rituals. Meaning that Minahasans were gods' descendants (1987:91). Therefore the Minahasans' system of religion could not be isolated with the leaders of the society who also led rituals (foso).

Table 1:
Population by Religion in Minahasa Land (1987)

	Minahasa	Manado	Bitung	Total per Religion
Moslem	45,475	74,018	23,927	142,420
Protestantism	610,037	132,770	60,030	802,837
Catholicism	82,861	16,118	7,200	106,179
Hinduism	22	321	50	393
Budhism	311	6,494	331	7,136
Total	738,706	229,721	91,538	1,059,965

Source: Compiled from Statistical Office of North Sulawesi 1988.

Historically, Sangiresses' foreparents came to Minahasa Land to escape from oppression which they had within feudalistic society, or they were recruited as coolies by corporation during colonial time. Most of the coolies were originally slaves. At that

¹Regency or district and municipality are second level of local government in Indonesia. The former consists of rural areas, while the latter is considered as urban area.

time Sangihe & Talaud society was classified into papung or bangsawan (nobles), kawane (free people), and lang (slaves). There were two kinds of lang: budak belian (bought-slaves) and budak pusaka (inherited-slaves) (S.J. Hickson 1889:193-4). Thus there is difference cultural background between the Minahasans and the Sangirese. The former were as "gods' descendants" and the latter were ex slaves which became migrant labourers without access to means of production. One factor that crosses cut these cultural (ethnic) and class differences is the reality that most of both ethnics are Christians who are the majority of population in this area (table 1).

Minahasa regency is the main plantation area in North Sulawesi. More than 50% of coconut plantation (whether large or small holders) and about 65 % of clove areas are located in Minahasa. Copra trade was the only source of revenue to finance local autonomy in more than two decades after independence until late sixties (Harvey 1977:33; Mears and Moeljono in Booth and McCawley 1981:24). But after that it declined drastically due to decreasing in either value export or production, smuggling, and competing with other commodities such as sun-flower etc. in world market (Rice 1969:190; Rosendale 1981:174; Harvey 1977:24).

Table 2:
GROSS DOMESTIC REGIONAL PRODUCT AT CONSTANT PRICE OF 1983 BY
INDUSTRIAL ORIGIN: MINAHASA REGENCY
(in million rupiah)

INDUSTRIAL ORIGIN	1983	1986
AGRICULTURE	134,098.45	122,247.89
Farm Food Crop	49,939.46	54,351.19
Estate Crop	57,684.71	39,989.28
Livestock	12,915.69	14,877.64
Forestry	25.56	38.86
Fishery	13,533.03	12,990.92
MINING AND QUARRYING	1,420.70	1,390.91
INDUSTRY	21,098.28	19,620.86
ELECTRICITY AND WATER SUPPLY	3,333.07	4,006.04
CONSTRUCTION	13,725.17	16,147.18
TRADE/HOTEL/RESTAURANT	18,907.12	20,414.05
TRANSPORTATION/COMMUNICATION	23,541.96	27,753.55
BANKING & OTHER FINANCIAL		
INSTITUTION	1,592.96	1,798.36
OWNERSHIP OF DWELLING	7,189.73	7,638.43
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION & DEFENCE	30,441.45	35,371.95
SERVICE	14,679.61	17,431.83
GROSS DOMESTIC REGIONAL PRODUCT	270,028.50	273,821.05

Source: Statistical Office of North Sulawesi (1988)

Although the value of coconut or copra export had been decreasing, the economy of this regency continuously is depend on copra or coconut (1977:93-4; Sondakh 1988a). Minahasa's economy also had ever been lifted up by "clove's price boom" during 70es. But during this decade clove price decreases, even far below bottom price set by the government. Decreasing of both commodities causes decreasing of agricultural contribution to Minahasa economy as it was shown in Table 2. Now Minahasa regency is an area about 462,660 ha that consists of villages 42,921; paddy field 19,054 ha; dry land 35,573 ha; estates 62,449 ha; forest 118,923 ha; lake/swamp 4,698 ha; sword grass 165,553 ha; and others 13,819 ha (SONS 1987:179). The main source of Minahasa's economy is still agricultural sector, with coconut and clove as the backbone, as it is shown by composition of land use and Gross Domestic Regional Product (GDRP) in Table 2.

Three types of rural development strategies had been emerging in Indonesia (a) Community Education (Penmas = Pendidikan Masyarakat) in 1946 under Ministry of Education. Penmas was based on philosophy that education is "the foundation for all activities of development of the individual, the community and the nation". Penmas activities were literacy campaign, community leadership, vocational training, etc. (Sajogyo 1975:33). (b) Village Social Welfare Institution (LSD= Lembaga Sosial Desa) which was set in 1951 by Directorate of Social Affairs. The aim of LSD was "to achieve social harmony in community relations" (1975:34). LSD used change agents, who were members of the villages communities, to stimulate voluntary action by groups which are led by their own leaders (key persons). (c). In 1971 LSD task of social guidance "was transfered to the Directorate of Community Development at the Ministry of Home Affairs without taking over personel from Social Affair" (1975:35-36). Penmas and LSD relationship with the villages head persons were informal links while CD stressed on formal link. CD became "a new vechicle, officially chaired by the village head person, functioning as a consultative council to discuss and decide on over-all village-development efforts". This strategy, later on is empowered by establishing the Institute for Rural Community Resilience (LKMD= Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa), as an institution which can function as a forum for community participation in development planning and implementation in villages level. The village head became ex officio chairperson of LKMD (1975:36; Schulte Nordholt 1987:56-57). Both former strategies were more emphasized to social activities while CD emphasizes to infrastructure projects. Projects which have been completed in rural areas by CD, through the village subsidy programme, are "rehabilitation of local infrastructure of production, mainly irigation, of road, etc., and marketing facilities" (1975:39). Considering projects had been completed by those strategies, obviously those projects facilitate capital penetration into rural areas, including in Minahasa. It refers to technocratic strategy of development with main objective to increase output. In

turn those strategies favor the better off (Griffin 1974:204). The way those strategies had been applying shows that the "dominant role is played by the state and its apparatus as the 'creator, planner and operator', while people are still as the 'consumers' of development" (Sutrisno 1988:17). This trend can also be observed in applied-planning system. Although administratively there is trend to apply bottom-up planning since this decade, but practically top-down planning is going on effectively (v.d.Hamm & Hadi 1988:81). This situation is the consequence of Indonesian government structure which is a "centralized system" (MacAndrew 1986:21). Undang-Undang (Act) No. 5, 1974, which became the foundation of the regional government system, and also is intended to be the principle of widespread and responsible "regional autonomy", gives administrative decentralization in the sense of "delegation of a portion of the authority for program implementation to the lower levels. Local officials operate only on the plans and budgets that have been determined by the central authorities" (Amal & Nasikun 1988:27). It was evaluated that "(1) Law No. 5/1974 does not support the need for decentralization. Much of the regional government's power and authority was limited by the designation of the Department of Home Affairs as the determiner of what could and could not be executed by the regional administrations. (2) In practice, the decentralization policies which were based on the law were limited by an administrative system which gave more opportunities and power to the central government" (Morfit as quoted by Amal & Nasikun 1988:27). Thus economically as well as politically since colonial time, relatively there is not so much fundamental transformation in rural areas in Indonesia, including Minahasa (c.f. Soetrisno 1988:17).

In this situation, NGOs have been seen as a part of net-work in rural areas which could break-through tightly closed-network that is caused by rural bureaucratic power (Sajogyo 1988:95). But on the other hand, NGOs face problems of "increasing efforts that made by bureaucracies to exercise control over activities of the NGOs, to prescribe what they may do" (White 1986:19); besides internal problems that cause NGOs become ineffective (Hannam 1988:7); and adequate strategy in mobilizing rural poor people who are unfavourable in the above mentioned-situation. Law No. 8/1985 on Organisasi Kemasyarakatan (Community Organization that could be categorized as NGO) NGO is considered as the vehicle for channelling Indonesian community's opinion, activating people's participation for the sake of national unity, and successful of national development in achieving national goal. NGO is obligated to be based on Pancasila as the single principle. The government has right to freeze the executive board of NGO and in turn to disperse the NGO due to destabilizing public security, receiving foreign aid without government approval, and helping foreign parties which act against national interests, refusing Pancasila as the single principle; following, developing and spreading communism - Marxism-Leninism and other ideologies or teachings which counter Pancasila and 1945 constitution in all forms and

manifestations. The law obviously states that NGOs are state's vehicles for achieving national goals, particularly in development process (Biro Hukum GKDH Sulut 1985:65). It gives impression that NGOs have to implement state's interests in their activities. In one of Rudini's (1989:29), current Minister of Home Affairs, criteria of Self-Reliant Community Organization in Indonesia, it is mentioned as "they should be willing to work in a system of the existing government and society according to the existing regulations, and be free to move in the scope of government control". But on the other hand, the law gives room of manouvere for NGOs within development process within the frame of Pancasila which consists of (1) A belief in One supreme being; (2) a just and civilized humanitarian; (3) unity of Indonesia; (4) a people led or governed by wise policies arrived at through a process of consultation and consensus; (5) social justice for all Indonesian people.

Under the above mentioned circumstances, the Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa (GMIM = Gereja Masehi Injili Minahasa), is involving as an NGO within process of development in rural areas. This church has about 730,000 members which means around 90 percent of protestants in this region comparing to table 1. Since its early process of growing as a church, it had involved in development activities, even "long before the concept of 'development policy' emerged, many of the issues with which these are concerned were dealt with by the churches" (Quarles van Ufford 1987:65). Up to now, projects had been running are 729 schools from kindergarten to a university, 6 hospitals, 36 clinics, 3 orphanages and 2 special schools for handicap children. During second half of last decade GMIM launched other strategies which specially deal with special projects and programmes for rural people. Those are Rural Primary Health Care (PKMD=Pengembangan Kesehatan Masyarakat Desa) since 1975, Arising People's Initiative programmes (PPM = Pengembangan Prakarsa Masyarakat) since 1980 and Development Assisting Centre (DAC) since 1985.

From those experiences, central problem which I try to adress is **impact and limitations of GMIM strategies for mobilizing rural poor people**. Analisis of this problem will be based on hypotheses that impacts and limitations of those strategies are determined by their relationship with the poor, internal relation within the church and relation with other institutions including the state or government. To approach this central problem, I will trace following questions:

- 1. What kinds of different strategies of mobilization has the church used over time ? What factors had been influencing the choice and changes in those strategies?** In answering this question I will describe and analyze strategies has been used and influencing factors of changes and choices of those strategies.
- 2. What are the function of GMIM strategies in relation to the government policies?** It is obviously indicated the problem which will be traced under this question, that is

problem of relations between NGOs and the government. Actually, this part could be integrated in previous question. But considering that relation with the government is crucial, then I put it in special question.

2. ANALYTICAL APPROACH

The approach that will be used in this research is structural/historical approach. This approach concerns with the structure of interrelationship of people and environment, of people and process of development, of people themselves. In other words, this approach tries to "grasp relationship between 'whole' and 'part' in such a way as to understand their mutual determination" (Harris 1988:22-23). Thus structure and history are critically important in this approach. Structure refers to interrelationship of GMIM internally, of GMIM and the poor as well as their environment including development process in Indonesia, with other institutions including state or government policies. By historical it is not merely "a question of describing a sequence of somewhat loosely related historical facts. Rather our preoccupation with understanding history" (Wuyts 1988:2). Thus the above-mentioned interrelationship will be analyzed in historical perspective. In the light of this approach, I would like to conceptualize some aspects that will be traced in this research paper. Those are mobilization, poor and the church as an NGO.

By mobilization I mean, an effort to encourage people to pursue their interest collectively by committing resources at their disposal either human or material resources (such as time, money, energy, loyalty, insight, etc.), to their collective action (Meynen 1989; Hettne & Tamm 1974:9; Galjart 1976:20; Tilly 1981:7). This definition consists of three important elements: collective interests, committing resources and collective action.

Interest has been categorized by an author as "subjective and objective interests". The former refers to "a psychological state in the mind of people", and the latter refers to "an effect by something on the individual which can be observed and measured by standards external to the individual consciousness" (Balbus 1971:153). What is terminologized as subjective interest also is mentioned as felt need or felt interest, and objective interest as real interest (DAC 1985:3). But I prefer to use an operational terminology which are immediate interests for subjective or felt interests and strategic interests for objective or real interests (Meynen, personal communication). Thus interests in this sense, covers all aspects of people needs economically, politically, and psychologically. Those interests, which are felt and realized collectively, will be pursued through committing resources at their disposal. Committing resources means to bind their resources with an obligation or dedication for the sake of pursuing

collective interests. This element contains cognitive, political, institutional and economical dimensions.

Collective action has been explained as covers interest, organization, mobilization, opportunity and collective action itself. Tilly's explanation of collective action is emphasized to interaction the mobilized-people with other groups within society. It could be traced in terms of his explanation of interests, mobilization, more explicitly in explanation of opportunity, while collective action is explained as "people's acting together in pursuit of common interests and as result of changing combination of above components" (Tilly 1981:7). Hettne and Tamm analyze mobilization efforts by dividing into "cognitive, political, institutional and economic dimensions" (Hettne & Tamm 1974:10-11). Actually the existence and emerging of certain group's mobilization efforts are interacted with other groups within society. But Hettne & Tamm only emphasize this interaction in term of institutional dimension. So to be consistent with the chosen-analytical approach, then in the spirit of Tilly's emphasizing on interaction mobilization efforts by certain group with other groups within society, I will apply Hettne and Tamm approach of analysis towards mobilization efforts. Although the analysis of mobilization will be done by dividing them into several dimensions, it has to be noted that each dimension cannot take place in isolation. One effort of mobilization might consists of some, if not all of dimensions of mobilization.

Cognitive dimension refers to people's values and orientation such as religious, cultural, and ideology. It also refers to "class sentiment or conception of one's situation in relation to the social structure that could be used as germ of class consciousness" (Hettne & Tamm 1974:11). Political dimension of mobilization means changing in distribution of power in society e.g. pattern of relations between social groups in social structure. It constitutes elements of material resources, numerical strength, education, ritual status and organization. Institutional dimension means the existing or emerging institutional frame work mediate mobilization as a social process. There are three types of intitutions: (a) represive or coercive institution which counter people mobilization efforts; (b) 'neutral' institution whose could either support or counter mobilization efforts; and (c) sustaining or promoting institution (1974:12). Economic dimension "refers to a significant rise in people's commitment to the economic goals of mobilization efforts...a special case of socio economic mobilization is the realization of the saving potential implicit in the existence of surplus man power" (1974:13). Thus this concept of mobilization covers aspects of popular participation in the process of

development which is much more difficult to be applied (White 1989:20-21).²

To poor people, I refer either in absolute sense or in relative sense. Absolute poverty commonly refers to "a situation in which a person's income is not adequate to meet his nutritional requirements (usually measured in calories)". Relative poverty refers to "a person's (or an income group's) condition of deprivation in such things as income, employment, power, etc., relative to others or the rest of society of other income groups." (Getubig 1988:3). To analyze poor situation will be done within structural and historical framework. Meaning that factors which influence and cause poverty are related to structural problems which should be traced historically.

Non Governmental Organization as it was introduced by UN, "denotes organization which are different from state approaches, are voluntarily organized and aim at various goals" (Padron 1982:4). Many authors made differences for NGOs which involve in development projects and programmes at the grass root level. There is an author who mentions this kind of NGO as "voluntary organization that can act as vehicles for popular participation and mobilization, for local planning and goal setting, for providing services, for mobilizing local resources, for defining and expressing local needs, influencing local administration, and creating political awareness among people at local level" (Cheema 1983:205-7). Other author prefers to use Private Development Agencies (PDA) that is "a private voluntary association which is dedicated to design and implementation of development programmes at the grass root level" (Padron 1982:4).

In Indonesia, NGO is distinguished as Community Self Help Organization (LSM=Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat) and Development Institution for Promotion of Community Self-Help (LPSM= Lembaga Pembina Swadaya Masyarakat).

[The former is defined as]... "primary group" with joint aspirations and activities, in which relationship are close and intimate, which is voluntary and its members interact with each other on a day-to-day, face-to-face basis in various mutual assistance to do with the common interests of the group...[the latter is] ... secondary or intermediate groups are voluntary associations which have grown out of the community whose members have a common interest in carrying out relatively small scale or limited scope activities with non profit motives and humanitarian goals...generally this groups aims to promote self-reliance of the primary groups...(Hadad 1983:8).

²Participation in this sense means that target groups are no longer the passive recipients of development resources; it means also that they are stimulated and encouraged to do much more than providing their labour, raw materials and time in development projects; it means their taking an active role in the process of decision making regarding development efforts and the allocations of development resources: the setting of priorities, the identification of goals and the planning of the efforts to be made to achieve them" (White 1989:20).

Considering the above definitions of NGO, then the Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa could be categorized as well LPSM as LSM. As an LPSM the church has several offices which deal with development activities such as education, health, community development, arising people's initiatives projects and programmes. These offices have task for promoting, motivating, facilitating and assisting development activities at grass root level, that is local congregations. As LSM I refer to 606 local congregations, which according to the church order, are the target groups as well as the planners and executors of development activities in local level. To make clear this structure, I will describe the church's structure in Chapter IV. Thus by mentioning the GMIM as an NGO it refers to its function as LSM and LPSM.

Church's involvement in mobilizing poor people, will be identified by using two categories based on strategies used by the church to mobilize poor people. Those are the Community Development (CD) type and the Community Organization (CO) type (Cheema 1983:208). CD Strategy relies on cadres or change agents (CA) role to represent people's interests within the existing formal institution. Those are multi-purposes workers (Holdcroft 1978:48). In CO strategy, the role of organizer is low profile while people's organization plays important role to "defining their own reality, identifying their own problems and determining their own future" (Constantino-David 1980:6). In CD, cadres or CAs try to "promote harmony and cooperation while CO attempts to initiate a dialogue between conflicting groups" (Cheema 1983:208). CD's cadres or CAs extend governments services, thus always work through the active village leaders (Holdcroft 1978:49); while CO starts "where the people are and lets the people grow by experience" and also tends to be issue oriented (Constantino-David 1980:8,18). CD relies on transferring of technology to the people as a community for more effective solution of their common problem (Holdcroft 1978:48). CO views the root problem is unbalance distribution of power within society. That is why the weak one should be empowered to solve the problem (c.f. Constantino David 1980:2).

There is another way to categorize the strategies. Those are multisectoral and sectoral approaches. Multisectoral approach means that the strategy deals with multi purposes and sectors, while sectoral approach is dealing with single sector. Either multisectoral or sectoral approach be implemented by using whether CO or CD strategies. Furthermore the impact of the church's involvement in mobilizing poor people in rural areas will be examined by using the mentioned dimensions of mobilization, in which influencing factors of poverty are included. Poverty, in relative as well as absolute sense, refers to consequence of demobilized situation cognitively, politically, economically, and institutionally.

Concerning to church's strategies functions towards government policies and strategies

of development, there are 4 possibilities types of functions which could be taken by the church towards government interests or policies. Those are complimentary, subsidiary, intermediary and alternative. Complimentary function refers to the church role for carrying out development activities in those fields, sectors or regions, which have not included in government development programmes. Subsidiary or additional function is a supporting role to implement government development programmes aimed at the target groups in which NGO have well established networks of relationship. Function as intermediary refers to the church role to put unreachable community in contact with the government. Alternative role could be played in case the government has handled development activities in greater number and wider scope, but actually the development activities do not favour certain groups of community or could not solve their own problem. To deal with unfavoured-people as well as unsolved problem they faced, is an alternative function. In short "the style and agenda of priorities will not be identical to those government" (White 1989:17-18; Hadad 1983:10-11).

3. RESEARCH METHOD

To serve the chosen analytical approach, a comparative research is needed. With comparative means comparing strategies have been done by GMIM among rural poor people either in terms of 'time' (historical), approaches and other elements.

The research will be undertaken to interview people who involve in chosen strategies. These people will be asked questions to reveal their experiences, opinion and impressions about the objectives, strategies, impact and problem of implementations of those strategies. Institutional and individual reports about those given-projects are also the main data of this research. Deductive and inductive approaches will be applied in the process of data collection and analysis. First, I try to use selected theories on mobilization and rural poor, to deduce the reality. Next, I try to make preliminary logical conclusion about the pattern of changes and choices of the church's mobilization strategies. Later, I will analyze the data to confront with the logical conclusion to arrive at conclusion.

4. ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER

Considering to analytical approach that will be used, then the next chapter will pay special attention to the situation of rural poor people in Minahasa. Their actual situation and the causes of that situation will be explained. In other words, I will answer the question on who is the poor and why and how do they become the poor ? The third chapter will be a description on the Christian Evangelical Church in

Minahasa. It covers its historical background, its role within Minahasa society as well as among the rural poor and influencing factors of change and choices of strategies. The fifth chapter is an analysis on the church strategies in mobilizing rural poor people. The methods have been using, the goals setting, the impact as well as limitation of the strategies used in relation to causes of poverty; will be traced in the light of mobilization dimensions which I explained above. The last chapter will be a conclusion and some suggestions for policy implementation.

CHAPTER II: WHO AND HOW ARE THE RURAL POOR IN MINAHASA

1. WHO ARE THE RURAL POOR ?

To identify who are the poor in rural Minahasa, I use the following criteria: occupational, access to production resources and social differentiation. The reason of using this criteria are (1) occupation identifies the nature and level of income which becomes an indicator to measure level of poverty; (2) occupation also is determined by access to means of production which in turn influences income; (3) the nature of social differentiation, in which one is incorporated, will determine and be determined by either one's access to production resources or types of occupation. Consequently the situation will push people, who have no access to production resources, to the lowest status of occupation with lowest level of income earnings. Shortly, these three criteria are related with each other. By using these criteria, the explanation of rural poor will not merely be who are the poor, but also why and how they are being the poor. Thus using of these criteria relate to structural/historical approach in analyzing poor situation.

1.1. Occupational Perspective

The lowest income earning in the agriculture sector, are artisanal and fish labourers, plantations workers, and landless and small farmers. By artisanal fisher, I mean, people who do fishing by using manual tools. Fish labourers are people who sell their labour for wages to the owners of modern fishing technology. Plantation workers are people who sell their labour for wages in (large) plantations run by private or state enterprises. Landless people are people or households who need either employment in agriculture sector or access to land but access to land is blocked, while they have no employment opportunity outside agriculture (v. Roosmalen 1989). Small farmers are households who do their work in agriculture sector with controlled-land less than 1 ha. Although the agrarian law states "that the government shall endeavour that every farmer including his family owns a minimum of 2 hectares agricultural land" (Soetikno 1981:6); but "limit of 0.50 ha in land ownership has been found as 'poverty line' of farmer" by Sajogyo and Downey (Sajogyo 1986:2-3). But other researchers suggest that this measurment could only be applied in Java, Bali, South Sulawesi and Lampung. While for other places the smallest farm is less than 1 ha, medium 1 - 2 ha, and large more than 2 ha. The reasons for distinguishing of landuse patern are in the former places land had been cultivated intensively and centralized on wet fields while

the latter are still not intensively and based on dry land (Kusumadewa et.al. 1986:9,14-15).

Artisanal and labourers fishers in Minahasa could be categorized as poor looking at their dissaving (negative saving) situation. Of 119 fishers in Gangga Island (Minahasa), 81 were reported indebted for daily needs to merchants and middle-persons in and outside Gangga (PWG 1982:8). Their situation is worse than average farm-workers and small farmers situation in national level. According to Central Bureau of Statistics, farm workers and small farmers were in dissaving situation in 1972. But in 1980, both poor households had been reported as have had saving rate of 2.93% and 3.23% of their total income (Sutomo 1987).

Category of poor also could be done by using their own concept. A research done in Jepara, Central Java, has found that generally fishing people's concept of prosperity, welfare and happiness are they have steady health condition overtime for working or to meet future subsistence (Mubyarto et.al. 1984:172). Using this concept, undoubtedly that artisanal and labourer fishers are poor, considering their worse-health condition and sanitation condition, while their nature of working needs healthy and strong power physically (Susanto 1987; Good 1987; Mubyarto et.al. 1984). In Gangga island, of 69 patients which were checked by a medical team from GMIM Bethesda Hospital in 1982, 10 were indicated to have tuberculosis. In this difficult situation they still have to face the reality that in average, prices of daily needs in the island are higher than other places in Minahasa (PWG 1982:11-13).

That plantations workers are poor could be seen to two aspects. Firstly, as it shown in table 2 (Chapter I, p. 3), contribution of plantations and estate subsectors drastically decreased from 57,684.71 million rupiah in 1983 to 39,989.28 million in 1986. This situation is caused by decreasing in productivity and aggravating of copra and coconut oil term of trade. The yield per ha decreases from 1.48 ton in 1974 to 1.07 in 1987, as the consequence of about 150,000 ha of the existing palms are old and unproductive and therefore need to be rejuvenated (L. Sondakh 1988a:17). Decreasing of copra value which had been occurring since colonial era. Therefore it is logic if income and working condition of coconut plantations workers to be worse than before. Secondly, furthermore, we could measure the extent of plantations workers poverty from their working condition and income. As a report on Mangkit plantations workers mentioned (PWG 1981:3-4):

...their task was to climb the trees, usually about 50 feet tall, and out the rippening coconuts and any dead and aged branches; to tear off the fibrous husks by impaling each coconut upon a heavy stake while twisting and ripping vigorously; then to split the coconuts in half and place the shells with the meat in smoke-houses to be dried. Finally, the dried meat, known as copra, was cut out of the shell and sent off to the processing plants,

where the coconut oil was extracted. This work is made more onerous by the fact that the corporation, which manage the plantation, required each team of ten workers to produce a monthly quota of five metric tons of copra. To achieve this quota, the workers, even on a good plantation would need to work all day and late into the night. If the team reached its quota, each was paid about Rp. 17,500 a month in average....

If the above mentioned income is calculated by working hours, then it will be more than a month working hours. To transfer, say it as monthly income, into income per capita, we find it will be 17,500 rupiahs divided 4.5 (persons per household) means 3,900 rupiahs or 15.6 kg of rice equivalent per month or 187 kg per annum. As daily workers, who work for cleaning plantations, they got similar number of income. "Sajogyo's three 'poverty thresholds' for rural areas are defined as : POOR (less than 320 kg of rice equivalent per capita per annum), VERRY POOR (less than 240 kg), and DESTITUTE (less than 180 kg)" (White 1979:93). Using this measurement then coconut plantations workers, particularly daily and seasonal workers could be categorized as very poor even almost destitute.

Concerning to landless and small farmer, as I indicated above, this category of occupation is assumed as poor by many researches and formally by the central bureau of statistics, since their low level of income. It is difficult to give properly terminology of this category, because landless and small farmers are doing agricultural activities as tenants as well as labourers. Declining of farmers' proportion from 58.5% to 54.7% during last decade (Sondakh 1988a:30) perhaps could be indication of worsening situation among this category of occupation.

1.2. Access to Production Resources

In this section I will describe poor situation in term of access to land, capital and labour (especially employment opportunity). Land is important asset for all categories of rural poor either for cultivation or for homesteads. Fishers need access to land for homesteads and for additional income due to uncertainty in fishing work. Same reasons also could be applied to plantations labourers. Certainly, landless and small farmers, who have insufficient land, land is crucial production resources. Most of artisanal fishermen and fish workers in Minahasa have no access to land because they were originally came from other part of Minahasa Land, that is Sangihe & Talaud islands, as I mentioned in previous chapter. Therefore many Sangirese fishermen in Minahasa are crowding in small islands around Minahasa Land such as Gangga, Bunaken, Talise, Bangka, Siladen, etc., or in coastal area surround Minahasa mainland. Many of them do not own land, with exception some of them in the mentioned islands. For example, in Gangga island, with area only 255 ha, the island is inhabited by 2,373 people or 412 households in 315 houses (PWG 1982:1). In this situation, it

is impossible to get land for cultivation as an alternative or additional income earning. The only way to get access to land for cultivating is to cross the sea to go to Sulawesi mainland where they can be tenants farmers. Some households took this way out but as the consequence they had to live separately because they have no land for homesteads in Sulawesi mainland. This situation, finally, is unhealthy for their families' lives. Therefore this way out will only be taken into account when their health condition is unfavourable for doing fishing work.

For many large coconut plantations workers access to land is blocked due to following reasons: Firstly, in some cases they could not get other job outside plantations without sacrificing their existing employment and - more important - their access to land for homesteads. Their access to land of homesteads could be withdrawn by corporation whenever they refuse to work within plantations. Therefore, unless they get access to land outside plantations in term of ownership, they will be landless forever even for their own homestead. A writer noted a village's situation within a plantation in Minahasa as "village without territory" (Haroni 1988:20). Secondly, access to land was blocked in term of prohibition to cultivate their own crops within plantation. In several plantations run by state's enterprises, workers have had access to land in the sense of cultivating their own (food) crops under the coconut trees. But this opportunity is being gone since all coconut plantations in Minahasa are starting to replace old coconut trees with new (hybrid) variety (1988:20 f.f.). Unlike the original coconut, the hybrid coconut is shorter and its leaves cover closely the land under the tree. Meaning that there will be no room for cultivating under the hybrid coconut trees. In this case workers within coconut plantations run by state's enterprises, which previously had better income than their fellows in other plantations, will be poorer than they are. Thirdly, landreform which is promised by agrarian law and several government rules did not favour them when it was applied upon some plantations after independence.

In Minahasa, according a report, number of farmers, who have no land or have less than 0.5 ha were 20 % of total farmers in 1978. In 1986 this proportion increases to be almost 30% (Sondakh 1988:3). The proportion certainly will be higher if we consider farmers who have land less than 1 ha in this category. It indicates that access to land for this category also be blocked. That is why the number of this category increases rather than decreases. For long time, landless and small farmers get access to land through tenancy which called tumoyo, a form of share cropping tenancy. Tenants, in tumoyo system, gave 50% of yield as payment to landlords. Now tumoyo, gradually is being changed to be labour service. The landlords easily withdraw the given access to land to tenants because of increasing in availability of labour service in rural area. This change, mostly, occurs on land which owned by absentee

landlords, who are usually merchants or other elite groups in urban areas. According to a research done by Sam Ratulangi University in Manado and CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) the absentee landlords are being increased in number (1988:6).

Capital could consist of capital goods or technology or credit for consumption and production. In fishery sub-sector, many researchers have shown that higher productivity is determined by modernization of fishing technology (Mubyarto et.al. 1984:18-19). In Gangga island of 119 fishers households, only 18 have motors and other modern fishing tools such as trawl, large net, etc. Sixty are artisanal fishers and 41 are masanae (local dialect for fishing workers). The report further noted, most of the owners of modern fishing technology are outside Gangga (PWG 1982:7). This report is no difference with result of study on socio-economic conditions of fishers in Muncar (East Java), Balikpapan (East Kalimantan) and Sangihe & Talaud (North Sulawesi), done by National Institute for Economic and Social Studies of Indonesian Institute of Science (LEKNAS-LIPI). The research found that "generally pandega or masanae which are living in coastal area are looked in bad sanitation and low income conditions. But the juragan (owners) who are staying near by market with permanent buildings, receive 50% of production" (Susanto 1987). Credit for production in practice only be given by state's banks or private enterprises to people who have valued-thing to guarantee the given credit. It is impossible for artisanal fishers and masanae for asking credit since they have nothing to be guaranteed, except their labour service. They only get access to credit for consumption by indebting daily needs to merchants in and outside Gangga. This credit be paid directly or with their labour indirectly, when they have to sell their production to the creditors.

In coconut plantations case, only corporations have access to credit for production. Either corporations or government officers usually argue that the credit which is given to corporation also for the interest of workers. But the story on hybrid coconut tells us that access to capital for corporations have no positive impact to the workers. Like their fellows in fishery subsector, the only credit which they have access to is credit for consumption in stores those are established by corporations. The stores sell in credit rice and other needs during on working days for workers and their families. It is usual that workers' wages are received to pay only a part of their debt to the corporations (Aditjondro 1982:23).

Landless and small farmers have access to capital through government's BIMAS (Mass Guidance) and INMAS (Mass Intensification) programmes. Those programmes gave package of credit such as fertilizer, seeds etc., especially for food crops such as rice and corn. Besides success story on increasing productivity as the impact of the Bimas

and Inmas programmes, the government also faces problem of unpayable credit (Umpel 1988:1). As the consequence, people, who still are not paying credit, have no access to the next as well as other schemes of credit. Most of them are landless and small farmers. They could not return the credit due to marketing problem. In Minahasa, at the beginning of this decade, government set "Bimas scheme" for cultivating corn, in which the floor price was set at Rp. 105 per kg. But the actual price was only Rp. 60 in harvesting time (Sondakh 1988a:14). In this case, although people have access to credit but their position are still unfavourable since the fluctuation of production and consumer prices which unfavour them (Siahaan 1983:42). Other farmers did not use the access to credit since they apply risk minimizing strategy or survival strategy which makes them feel risky for asking credit.

It is common for rural poor people that in order to meet their subsistence they have to utilize all available labour within their household to get employment opportunities. Labour is the only production asset they have. For the lowest class of fishing households, labour mobilization is occurred in term of utilizing their children to be masanae and the women be peddlers of dry as well as fresh fish to other villages. As the consequence of children utilization for working is the high rate of dropping out of school among this group of households. A report says that in Gangga Island 54% of fishers could only finished their basic schools and 27% were dropped out in basic school (PWG 1982:7).

Women become peddlers for selling surplus mostly in peak season since middle-persons and merchants do not want to buy all fish caught, because the price in market too low. In off or ordinary seasons which fish price is high, all production be sold to middle-persons and merchants for paying debt.

In unfavourable climate for fishing, fishers go out for selling their labour as daily or seasonal labourers in coconut or clove small holders estates. When "clove boom" was occurred in Minahasa during last decade, this seasonal labourers also were taking advantage from this situation. But then clove price falls down, they are not interested anymore to this employment, as an alternative employment, except when they are forced by an emergency situation. Working as labourers in private (smallholders) coconut plantations also faced two problems: (1) Working in coconut estates for processing coconuts to be copra, which gave them higher wages, gradually had been changing into working for harvesting. This change is caused by the emerging of coconut oil and flour manufacturings in Minahasa since last decades. Manufacturers prefer to buy coconut directly from producers rather than copra. (2) Competing with other employment seekers which increases in number along with increasing numbers of landlessness in rural areas. Both problems have limited fishers' alternative

employment.

In plantation sub-sector women assist their husbands in seasonal work for processing copra. Thus income of labourer which I mentioned above is family income, because the labourer has utilized family members to do this work. In some cases, for example in Marinsow plantation, women also become daily workers but their wages less than men. Each day (for seven hours work) a woman is paid Rp. 1,000.00. But they will be recruited if men labourers were doing other work e.g. harvesting coconut (Horoni 1988:21). In other words, they are not more than reserve-labour. Another work which usually is done by women in plantation is to cultivate food crops under the trees within plantation. But prohibition of cultivation directly (instructed by corporation) or indirectly (by changing variety of coconut), makes them losing of additional income earning.

Same problem also faced by landless and small farmers. Because coconut and clove small-holders estates are the main additional employment for them too. The consequence is the increasing of employment is occurred at the moment of decreasing in employment opportunity. As result is the declining in wages. Another form of households' labour utilization among the landless and small farmers is to sell women's labour for planting, weeding and harvesting in paddy field which be paid in kind as well as money. Introducing new variety of paddy has changed the way of harvesting, from using of ani-ani (usually by women) to using of sickle (usually by men). Because the new variety only could be harvested by using of sickle. Another reason of using of sickle is it spent fewer time than using ani-ani. It is reported that percentage of labour force in agrarian sector decreased from 71% to 56% during 1971 - 1980. Particularly striking was to shift of females out of agriculture into trade and services (Sondakh 1988a:31). Housemaids is service sector which is entered by the poor women.

1.3. Social Differentiation

Social differentiation is differentiation among people which is caused by unequal access among direct producers to the means of production (Deere & de Janvry 1981:331). In describing social differentiation among given society, I am going to categorize classess of society based on ownership of means of production, and their relationship. In fishery subsector, it will be identified where is the place of fishing workers and artisanal fishers households and what kind of relationship they have with the owners of ship and fishing net, and merchants who control fish marketing. In plantation subsector social differentiation refers to divisions and relation among workers and between workers and the management of corporation. In small holder

farming it refers to relation between small farmer and landless people with merchants and landlords.

In fishing community, fishing workers are the lowest class, due to their dependency on the juragans (owner of modern fishing technology) in term of employment and on middle-persons or merchants in terms of credit for consumption. In some cases, the juragans also play role as middle persons or merchants to whom the workers indebt their needs. Indebtedness is the juragans' way to prevent workers to escape to other juragans. On the other side, workers have to maintain their relationship with the juragans, since the employment as workers is more competitive due to increasing of employment seekers.

For artisanal fishers, their position is rather better than workers, in term of dependency. Their dependency is in term of indebtedness and production marketing. They indebt their needs to merchants or middle-persons that have to be paid with fish they caught. In this kind of relationship, they lost their freedom to sell their own caught-fish. Fish marketing is controlled by the middle-persons to whom they indebted. "They do not know about up and down of fish price, except fixed price which is determined by middle-persons", says a report (PWG 1982:3). Control power of middle-persons and merchants on fish marketing also covered the management of fishers cooperative which was established by the government for solving fish marketing problem. But the cooperative has 'withered before growing' since it offered fish price lower than middle-persons or merchants offered.

In the middle position of fishing society, I would place the owners of small motorized boats that are operated by themselves. Some of them also play role as small merchants or middle-persons. But the majority of this class indebted their motors from state's bank and merchants or middle-persons in or outside Gangga. In 1982, 3 households of this class felt down to artisanal fishers since they failed to pay the credit. As consequence their motors were withdrawn by creditors (PWG 1982:7).

The top class of this society is placed by the owners of fishing technology such as motorized-fishing ship, trawl and other kind of large size fishing tools. Commonly this class also plays role as middle-persons who provide credit for production and consumption to the lower classes. Almost all institution in the village, governmental and non governmental, are led by people from this class. But this juragan-class are not all staying in the village. Several of them stay outside but have power to control people in the island, thorough indebtedness. Even several juragans were reported as controlled by outside-juragans (PWG 1982:24).

In plantation subsector, social differentiation could be seen as concerning "those with capital and those with only labour service to sell" (Beckford 1983:34). At the top is the management of corporation who has capital. This top class controls the lower class which is workers. But the workers could be divided as those who has skill and those who are unskilled labourers. Plantations in Minahasa have three types of workers: full-time, daily, and seasonal. The foremen were selected from full-timers. Generally the fulltimers received a life-time guarantee of: 1,500 - 2,000 rupiah per day; a house; 10 kg of rice per week; a contribution of coffee, sugar, salt, shoes, rainwear and tools; and health care (Stephenson p.3). The full-timer were selected based on their skill in administrative work and their influence to the workers. That is why the formal or informal leaders of the society are also full-timers. Daily and seasonal workers are the lowest class in the plantation society. The same people do daily as well as seasonal work. Workers are given daily wages for weeding plantation. Proccessing coconut to be copra is seasonal work that be paid based on quota. Workers have to do the work as it is asked by corporation unless they will be pushed out of plantation. Meaning they lost their access to land for homesteads and employment as well. Since they have no access to land outside plantation, it is risky to be squeezed from plantation. Thus access to land of homesteads without ownership right is the way to tie daily and seasonal workers within plantation. Another way is indebtedness through store which is set by corporation, as I noted above.

Landless and small farmers also are the lowest class in farmers subsector. The upper class is landlords and merchants or middle-persons. It is neccessary to distinguish between landless and small farmers who are tenants farmers and labourers. As tenants farmers, their relationship with landlords mostly in term of obligation to share the yielded-crops. Their income is determined by the yield they had, the share the lanlord requires and certainly market situation. In some cases landlords play role as merchants or middle-persons, who give credit for production and consumption which have to be paid in kind (crops). The middle persons control the market, since the small farmers have to sell their production as debt-payment. So price is determined by the middle persons. As a result, "de jure farmers control land but de facto they are workers on their own land" (Politton, personal communication). But many of tenants are given credit by government through mentioned-schemes BIMAS and INMAS.

Share-cropping relationship rather favours landlords in two senses: (1) proportion of share-cropping only be based on informal agreement without jurudical guarantee. Law of share cropping is impotent. Thus tenants farmers have no bargaining power; (2) tenancy easily could be changed to labour service which is preffered by landlords, since labourers are available within situation of increasing number of employment seekers.

The fate of labourers farmers are not better than tenants. They are free to sell labour but they are not free to determine their wages and working condition.

Given the historical and cultural background, which I noted in previous chapter, this social differentiation is also related to ethnic differentiation, because most of the poor are Sangirese. Therefore it is no wonder if the foremen or other fulltimers in plantations are Minahasans, while the majority of seasonal and daily workers are Sangirese. Same picture could be seen in farming subsector. The landlords are Minahasans or Chinese and labourers or tenants farmers are Sangirese. Housemaids are also dominated by Sangirese women. This unlimited time of work with low payment is entered by women who have no access to means of production and also have no job opportunity in agriculture sector. In this sense, gender differentiation within or in relation to social differentiation is manifested in situation where women are the first-party to be victims of social differentiation.

2. CAUSES OF POVERTY

Khan and Lee (1983:9) noted that influencing factors changes in poverty level in rural Asia are the nature of agrarian structure, high degree of landlessness, declining cultivated area, declining in agricultural wages and population growth. While Siahaan (1983:42) added following factors:

...fluctuation of production and consumer prices combined with the fixing of a market price...the loss of spare time sources of income (fallow soil, common lands for pasture, free fire-wood etc.)...the worsening of the village redistributive mechanism...colonial states protect the rights of ownership....

These factors also influence situation of rural poor in Minahasa. Of all influencing factors, I compile them into following causes of rural poor: unequal structure, capital penetration, ecological problem and population pressure. The way I sistimize these causing factors gives impression that all factors relate with each other. It will be clear when we trace the following explanations.

2.1. Unequal Structure

Nature of agrarian structure being an unequal structure favours only certain class within society. Concentration production resources in smallest number of upper class people leads to situation in which relationship between owners and labourers becomes more and more exploitative (Siahaan 1983:42). Those who have access to means of production, to political power and state resources are more easily appropriating surpluses. While those, who have no such access and power, become means, even

object, of surplus appropriation. The situation was being drawn in previous section when I talked about social differentiation. At the macro level, unequal structure is being worsened by applying growth oriented policy in economic development which focuses on increasing productivity land per hectaar but neglecting income distribution or uquity of access to means of production. Thus the policy favors only the better off. In micro level, unequal structure is being supported by three mechanisms. Firstly, patron-client relationship associated with indebtedness. An author (Jobert 1983:20) explained indebtedness mechanism as folows :

the debtor does nothing to free himself, but rather holds out indebtedness as a source of revenue which makes up for all the work he does for his master. The master keeps scrupulous records of the debt, not in order to secure reimbursement which is impossible, but to more effective tie down part of debtor's labour force for his own advantage.

The second mechanism could be traced in case of distribution several plantations in Minahasa, as implementation of Indonesian agrarian law. Actually those plantations were distributed to certain elite class in urban area, while the landless, particularly plantations labourers got nothing. This mechanism could be occured under circumstances of inefficiency through poor functioning of rule of law, and insufficient or inadequate control mechanism of applying legal system which, formally, favours poor people (c.f. Shadid et.al. 1982:27-28). The third mechanism is by applying free labour regime. "Free" means they are freed from means of production and they free to hire out their labour for wage (Wuyts 1988:6). Plantation labourers in Minahasa are separated, directly and indirectly as well, from means of production by prohibiting to cultivate their own crops within plantation area, while they have no access to land outside plantations. While poor men are suffered from unequal structure, certainly, poor women, the reserve-labour, are worse than men. So it is no wonder if women will be the first who are squeezed out of agriculture to domestic servant.

This unbalanced-structure within Minahasa rural areas is also historical inheritance as impact of unbalanced-structure of society in Sangihe & Talaud as well as the impact of colonial interest which was applied in Minahasa during colonial time. Thus this unbalanced structure is related with the next cause of poor situation that is capital penetration which was brought to Minahasa by colonialism.

2.2. Capital Penetration

Before the advent of colonialism, agricultural production form of Minahasa was subsistence³ agriculture, where people grew rice, maize and cassava as staple food on

³ I use types of agricultural production forms as it is used by Johnson and Crow (1988:139) which consist of subsistence, petty commodity production and capitalist.

dry field (Graafland 1874:33). They use communal labour, called mapalus, which worked on communal possession of land, in which each individual member had absolute and complete right (Hickson 1889:231). It was since colonial time, production form transformed to petty commodity production. Rice was introduced by colonial government, not merely as staple food, but as trade commodity. It is noted that

[...] this commodity became one of VOC major concerns: (1) for securing the food supply of its many establishments; (2) rice was the key for bartering spices in the Eastern Archipelago (Creutzberg 1978:15).

For those reasons the population laid out wet rice-fields under the compulsion of the colonial chief (Kroeskamp 1974:102), which led Minahasa to be rice exporter for Java and other islands (Creutzberg 1978:85). Within this form of production privat ownership was introduced (tanah pasini). Communal land was shifted to tanah walak and tanah kalakeran. Those kinds of collective land ownerships still gave access to people for using land but not for possessing. Tanah walak was regulated by the chief of walak (a level of local government) and tanah kalakeran was regulated by tua un taranak (the head of extended family or clan). Thus capital penetration in term of technology in cultivating of rice and commoditization of rice, was the beginning of social differentiation in term of land ownership in Minahasa. The introduction of plantation crops such as coffee, cocoa and coconut was the beginning of greater transformation of agricultural structure in Minahasa, to be more export-crop oriented, with large scale plantations. The transformation had caused the role of agriculture in Minahasa changed from rice exporter became rice importer (Creutzberg 1978:16). As exporter of copra, Minahasa role had not been changing after colonial era. In this sense Minahasa agriculture becomes capitalist production form. Because plantation settlement had been establishing under following precondition:

(1) capital sufficient to allow the plantation organization to secure needed factors of production; (2) land in sufficient quantity and of quality adequate for present and future production; (3) labour in sufficient quantity to minimize production cost and so maximize profit; (4) technology of a sufficiency high level for modern production; and (5) sanctions of a political-legal sort to maintain a disciplined labour force and to regulate distribution of the surplus (Beckford 1983:33-34).

Status of tanah walak and tanah kalakeran became state ownership; in which access to land could be got by tenancy (Adam 1976:89-90; Siwu 1985:62). This led to the emerging of large plantations in Minahasa. Many plantations have been distributed to people after independence. But now there are still 4,108 ha of large coconut plantations in Minahasa (Statistical Office of North Sulawesi 1987:193). In this form of production, land, labour, output, tools and other inputs are commoditized.

Farming subsector, radically, changes to be highly commoditized since BIMAS and INMAS (Indonesian version of Green Revolution) had been launching. Because the main goal of BIMAS and INMAS is to increase output per hectare of land, while for

the state, self sufficiency is a political goal. That's why it also brings to social differentiation and in turn creates unequal structure in this subsector.

In fishery subsector, capital penetration could be seen in term of motorized boats for fishing which replace canoes, introducing trawl and other sophisticated technologies of production, distribution and marketing. Artisanal fishermen, who apply subsistence or petty commodity forms, had been pushing to be fish workers because their room of maneuver had been restricting. Also distribution and marketing process become unfavourable for the pedlers, those are women, because they could not compete with the owners of motorized-boats and cold storages, which could reach market or consumers rapidly, safely and in large scale, so the price relatively cheaper. Again social differentiation process is occurred. Thus social differentiation as a phenomena of poverty is also caused by capital penetration which creates, maintains and worsens unequal structure in rural and agricultural sector.

This process is still going on up till now. In sections 1.2. and 1.3. of this chapter (P.p. 18-28), I describe stories about coconut hybrid variety which blocks plantations workers' access to land for cultivating their food crops, changing of tumovo (share cropping) to be labour service, unpayable credit BIMAS, changing of work from copra processing to be harvesting coconuts, and changing of work for harvesting paddy from ani-ani to sickle. Those stories are examples of changings which are caused by capital penetration. This process goes on because capital penetration is intended to make profit by responding market stimulation. It is not intended to produce for reproduction or to meet the poor's need.

Another affect of capital penetration is ecological problem. Thus ecological problem as causes of poverty should be related to capital penetration. As an example I refer to a research has been done in Central Java which proved how fishers' productivity declines rapidly along with motorization of fishing ships (Mubyarto et.al. 1984:18). It is logic because technology accelerates fish catching process which more rapidly than cyclus of fish growing.

2.3. Ecological Problem

Some rural poor people migrated form their original place, e.g. Sangihe & Talaud, to Minahasa due to natural calamity such as exploded-volcanoes, and limited-arable land. Similar problems are faced by people in Minahasa also. During eighties thousands of households had to be resettled to other places because of exploded-volcanoes. In other places, such as people surroundings Tondano lake, had been resettling due to flood.

Flood is occurred because of erosion which is symptom of decreasing in quality of land. Other sign of degradation of land quality in Minahasa is sword grass. Of 188,971 ha of sword grass in North Sulawesi, 165,553 ha or 87.61% is situated in Minahasa. In this sense Minahasa is the highest regency which suffered most by degradation of land quality.

2.4. Population Pressure

With exception of one municipality, table 3 shows, that Minahasa land is the highest density of population in the province of North Sulawesi. As I noted in previous chapter, Manado and Bitung municipalities are situated within Minahasa Land. Thus population pressure within these municipalities has directly influence to Minahasa regency in term of seeking employment within agrarian sector. Also, historically, even up till now, Sangihe and Talaud, the second highest density regency in North Sulawesi, is the source of migrant workers for Minahasa. That is why relative high density of population in Sangihe & Talaud regency has to be taken into account as supporting factors to increase population pressure in Minahasa.

Table 3: DISTRIBUTION AND POPULATION DENSITY
IN PROVINCE NORTH SULAWESI (1986)

Regency/Municipality	Population	Percentage	Density per square km
-REGENCY			
1. Gorontalo	563,436	24.28	46.61
2. Bolaang Mongondouw	346,677	14.94	41.04
3. Minahasa	734,369	31.65	169.91
4. Sangihe & Talaud	246,785	10.63	109.00
MUNICIPALITY			
5. Gorontalo	109,879	4.73	1,695.92
6. Manado	228,736	9.86	9,451.90
7. Bitung	90,660	3.91	298.22
TOTAL	2,320,542	100	84.34

Source: Statistical Office of North Sulawesi (1987) but **bold** is my emphasize.

Combining with inheritance system and inavailability of new field, then arable land becomes smaller and smaller. Concerning to data that noted in the second chapter, we could see that land for cultivation in Minahasa is about 25.31% of the total land area. While according to an aerial survey reported by Babcock and Cummings (as quoted by Sondakh 1988a:12) "land area identified as suitable for intensive farming is only around 11% of the total land area". This figure gives impressions that Minahasa has been heavily overloaded for agriculture activities.

Besides in number, population pressure also could be seen in term of quality. Low productivity due to high level of sickness is one aspects of population pressure. Thus population pressure will cause poverty under condition of low productivity. Low productivity is related to availability of means of production and employment. This situation also should be related to distribution of production resources and employment opportunity. Then population pressure could be seen as cause of poverty under condition of unequal structure.

CHAPTER III: KNOWING THE CHRISTIAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN MINAHASA

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It has been reported that at the time of the East-India Company (VOC = Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie), which controlled all Dutch's colonies in Asia (1596-1799), there were christians congregations in Minahasa. But those congregations were neglected, since the VOC's interest was trade. For the sake its interest VOC controlled and made use the church (v.d.End 1983:217). Around 1785, Rev. Adam was sent to Tondano by VOC. But after a rebellion in 1790 (first Tondano War), the superiors recalled "the insolent and disobedient preacher". The stay of "this diligent and independent man" in Tondano may well have influenced the situation there, even frankly he critisized VOC on its treatment against people (Kroeskamp 1974:110; Supit 1986:140).

Changing of church controlling from VOC to state's church (Indische Kerk) had given several limited-progresses. The church gave more priority to maintain the existing congregation which dominated by Dutch officers and their families (v.d.End 1980:238-39). It is noted (Muller Kruger 1959:91) that christianization effort in Minahasa, was not done by Indische Kerk, but by the Netherlands Missionary Society (NZG=Nederlands Zendeling Genootschap). NZG was established by christians who were influenced by pietism. Pietism is a school of theology which concentrated on the emerging and developing of faith within individual's mind. It tends to neglect other dimension of faith such as world's creation and maintaining. Pietism also pays more attention to subjective experiences or spiritual experiences (v.d.End 1980:141).

It was G.J. Helendoorn could be called as the pioneer of mission in Minahasa, who came to Manado in 1827. He made journeys into upland and he directed his attention in particular to improvement of education by establishing mission school for indigenous non-christian children. To meet many chiefs of villages expressed-need of school, he asked financial support from NZG and the Netherlands Bible Society. Solution of teachers shortage was to train Minahasan youths in his home in 1829. Improvement of education was along the lines envisaged by NZG which was instructed to missionaries and was carried out dilligently by them. As the result, "the territory acquired the densest network of schools of the whole archipelago" (Kroeskamp

1973:112-3). School became one of mission vehicle and congregational building and functioned as "seedbed of the church" which was used intensively (v.d. End 1980:180). J.F. Riedel and J. Schwarz, both were "Berliner Pietism educated", stayed and worked in uplands, especially Tondano and Langowan, in 1831; then christianity spread out rapidly in Minahasa.

Because of financial problem between 1875-1882, NZG transfered their work to Indische Kerk (Protestant Church in Indonesia) in which Minahasan congregations as the fruit of NZG's missionaries work, were integrated into Indische Kerk structure (v.d. End 1980:181). This "influenced-colonial structure" had closely related to colonial government. Kerkbestuur in Jakarta governed all churches especially in nominating and transferring of ministers and assistant ministers (de Jonge 1987:126). Desiring of authonomy which emerged among educated-people in Minahasa church and financial problem which was faced by NZG and Indische Kerk, had accelerated process of church authonomy in Minahasa. Then either NZG or Indische Kerk realized that an authonomous church was required to deal with this problem. The church in Minahasa was proclaimed as an independence church in 30 September 1934. The Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa (GMIM = Gereja Masehi Injili Minahasa) was the first church which proclaimed its independence from Indische Kerk.

Changing to independent church, also changed its structure to be presbyterial-synodal, in which decision making is bottom-up process. But at the first period of its independence, GMIM's structure still contained hierarchical-structure elements of Indische Kerk. Because Indische Kerk decided that the president of the church synod be appointed by Kerkbestuur (1987:137). Therefore the presidents of GMIM were Dutch ministers up till 1942. Another element of dependency was that the biggest part of church's cost was still paid by the colonial government (Lintong 1978:31). This situation was changed when the Japanese captured Indonesia, including Minahasa in 1942. Dutch ministers were arrested. Since that time up to now the church has been conducted by Minahasans. Under this circumstance the church applied its actual structure of presbyterial synodal without any intervention of Kerkbestuur.

GMIM inherited schools and health institutions from NZG and Indische Kerk as well. Transferred-schools were 220 basic schools and around 20 high schools using Indonesian language, several HIS (Hollandse Indlandse School) and MULO (Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs = Primary High School); while hospitals were three. But the "new" church also expanded its diakonia works by establishing new hospitals, clinics and orphanages during 1934-1942. In these efforts, an indigineous minister, Rev. A.Z.R. Wenas, as vice president of the church, had played important role (de Jonge 1987:143). During Japanese occupation, a lot of schools and several hospitals

were taken over by Japanese government. Most of them were not return to GMIM up to now. Now GMIM conducts 339 kindergartens, 365 basic shools, 2 handicap schools, 65 primary high schools, 31 secondary high schools, and a university. Concerning to health institutions it conducts 6 hospitals, 39 clinics; besides primary health care in hundreds villages.

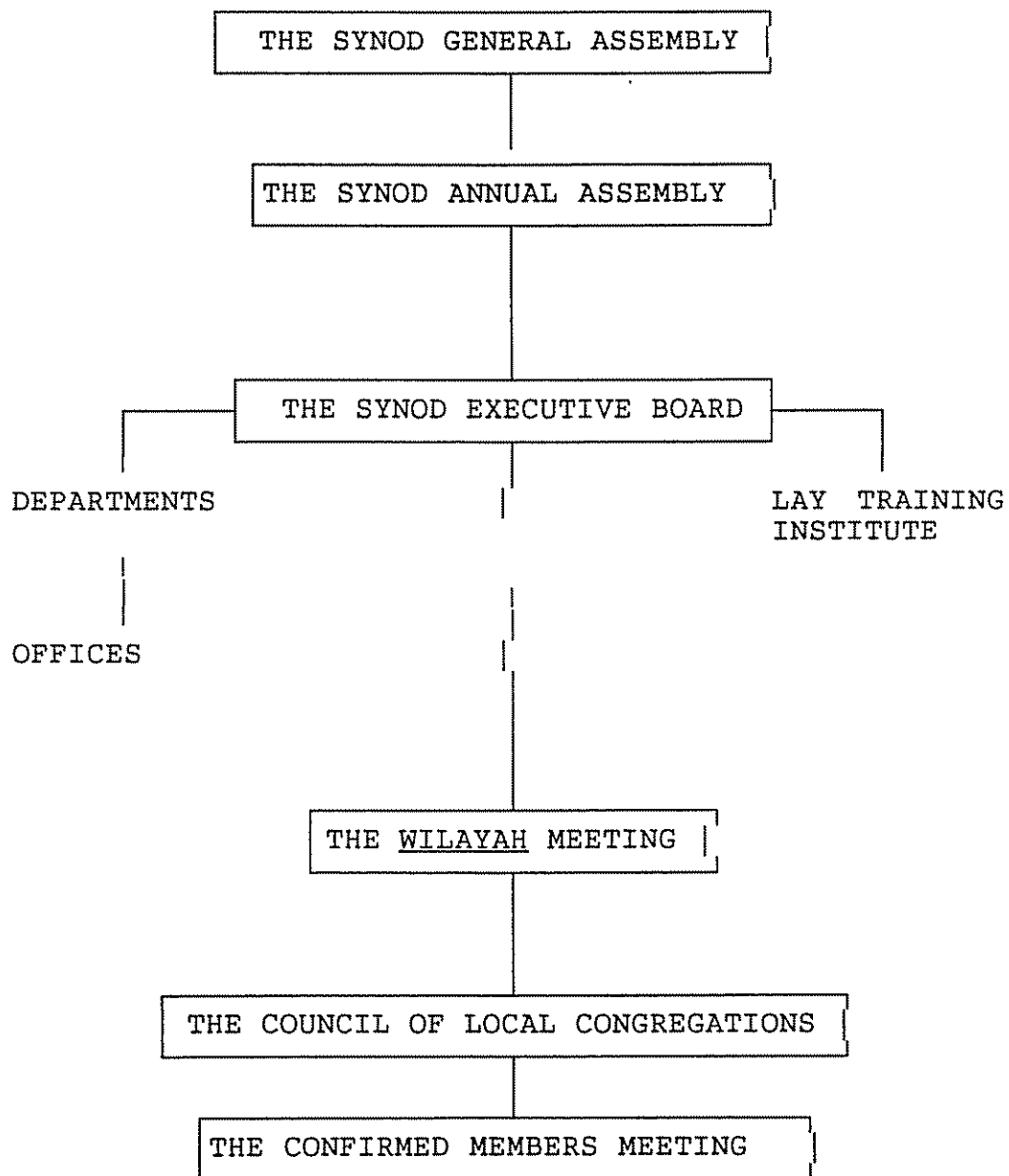
2. STRUCTURE AND LEADERSHIP OF GMIM

GMIM's church order (BPS-GMIM 1986:13) states that the church's tasks be done based on consensus within each service level of the church. There are four level of services: three of them in sense of territorial, and another one is categorial services. The territorial one consits of congregations (local churches), counties (wilayah) and synod.

Congregations' task is to deal with the church' task and members' interests within local churches. The congregation is led by the council of the congregation which consists of elders (penatua), deacons (syamas) and the minister. The member of council is elected among confirmed-members in which each group of 25-30 members of households (called as kolom litteraly means collumn) elects an elder and a deacon. Other elders are elected among local-categorial groups which are sunday-school teachers, leaders of remaia (adolcents), youth, women and men. The council decides congregations' programmes by taking into account the categorial groups programmes, along with suggestions and aspirations which are expressed by members through confirmed-members meetings. Other task of confirmed-members meeting is to choose elders and deacons (BPS-GMIM 1986:39).

The wilayah is a level of service which consists of several local congregations. The main task of wilayah is "to do common local churches' tasks within the same scope" (1986:50). Wilayah is led by the executive board of wilayah which is elected by the wilayah meeting, with exception of the chairperson who is appointed by the synode executive board. Wilayah meeting consist of congregations' representatives, viz those are members of the executive board of the congregational council, and decides the wilayah's programmes and elects its representatives for the synod annual meeting as well as the synod general assembly (BPS-GMIM 1986:52-62).

CHART 1 :
THE GMIM'S STRUCTURE OF ORGANIZATION



Source: BPS-GMIM (1986)

The synod is the level which covers all the congregations and wilayahs in Minahasa which is manifested in the synod general assembly and the synod annual assembly. Synod general assembly which is taken place once in four years consist of local congregations and wilayahs representatives. It decides the broadline of common tasks of the church for a period, to choose the executive board of synod for given period and to revise church order. The synod annual assembly evaluates and decides the annual programmes of the church. The executor of these synods and the leader of the church, during the periods between the synod general and annual assemblies, is the synod executive board. The church order gives the executive board right and authority to nominate, to appoint, to transfer and to dismiss ministers and other clerics in local congregations, wilayahs, synod and church's institutions (1986:64-73).

Although decision making is based on consensus, but the church order also states that God's word (means theology) is the basis of decision making (1986:11-12). That is why the role of theologian is determinant factor in this church life.

Diakonia works, which is studied in this research paper, is launched by Department on Diakonia and Lay Training Institute. Department on Diakonia deals with its projects through its offices. There are five offices which are health, education, charity/relief, rural community development and environmental preservation. The PKMD project is conducted by the Health Office, while DAC project is conducted by the Office of Rural Community Development in cooperation with World Vision International. The PPM project is conducted by Lay Training Institute. Traditionally the institute dealt with programmes of training for church's leaders. PPM, which goes directly to the church members, especially the poor was one of training programmes that was recommended by 1979 Synod Assembly in Ratahan (BPS-GMIM 1980 : 67). The offices and the institute offer their programmes to the executive board then those will be applied by each office and institute. After applying their programmes or projects, the offices and the institute report their works to the executive board (See the Chart).

3. GMIM's PLACE WITHIN MINAHASA SOCIETY

3.1. Power Position and Authority

GMIM position and authority within Minahasa society could be seen from its membership and leadership, besides its history. The majority of people in Minahasa land belong to this church membership. Even in some local congregations are found that all population belong to GMIM's memberships. Therefore the election of local government is also determined by the candidates' roles within the church activities.

Their "connection with religion, their piety, is also evident" of their capacities to be the leaders (Schouten 1987:92). Thus it could be understood if an author noted, that the nature of bureaucracy in Indonesia, is also influenced by religious background (McAndrew 1986:31). Meaning that loyalty to the religion influences decision making of the bureaucracies. It was the governor of North Sulawesi Province, C.J. Rantung, in his speaking in 1986 synod assembly, admitted that "GMIM's ministers whether as members of congregations councils or other functional committees, are consists of the intellectual people, scholars and technocrats, and other highly regarded persons" (BPS-GMIM 1987:54). A lot of bureaucracies in province, regency, municipalities, sub-districts and villages level belong to this church. Up till now the status as ministers, elders and deacons are being respected by people in Minahasa community. That is why the election of elder and deacon and also other status within the church are marked by competitive situation in all level of the church structure (BPS-GMIM 1986a:20-23). The authority of GMIM within Minahasa society also could be seen in the Minahasans admission of the legitimacy of the present national government and their loyalty to the church. According to a researcher, their compliance to the government "is based on non-acceptance would have even more harmful consequences", while "active, voluntary loyalty they show to the church" (Schouten 1987:95).

The status of this church within Minahasa society is not merely determined by its number of members and the Minahasans cultural background, but also the church's works, especially within social sectors such as schools, hospitals, etc. Most of Minahasan educated-people have spent their school time in schools conducted by GMIM.

3.2. The ownership of basic assets

Unlike the first period of the church, in which the biggest part of its costs was paid by colonial government, now GMIM practically autonomous in term of funds. Its clerics' salaries, routine costs of its organization and its related-institutions (education, health and social services), are borne by the church in the sense of its related intitutions, synod office, counties (wilayah) and local congregations. The main problem which is faced by the church is not how to make money, but how to use money. Elizabeth Demuth, a Swiss fraternal worker stated, when she was speaking in 1989 synod annual meeting, that "comparing to other churches in eastern part of Indonesia, GMIM like a paradise, its potential is tremendous...But the problem is how to use its potential for human restoration and building and not only for erecting or restoration of physical building..." (Palakat 1983:13,15). P. Karambut (1983:6), the former chief of Rural Development Section of North Sulawesi Province, had been expressed his astonishment, that "with only less than 1 million rupiah, in average, subsidized by the

government, many GMIM congregations (local) were able to erect churches' building which counted in tens millions rupiahs. Demuth and Karambut are indeed right, because in reality, most part of GMIMs budget is for building of churches. To erect new and big church building becomes priority for many local congregations. It is a matter of competition among local congregations. In 1987/1988, it was noted, that GMIMs budget (all of institutions and level of services) was more than Rp. 6.000.000.000,00. But more than 50% was forecasted for churches building and restoration (BPS-GMIM 1987a:24). While for salaries of its clerics, as unbargained-budget, was Rp. 699,052,629 or around 12% of the given total budget (BPS-GMIM 1989:11).

With exception of some small projects among poor people like Pungkol and Mangkit, in which the biggest part of funds came from GMIM congregations (PWG-GMIM 1981:20-23), big projects, including rural poor projects are donated by foreign agencies, either governmental or non governmental organizations. For example, for renovation and expanding hospitals buildings, rural primary health programmes, orphanages and DAC projects; are donated from outside. From other point of view, this situation shows how GMIM has access to outside resources of fund rising in case of unavailability of domestic sources.

Therefore, the main task of the synod executive board is how to mobilize the real potency of GMIM for projects among rural poor people, instead of its dependency on donor agencies. It is not impossible task, learning from Pungkol and Mangkit experiences which were supported by domestic sources. Demanding of funds for Mangkit and Pungkol projects are subsidized by other GMIM's local congregations. For example for establishing of collective shops and for training of local people. Politton's experiences (personal communication) also proved the availability of domestic sources to finance projects or programmes among rural poor. Water supply project and primary high school in Serey village are the spoken-facts. Of 4.8 million rupiahs total cost of water supply project in Serey, only 1 million was subsidized by Church World Service, an American Churches-related agency, while the most portion came from local people, although the majority of them are poor (artisanal fishers, landless and small farmers). Thus domestically GMIM can raise funds either from local people or other GMIM's local congregations. Obstacles of this efforts are (a) diakonia work in relation to the poor is still understood as charity or relief. This kind of service has been practiced by all local congregations either within each local congregation or inter local congregations; (b) a lot of 'rich' congregations are more interested to establish conventional diakonia activities such as schools building; (c) lack of efforts towards making the 'rich' local congregations close or know about rural poor projects which are being conducted by synod offices, except PWG's efforts; (d) being spoiled by

availability of funds from donor agencies, while the church's history says that financial problems could be solved by the church itself (c.f. Section 1, p.p. 28-29).

3.3. Relation with the Local Government

The Institution of Village Community Resilience (LKMD = Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa) is a forum for community participation in planning and implementing of development in village level. Members of LKMD, are religious community leaders, intellectuals and leaders of other institutions within villages (A.Turang 1983:2). Due to its position as the majority in Minahasa, it is logic that leaders of GMIM local congregations are members of LKMDs, since they are categorized as leaders of religious institutions and (in many cases) intellectuals as well. Right now more than 50 % of total local congregations leaders are educated people with academic background. Of about 600 leaders of local congregations, 289 are theologians with academic education background (BPS-GMIM 1989a:21). While many local congregations which are not led by theologians, are led by laypersons who have academic educations background also.

Generally, the relationship runs well. Tension only be occurred due to personal reasons, as is Polittons experience. Maintaining harmonious relationship between the church and the state, beside theological reason, is also motivated by Minahasan cultural background. The ancient structure of Minahasan community was maintained by two "pillars" those were tona'as and walian. Tona'as was the chief of community in governmental field, while the walian dealt with religious affair. But both of them were admitted as had same level within the old Minahasan structure (B. Supit 1986:61-65). Up to the present day, the legitimacy of leadership in Minahasa villages "is derived from a combination of achievement and personal qualities and, most of all, from devine election" (Schouten 1987 :87) which is related to the church. Thus, good relationship with the church is also needed by local leaders as legitimacy of their leaderships.

3.4. Relation with NGOs

As it is indicated above, GMIM has access to fund rising from outside sources. It could be occurred due to closely and good relationship with NGOs whether in terms of multilateral or bilateral relationships. Multilateral relationship refers to GMIM membership in National Council of Churches (PGI= Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia), Christian Conference of Asia, World Council of Churches, World Association for Christian Communication and National Coalition for Christian Communication. With secular organizations could be noted GMIM involvement in National Coalition of Environmentalist Organizations (WALHI). A GMIM-related

organization, NURANI foundation, takes part in INGI (Inter Non-Governmental Group for Indonesia). At North Sulawesi level, GMIM was the initiator of forming net work among NGO in cooperation with a secular NGO in Jakarta (Bina Desa).

Bilateral relationship is launched with either governmental or non governmental organizations. The former means Indonesian government as well as foreign government, such as Swiss Embassy in Jakarta for PKMD (Rural Primary Health Care) project. The latter means whether secular or church related organizations. With secular organizations, could be noted here Bina Desa (Developing of Village), Bina Swadaya (Developing of Self Reliance), Legal Aid Institution (LBH = Lembaga Bantuan Hukum) in Jakarta, while for local NGOs is easily to be connected because many of them are organized by the church members. With church related organizations, for example ICCO, Zending NHK and GKN (The Netherlands), Church World Service, World Vision International and United Church of Disciple of Christ (USA), SOAM and Basel Mission (Switzerland), EZE and KEM (West Germany). The above mentioned relationship are dealing with fund aid, skill training or exchange, information exchange, etc.

3.5. Relation with the Rural Poor People

Closeness to the poor has been noted as a "factor of effectiveness of NGO to work among poor people" (Hyden as quoted by Hannam 1988:6). Closeness to the poor makes NGO has sensitivity of poor situation and in turn to be influenced for changing and choosing strategies for mobilizing poor people.

Most of rural poor people in Minahasa, as indicated above, belong to GMIM membership and majority of them are Sangirese. This ethnical barrier is a historical inheritance that has to be handled by GMIM. One effort is to make explicit the nature of GMIM as a territorial church and it is not a ethnic church. Historically the word "MINAHASA" in GMIM meant the ethnic of Minahasa (Lintong 1978). But later this meaning was avoided the reality that GMIM has not any congregation outside Minahasa territory. Since 1981 it was stated clearly within its church order and its explanation that "Minahasa {in GMIM} refers to the territory (place), that is Minahasa land (according to customary law) which now consists of Manado and Bitung Municipalities and Minahasa Regency" (BPS-GMIM 1986:9). Also between GMIM and the Christian Evangelical Church in Sangihe and Talaud (GMIST = Gereja Masehi Injili Sangihe & Talaud) there is an agreement that GMIM members who move to Sangihe & Talaud automatically belong to GMIST membership and so do GMIST members who move to Minahasa Land.

Formally, in GMIM structure, poor people interests could be expressed and channelled through confirmed-members meeting which is organized by the local congregation council. However the problem is finally that decision making is in the hands of elders and deacons who are the members of congregational council. In many cases most of them are from upper class within society, as it is mentioned in previous chapter (Ch. II, p.p. 19-20). On the other hand the church order gives place to the poor interests in terms of deacons' task for "witnessing [it could be read as 'demonstrating'] to government and society the realization of justice, welfare, security within society and to help people who face socio-economic problem" (BPS-GMIM 1986:167-168). But actually, the syamas only plays role as money collector. The well-formulated tasks of syamas is only on the paper. While avoiding its potential cadres within its structure, the church introduces cadres and CAs which have same task with the syamas. The actual place of the poor within the church's activities for expressing their interests are weekly church service in kolom level which is launched as group of bible study and later, kelompok fungsional (functional groups), in which church members who faces similar problems and functions within society are organized in a kelompok fungsional (BPS-GMIM 1989:21). This kind of group is inspired by PWG's work among the poor.

Lack of coordination could be seen in term of insufficient infra structure in dealing with program for the poor in wilayah (county) and local congregations scope (Paat, personal communication). In other part the church order obliges to pay attention on the poor by forming special committee for serving the poor within local congregation (BPS-GMIM 1986:36). But in fact, most, if not all, of congregations have no special committee of the poor as it is obliged by the church order. But whether there is sufficient infrastructure or not, there is still another factor which is influenced GMIM's mechanism of work. The factor is three kinds of dependency. Firstly, dependency of local congregations and wilayahs on synod' apparatus works, such as PWG, PKMD and DAC. It was reported that many wilayahs and local congregations asked synod apparatus for juklak (elaborated-guidance) for doing programmes in local congregations and wilayahs (BPS-GMIM 1985:77). It seems that church's work mechanisms is influenced by Indonesian bureaucracy system that highly centralized (Sarapung, personal communication). Secondly, in local and wilayah level this kind of dependency is happened in term of highly centralized of church work on the hands of the pastor. This pastor-centralized causes the potency of syamas could not be mobilized for doing diakonia works. On the contrary, the pastors are sunk into ceremonial works. In turn, it is logic, that this situation creates discrepancy between theological awareness and doing theology on church for the poor (Slob, personal communication). Thirdly, dependency of field staff on the top management, in term of decision making. Field staffs who are directly involved in programmes

implementation are not the decision makers (Demuth, personal communication).

Besides dependency, conflict of interests within the church is crucial problem. The conflict is as the consequence of presbyterial-synodal structure which is applied by GMIM. In this structure, decision making is based on consensus which takes into account as many as interests of the church members as well as government interests since there are many government bureaucracies are involved in the church activities.

The next question is arisen: how about the non-GMIM poor people? To reach this group is more difficult for GMIM since there are three barriers: firstly difference in ethnicity, secondly in class and thirdly in religion. There are three ways to deal with this problem. Firstly, as it is happening in reality, they could be touched as the result of expanding in mobilization efforts within local congregation. But it just will work if the non-GMIM poor people are the minority. Secondly, to reach the poor people who are the majority within a village, GMIM has just founded a foundation called NURANI Foundation, which emphasizes its work on study, conscientization and community development among rural poor. With this foundation, it is expected GMIM could reach other rural poor people without "waving its flag". Thirdly, DAC project could reach villages in which the majority are moslems, through good relationship between CAs with some 'progressive' people in those villages. Whether GMIM could really reach the target groups or to what extent its strategy could mobilize rural poor people, will be traced in the next chapters.

4. INFLUENCING FACTORS ON THE CHURCH'S INVOLVEMENT WITHIN DEVELOPMENT

Tracing the history of the church, I recognize that factors which influence the church in doing activities within Minahasa society are the following interrelated-factors: condition and situation within Minahasa society, theology of the church, and its relationship with other institutions whether NGOs or governmental institutions. The interrelations of those factors could be explained as follows: the situation within society influences theology of the church, while the church's theology tries to response the existing situation within society. But the strategy of involvement also are influenced by the church relationship with other institutions. With theology I mean the church's understanding - based on biblical witness - on God's will which have to be done by the church for the sake of the world. To some extent theology could be categorized into ideology. Because ideology consists of "patterns of cognitive and moral beliefs about man, society, and the universe in relation to man and society" (Shils 1968:66). What makes theology and ideology different is that theology emphasizes on God's will

towards relationship between man, society and the universe.

When the church was strongly influenced by pietism, then its strategy of ministry among poor people was intended to repent them in order to receive Christ as personal Saviour. The church's activities of education, health, and other kinds of charities were mostly functioned as the tools of mission (c.f. Section 1, p. 28). In other words the aim is not to solve the problem itself but "to win lost-soul for Christ". This theology influenced GMIM for long time as it identified in previous section of this chapter.

Recent theology which is inspiring GMIM in its involvement within development arena, could be traced in its currently church order which was set up since 1960-es with minor revision in 1981. Talking about diakonia (service) work the church order states "the church' calling for demonstrating to the government and society to build responsible society in all aspect of life, which could be achieved on the basis of justice, peace and truth" (BPS-GMIM 1986:106). This theology is known among World Council of Churches (WCC) as social ethic theology which offers an alternative of development approaches which during 40-ies to 60-ies were dominated by two ideologies: communism and capitalism (B.A.Supit 1989:70).

In GMIM, social ethic theology had been developing along with efforts toward contextualization of theology (BPS-GMIM 1982:12). It refers to efforts to define an applied-theology within national and local situation or indigenous cultural context. It also could be noted that the general assembly of National Council of Churches in Indonesia, which had been held in Tomohon (Minahasa) in 1980, has sharpened GMIM's theology of social ethic which more foccuses on the poor. The general assembly stated that

the poor themselves which could overcome poverty. Based on this assumption the churches in Indonesia need following strategies: (1) churches' understanding of contextual and relevant theology in order to be more solidarity with the poor; (2) changing of churches' structures and strategies for serving the poor; (3) renewing churches' styles in participation within development in order to convince the poor as well as churches' members that the churches are really the 'sisters and brothers' of the poor (BPS GMIM 1982a:89).

Before the general assembly, several meetings and consultations on theology and relationship between the church, state and society had been launched by national council of churches in 1970-ies. Those meetings and consultations paid more attention to problem of poverty. Theology of equality was one of theologies which are introduced for solving poverty problem in Indonesia (Nababan 1979:20-21; Hanganji 1979:28-29).

Since that time responsible society is given meaning as a society in which one group

of people are not oppressed by other power control, or in reverse, a group of people do not oppress other groups within society. Consequently, the church should be church for the poor (PWG-GMIM 1982a:7-10). Under theme "Serving within Development Era" (Berdiakonia dalam Zaman Pembangunan), training for local congregation leaders during 1982-1983 paid special attention to the poor situation (PWG-GMIM 1982b).

As following up of the training was an introducing of the healing church theology (Gereja yang Menvembuhkan). This theology is based on understanding that the church has task to serve people physically, spiritually, and socially. While in international level, the healing church was focussed on health service, in GMIM the healing church is seen as Jesus's solidarity among the most suffering people whose life are needed to be healed physically, spiritually and socially (BPS-GMIM 1982 : 11).

Solidarity becomes main issue in GMIM theology since a general assembly of the church in March 1982. The assembly stated that "sense of solidarity is being eroded within society" (BPS-GMIM 1983:102). On the other side, solidarity is an old value within Minahasan culture as it expressed in Mapalus tradition. Mapalus is a gathering of the people to work gratuitously in the field of neighbour to sow, to reap or to dig for a member of the village. It was so closely connected with the idea of communal possession of land (Hickson 1889:231). Inspired by the actual situation, cultural background, and biblical message, the 1983 annual synod proclaimed the church as a 'Messianic Community, that is God's Mapalus based on justice, fidelity and love; which is called for struggling against poverty and suffering' (BPS GMIM 1984:34).

The above mentioned theologies had emerged awareness among theologians and other leaders of the church that spiritual life should be interacted with actual life within society (Slob, personal communication). A leader of local congregation (a lay person) who is actively mobilizing poor people within and outside church's structure, admitted that he is motivated by the church's theologies (Umpel, personal communication). It was indicated above, that the church's intensive efforts among poor people are launched at the time when the mentioned-theologies are emerged. It should be noted here that PWG formally and actually plays important role in providing theology for the church (BPS-GMIM 1979:156-157).

The existing situation within Minahasa society also influences the church's activities. At the time of Minahasa was within cauldron of Second World War (1942-1945) and PERMESTA (Perjuangan Semesta = Total Struggle) civil war (1958-1961) GMIM paid more attention to orphans children and people who suffered from diseases (Lintong 1978:56). A president of GMIM had ever been elected as the chairperson of local (Minahasa) parliament, but he refused it due to "it is not my bussines, I do not

understand about that" (Roeroe 1979). Contrastly, in Permesta war, he had involved within political arena as the mediator between PERMESTA and Indonesian central government army.

The currently president stated unbalanced situation within society as an urgent target of diakonia works. With unbalanced situation he pointed to "weak congregations" in coastal areas, islands and isolated rural areas in Minahasa; the increasing of number of urban rich people control land in rural areas; problems of workers, maids, fishers, etc. Those problems, could not be solved only by dropping an amount of money, but by seeing in wider frame, for example by tracing the causes of poverty. For this reason he emphasized the important of conscientization process among the poor (Roeroe 1979a:21-22). Under his presidency, diakonia work among the poor have been establishing such as primary health care, arising people's initiative, development assisting centre, and, the new one, interests groups.

Bureaucratization of villages government level towards centralized system, have dragged democratic practices in rural areas (Lay 1989:iv) and also depolitization of villages by applying floating mass principle, makes political parties be prevented to be active in village level, had created vacuum situation for representing poor as well as people interests. Under this circumstance, church's activities, which allows members for expressing their interests, through confirmed-members meeting, groups of bible study, and other forms of groups which are launched by the church in kolom level; can be alternative channels for the people to express and to represent their own interests. In spite of reality that poor people have been paralyzed by a culture of silence and a very real climate of fear for generations (Constantino-David 1980:3), in fact the poor try to solve their problems, at least through every day forms of resistance such as "footdragging, dissimulation, false compliance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so forth" (Scott 1986:6). It could be recognized in several ways. PKMD's programmes are launched in areas where people asked them for doing those programmes. In Mangkit, before mobilization efforts were done, struggling to be freed from corporation oppression, had been launched. A former GMIM's leader of Mangkit congregation, had tried to strive for Mangkit labourers better condition of lives, in his capacity as a leader of trade union and the church. But the corporation was stronger than him. He was kicked by corporation as the worker (foreman) and from the plantation area (Aditjondro 1982:24). In Pungkol and Gangga cases, PWG was invited by the people to help them to struggle for better condition of lives. The poor's resistance makes the PWG realized that people have power which could be mobilized for overcoming their situation (Slob, personal communication). Thus, the poor situation and activities influence PKMD and PWG involvement within development arena.

Relationship with other institutions also influence either the church theology or its activities within Minahasa society. PKMD in certain extent had been influenced by Alma Ata conference on Primary Health Care in 1978, which recommended "actions of an essentially political nature which were aimed at reducing the inequities of national service system" (Santosa 1988:211). PPM strategy of mobilizing poor people done by PWG to some extent had been influenced by other NGOs in Indonesia and Asia who use community organization strategy. For training local leaders PWG sent local people for orientation in other places such as Jakarta, Solo where some NGOs are doing same strategy of mobilization. DAC strategy is absolutely influenced by its donor agency, World Vision International, who also finances the project. In short, I could say, that relationship with other NGOs influences theology of the church, gives the church availability of funds for projects, and influences strategy of mobilization. Because in certain extent, strategy also could be applied under circumstances of resources (funds and persons-power) availability.

CHAPTER IV: IMPACT AND LIMITATION OF GMIM STRATEGIES

1. GMIM'S TYPES OF STRATEGIES

Strategy refers to goal and method or approach which is used to mobilize poor people. In fact all forms of GMIM's diakonia (service) works also serve the poor (charity, hospitals, orphanages, schools, etc.). But not all of them could be categorized as efforts for mobilizing the poor. In this paper I would like to focus to the activities which are targeted to rural poor. Those are (a) Primary Health Care for Rural Community (PKMD = Pengembangan Kesehatan Masyarakat Desa), (b) Arising People's Initiative (PPM = Pengembangan Prakarsa Masyarakat) and (c) Development Assisting Centre (DAC). After describing the types of projects and programmes one by one, I will identify those strategies within frames of Community Development (CD) and Community Organization (CO) as I explained in introduction.

(A) PKMD (Pengembangan Kesehatan Masyarakat Desa): The PKMD programmes had been started since 1974 as a part of GMIM's Bethesda Hospital service for reaching rural poor who were not gained by conventional health services. Since 1982 PKMD's programmes are integrated into GMIM's Health Office and it is not as a part of hospital's activities anymore. PKMD is the entry point to motivate people for self-help towards healthier life. Basic principle of PKMD is to develop a community which is very dependent on their own will and potency. The will and potency could be motivated by person, the cadre, who has been influenced by the philosophy and the goals of PKMD. That is why the main activity of PKMD is cadres training. Guidance, weighing of children under - 5 - year, nutrition programmes, sanitation and other curative treatments, are intended as the bridge-efforts for educating people to change their unhealthy attitudes. Cadres, are originally from the people and living with people are appointed by the community after a workshop which is intended as social preparation for launching PKMD programmes (Bethesda 1982:56-57). Three types of cadres have been trained: health (general) cadres, mama biang (traditional midwife) and cadres for family planning and tuberculosis control. The main task of the cadres is to motivate community for taking preventive measures toward healthier life. The mama biangs are trained in doing their work more hygienic than before. It is necessary to know that in rural areas in Minahasa, many mothers are helped by mama biang due to positive roles they play among rural mothers as follows

"...they are trusted by the people; they have closed relationship with mothers; their approaches more comprehensive comparing to professional midwife or doctor; they usually serve without payment; they have more time for serving and more easily available when required." (E.Demuth

1987:18).

By training mama biang it is expected to overcome negative effects of their works which causes many mothers and infants die in child-birth time. Cadres of family planning and tuberculosis (TB) control are persons who were trained to educate people to apply family planning and to prevent factors which cause tuberculosis (DKG 1989:4-5). Actually the PKMD programmes are targeted to the whole people within villages. That is why PKMD programmes are always started with workshop which involves key persons within the targeted-villages (Bethesda 1982:57).

There is another programme which is run intensively since the second half of this decade, that is health fund (Dana Sehat) programme. Dana sehat is integrated into local congregation structure and activities, as a committee which has task to mobilize people for participating in raising funds for health cost of its members. The philosophy of Dana Sehat is "the healthy one helps the sick one, the rich helps the poor" (DKG-PPWG 1987:10 ff). People who were targeted are those who face problem in costing health services. They are mobilized into collective action in rising funds for their health fund. There are various forms of fund rising: regular monthly contribution, special collecting within weekly church services, and other activities in which people could participate although they have no money (1987:19).

(B) PPM (Pengembangan Prakarsa Masyarakat): This type of strategy is handled by GMIM's Lay Training Institute (PWG= Pembinaan Warga Gereja) since 1980. Starting with a group of workers in Mangkit coconut plantation, now PPM programmes are being carried out in five coconut plantations (including two plantations outside Minahasa in cooperation with a neighbour church), 2 groups of artisanal fishers and fishing workers, a group of landless farmers and several groups of small farmers. The target group is group of people which assumed as the poor or less power in struggling for their right. The latter consists of group of farmers in Tomohon sub-district (kecamatan) who are facing land compensation and environmental problems in connection with geothermal energy projects which are explored by the government surroundings Tomohon.

PWG starts with actual issues among the target groups (issues-oriented), such as access to land, working condition, marketing problem, land compensation, etc. When PWG started PPM programmes among Mangkit plantation workers, the main issue was how the workers could get right on land which is available according to law and Presidential Instruction No. 39/1979. To pursue this issue (and other additional issues which are raised by people in mobilization processes), people were organized into collective action. Depending on their own interests, either strategic or immediate, the

collective action will consists of several forms of committee or activities which involve as many as possible people. Usually the forms of colective action are decided by people through group discussions or people's meetings which involve conscientization efforts. For example, in Mangkit, people formed a committee for asking land ownership for homestead and cultivation, for promoting status of Mangkit from Jaga (a part of village) to be a village; choosing their representative within basic trade union which previously appointed by corporation; setting warung bersama (collective shop) or pemasaran bersama (collective marketing) or mapalus for constructing houses, cultivating land, etc.

The staff of PWG functioned as facilitators for motivating and conscientizing them by using religious, cultural, as well as national ideology, learning together with people about people's right according to law and regulations, introducing people to the third parties which could support their struggling (parliament, newspaper, government offices, other local congregations of the church, also donor agencies). In most cases, the PWG staffs are low profile. An organizer humoristically had ever told me that the organizer often encourages people to do anything which could not be done by him/herself. The staff of PWG always use their famous saying in mobilizing people: "Palm-leaf ribs could easily be broken one by one. But if those be tied to be a broom, nobody will be able to break it".

(C) Development Assisting Centre (DAC): In cooperation with World Vision International (WVI), DAC is just begun in 1985 (effectively 1986) in villages in eastern coastal areas of Minahasa Land. It covers 85 villages which are inhabited by originally Sangirese people as majority. Most of them are landless farmers, artisanal fishers and workers (DAC 1989:1). The main target of DAC's projects is "men or women in their efforts to change quality of life comprehensively, which covers physical, mental, social and spiritual aspects; in order to aware their potency, to apply the potency for positive and productive actions, to arise self esteem for participating within community" (DAC 1985:1).

DAC projects consist of following activities:

- to train people to know their needs and to make use of all their own resources for transforming their life;
- to set demonstration plots for solving problems which are being faced by people;
- to assist people to organize themselves for development efforts;
- to place change agent (CA) who lives among people for assisting them to reach their goals.

As the result of the above mentioned activities, people are expected to be able to

mobilize their own potency for development; well-prepared to receive required-development programmes from outside; or they will not be interested with any development programme from outside due to they are able to do it by themselves (DAC 1989:3).

CA is the key of DAC's project. Successfull of the project is very dependent on CA's work. CA is the model or example for the people. CA's task is to prepare and to help people for developing their own lives through self reliance and by using their own resources. Furthermore, CA's functions are characterized as follows:

- to know people's problems as well as potency;
- to identify problems which are categorized into economic, education, health and leadership; then to clasify them into felt needs and real needs;
- to identify people's resources that could be made use to solve their problems;
- to link people with outside resources or parties (as linker);
- to make people aware on their problems as well as potency and to arise their interests to meet their needs;
- to encourage people for involving in the process of development: planning, implementation, controlling and evaluating.

Shortly, the role of CA is as the linker, problem solver, catalyst, and helper (DAC 1989:3-4). The CAs are prepared through training and other kinds of meetings with following subjects: Biblical basic on Community Development (CD), Basic Principle of CD, Knowing and Approaching Community, Collecting data and obervation, the role of CA, Programming and working on first data, Operating and evaluating programme, Appropriate Technology, and other subjects on Community Health, farming, etc. (J. Kondoy, personal communication). In Holdcroft (1978:48) words, the CAs are "the multi-purpose village-level workers".

Viewing from approach categorization, PKMD is sectoral approach while DAC and PWG use multisectoral approach. PKMD sectorally uses two strategies: CD through its cadres activites and CO through Dana Sehat programme. Multisectorally CD strategy is applied by DAC, while CO strategy is done by PWG. Thus CD as well as CO strategy could be applied either multisectorally or sectorally.

PKMD strategy and DAC strategy are clearly Community Development (CD) strategies, in which "joint efforts to solve common problems democratically and scientifically on a common basis were seen as the esential elements" (Holdcroft 1978:48). The cadres of PKMD and CAs of DAC are working within the governnet structure in the villages. As I described in chapter I (p.3) and chapter III (p.34), the LKMD is the formal channel for representing people's interests at village level. The nuances of cadres and CAs are: (a) cadres are elected among community by the community and they work

voluntarily, while CAs are recruited and paid by DAC; (b) PKMD is sectoral approach while DAC uses multisectoral approach.

PKMD's Dana Sehat programme uses CO strategy, in which conscientization is the main effort and people's organization is more important. PWG strategy, it could be categorized as Community Organization (CO) strategy since it directs its programme to target groups, which have less power in bargaining position within society. By mobilizing the lower class for empowering their bargaining position then dialogue with other power within the society could be occurred. PWG's PPM emphasizes in creating membership awareness through collective actions which in turn to set projects or programmes that will meet their immediate interests in the light of strategic interests.

While cultural, ideological and religious values are made use of intensively **among** the cadres and CAs in PKMD and DAC strategy; those are very emphasized in conscientization process of PWG activities **within** people's collective action. Those are becoming counterpoint to "cultivate a sense of potency and effectiveness in people" (Constantino-David 1980:2). While CAs and cadres are the linkers between target groups with outside supporting institutions and resources; PWG's organizer creates atmosphere in which people could make dialogue and communication with outside institutions or to get access to resources directly.

2. IMPACT OF THOSE STRATEGIES

To analyze the impact of studied-strategies I will deal with two aspects (1) poor people as the target group, and (2) the extent of those strategies covers dimensions of mobilization including causes of poverty.

2.1. Poor People as the Target Group

After 12 years PKMD has trained 830 health (general) cadres in 46 villages, 133 mamabiangs in 64 villages and 48 cadres of family planning & TB (Tuberculosis) control in 46 villages (DKG 1987:8-9). Of 46 villages in which general cadres had been trained, 24 villages are inhabited by the majority of people who are categorized as poor in this paper. Through the health cadres, PKMD applied sanitation programmes like squatting plate a concrete slab intended for use as a simple water closet-type toilet, medicine posts, nutrition posts, etc. Fifty percent of villages, in which there are 113 trained-mamabiangs, are inhabited by the majority of poor people. But in general, people who require mamabiang's help are poor. Therefore through mamabiang activities PKMD has reached poor women for helping them in more safety childbirth time. While from the list of villages in which family planning

and TB control cadres had been trained, I could not find villages which are inhabited by the majority of poor. PKMD also tries to expand its activities by establishing credit unions, and giving credit for production. These kinds of programmes are being introduced by cadres in some villages which could not be categorized as poor villages. Even in villages which obviously inhabited by the poor as majority, such as villages in islands and coastal areas, there are still no efforts for income generating although they need it (Demuth, personal communication). Considering the above mentioned explanation on the poor situation in Minahasa, then there are two reasons why the PKMD faces difficulties to establish those activities. Firstly, the poor have negative saving, so it is impossible to establish any credit union. Secondly, risk minimizing strategy which is applied for long time, prevents them to ask credit for production.

Concerning to Dana Sehat programme, it is reported that 117 congregations have established dana sehat organization and programme although still in simple way. The programme had been planned along with other PKMDs programmes and intended to be one of cadres tasks. But it was not successful. By changing strategy, this programme is spreading rapidly from 20 villages in 1986 to be 117 in 1988.

Either in terms of numbers of cadres or fastly increasing in number of villages applied dana sehat, have shown that quantitatively, the PKMD's programmes have been responded by people. Those programmes, in local level, mostly are self-supported in terms of funds. The activities which are financed by PKMD are training, water supply projects (partly) and small credit for production. This economic activity had been establishing for two reasons: (1) as demonstration project which is expected to be followed by people; (2) to support cadres who are mostly low income households. Credit also be given to persons or households who were suffered from tuberculosis after curative and charity treatments were given untill recovered (Demuth, personal communication).

Regarding to DAC project, after two years in operating, the CAs are still working in the first developed-villages. According to DAC planning, each CA is expected to tackle several given-villages. The first village in which CA is working is mentioned as first-developed-village. Tracing CAs reports I find that activities have been done by CAs are: breaking through of villages isolation either in the sense of physical, by constructing road and bridges, or information, by introducing the villages with government offices and programmes such as health offices for sanitation programme and water supply, bank for credit. Other activities are demonstration plots of farming, fish ponds, and other agrarian activities by using modern technology. The impact of those activities is reported as many farmers are trying to do in the same way what

have been doing by CAs and isolation situation of those villages have been broken through (PDC 1989:1-4). Besides creating new programmes, CAs also go between government programmes with the people. They mobilize people to participate in the existing government programmes. Who are benefited by CAs works is not identified explicitly. But implicitly it could be traced from CAs individual reports as following: Concerning to the efforts for breaking through isolation of villages, a CA warns in his report that "many capitalists people outside village are aiming to buy land in broken through-isolation village." (Cussoy 1986). Another CA identify a group of 5-landless farmers which during September 1987 to May 1988 has owned land for cultivating because one of them bought it (F. Sondakh 1987:3). A CA reported that he has mobilized a group of local farmers for cultivating soya in modern way but he still faced difficulties to 'catch' migrant workers in the village (V.Sigar 1986). In a village, as an impact of water supply project, the CA is successful to motivate people for cultivating fish in their own fishponds by using their own resources for buying fish-germ (H. Wurangian 1988:5). Those reports indicate that people who were being benefited by CAs programmes are mainly people who have access to land and other production resources, while those who have no access to production resources such as migrant workers could not be caught. In other words DAC projects are successful in mobilizing people who actually have access to production resources but they could not make use them due to isolated situation in terms of transportation as well as information.

PWG started its PPM programmes in 1980 among coconut plantation workers in Mangkit. While dealing with Mangkit case, PWG was invited by other groups of plantations workers in other villages. Those are Pungkol plantation and two others outside Minahasa, Biontong and Poigar plantations in Bolaang Mongondouw regency. Now PWG is also dealing with Marinsow plantation workers, groups of artisanal fishers and fishing workers in Gangga and Bangka islands, and farmers surrounding Tomohon who are facing problems of land compensation and environmental damaging because of a big geothermal energy project which is constructed by government. Another group which is using PPM strategy but is organized directly by local pastor, is a landless group in Darunu village. PWG staff have only been asking for consultancy. It has been indicated that the target group is the poorest people. In plantation workers the main target is seasonal and daily workers. In fishing community the target group are artisanal fishers and fishing workers.

In chapter II (p. 17-18) I identified poor women's problems and roles. It is neccessary to trace to what extent GMIM's strategies deal with their problems and roles. In fishery sub-sector, women become peddlers mainly for "helping" middle-persons and merchants (patrons) to solve marketing problem in peak time. In plantation, they assist,

but also compete with their husbands in seeking employment, to meet households' subsistence. Also women were squeezed from agriculture sector and were being transferred into small trade and services, mainly as housemaids, where there is no any law protects them.

It is obvious that PKMD has special programme for poor women through mamabiang training. Also, as far as I have observed¹, in general cadres are women. But PKMD's programmes particularly are not targeted to women, with exception the mamabiang training. In fact there are a lot of women participate in those programmes, is just by chance that health care is internalized and socialized as women's task. Viewing to real problems are faced by women in production sectors, PKMD programmes do not touch them. DAC projects' reports say that CAs have made women are closer to Government programmes for mothers (PDC 1989:4).

PWG programmes actually are not targeted for solving women's problems. In organizing plantations workers, women were taken into account by PWG, since corporation, the repressive institution, was making use some women to destroy mobilization efforts. Some women of middle class labourers in Mangkit and Pungkol were perused by corporations (through some gifts and promises of better condition of lives) for persuading their husbands to withdraw from collective actions. In fishery sub-sector, women were organized to peddle fish when fish marketing problem is being faced. Thus in PWG programmes, women are taken into account only for supporting their husbands' efforts, while their own problems are not taken into consideration directly. Domestic service, in which a lot of poor women involve, is still neglected by the church as its task for helping the poor. There is no any strategy deals with this sub-sector.

2.2. Covering Causes of Poverty

I explained that causes of poverty in Minahasa are unequal structure, capital penetration, ecological problem, and population pressure. To know to what extent the studied-projects and programmes of GMIM try to overcome these causes of poverty, could be traced by analyzing given strategies' impacts, viewing from dimensions of mobilization.

Cognitively, the content of values and orientation which used in three strategies of mobilizations are generally same, those are biblical values, Pancasila, local cultural

¹ I have participated as one of trainers in some trainings for cadres of PKMD.

values, etc. One thing which is not used by PKMD and DAC, but is used by PWG is the causes of poverty in relation with social structure in which people be incorporated. Even biblical message, Pancasila meaning, and other elements of local culture are interpreted in the existing social structure context (c.f. Stephenson p. 26). Biblical stories on exodus, social justice of Pancasila, and other sayings or symbols of culture are used to make people aware on their position and their right within society. In PKMD's programme of Dana Sehat, cognitive dimension also be emphasized to interpret people's situation which made them could not pay health costs. Justice and collective action are interpreted as the causes and the way to solve problem of health funds (c.f. DKG-PPWG 1987:10-12).

PKMD and DAC strategies do not touch this area. They pay more attention to knowhow or skill problems and sickness situation. A PKMD senior staff says, "the root of health problem is not poverty, but lack of knowledge. Other factors are isolated situation (in term of transportation and communication). So by restoring or building road the problem could be solved" (Demuth, personal communication). The same trend we could indicate to the above mentioned DAC's curriculum of CAs training which give much emphasize to technical knowhow. If this trend could be seen as an ideology then it will be modernization ideology which was emerged at the same time with Community Development movement in the name of modernization theory (c.f. Bernstein 1971 : 146-149 & Dunham 1988:6).

Viewing the way PKMD and DAC apply cognitive dimension in their mobilization efforts I find that those who are comprehensively well-conscientized are the cadres and CAs, with exception of PKMD's programme on Dana Sehat which sistematically emphasizes this dimension theologically, culturally and technically, to reach the target group. Great number of PKMDs cadres who work voluntarily should be noted as an impact of applying cognitive dimension in mobilization process. This trend also could be seen in 'high spirit' CAs, who are working in isolated villages with lack of transportation and communication facilities, although they are paid smaller than their fellows in civil service or other sectors. But it does not mean that cognitive dimension of PKMD and DAC projects could merely be directed to cadres and CAs. Cognitive dimension also has been applying among the target groups by relying on technology with its adequate attitude and skill. Thus either cadres or CAs are dealing with increasing people's productivity.

In PWG strategy, cognitive dimension is integrated-part of people's collective action. As the result, solidarity among people is maintained. Also it makes them aware about their destinies, their right, etc. In turn it encourages them for facing any measures of repressive institutions, for dialogue, even in facing intimidation and conflict with other

power. Because cognitive dimension of PWG strategy is aimed to "shift balance of power in the community" (Stephenson p.27). The impact of this dimension could be seen in political dimension of mobilization. Thus, viewing from cognitive dimension, PWG with its PPM programmes goes directly to structural pressure which causes and maintains poverty.

CD strategy, as it is applied by cadres and CAs consciously or unconsciously, has political dimension. It is applied by incorporating people into the (government) LKMD's institution. Cadres and CAs encourage as many as possible of people to commit their resources for participating into villages' programmes. LKMD (see Chapter I, p. 3 and III, p. 34) is the village level institution which decides what people have to do. In some cases, CAs organize people in small groups of farmers which are intended to implement LKMD's decision and planning for the sake of group members' interests. Thus there are similarities in PKMD's health (general) cadres and DAC's CAs in viewing from political dimension of mobilization. The cadres and CAs also represent people's (target groups) interests in facing other demobilization power within LKMD. A report on CAs work noted about a CA which had to spend two years in persuading landlords in order to give to people, which he represented, access to land for common water-closets construction (PDC 1989:4). Some of PKMD's cadres mobilized materials and persons-power for constructing water-closets. Most of CAs mobilize people massively for constructing road or bridges which decided by the government through LKMD (Keintjem 1988:3; Wurangian 1988:4-5; Sigar 1986:1; Cussoy 1986). Many cadres' work could be done in colaboration with local government. PKMD's reports were coloured by complaining about unconcerned-bureaucracies which one of causes of unsuccessful. Beyond these reports, political impact could be seen. That is cadres as well as CAs are given status within LKMD for representing people interests. Thus cadres and CAs are becoming new elites in social power within villages. Meaning that PKMD and DAC do not change, even do not entirely touch problem of class relationship.

Dana Sehat programme is based on people's organization in which they are motivated to commit resources for pursuing their collective interests of health fund. This collective action has political dimension because by raising fund for health costs, people are being freed from money lender or other patrons. Because Dana Sehat gives people who involve in that programme, power for solving their dependency of fund health to money lender or their patrons. This is an impact of this programme in term of political dimension.

PWG strategy deals with political dimension explicitly. Conscientization is aimed to "struggle together to overcome problem ourselves and to raise collective welfare" (PWG

1981:7) as it often becomes one of PPMs goals in mobilizing poor people. Expression of "struggle together...ourselves...." refers to efforts of power building through people's organization. People's organization is set to organize their resources and to regulate their strategies for collective action to pursue their collective goals. In many cases people's collective actions are involved in politics games such as election of chief of villages, writing petition or going to government, parliament, and political parties for asking access to land and other resources.

The impact of PWG's strategy is transformation of relationship between the poor people with the upper class within society. Target groups had been encouraging to represent their interests collectively, either in dialogue or competition, even in confrontation way with the repressive institutions. Dialogue is occurred in terms of bargaining for better condition of work, better price, access to land etc. Competition is played in term of persuading "neutral" institutions to be supporting institutions or remains neutral. As an example I refer to Pungkol case, in which government officers had been asked by corporation to inquire workers' action that went out from plantation. According to corporation, that action was intended to sabotage government policy on plantation in form of credit which government has given to corporation. After direct dialogue among government officers, corporation and workers, finally government decided that workers could not be blamed. Confrontation is happened since people faced undoubtedly, intimidation efforts are used by patrons to maintain control on them. So, in some extent, impact of PWG strategy is to change class relationship within local society. That Pungkol and Mangkit got their right of land ownership for homestead, access to land for cultivating and power for bargaining in working and wage conditions; are examples of changing in class relationship.

Concerning to PKMD and DAC strategy, as the consequence of integrating into LKMD rather than building purely poor people collective action, than the role of cadres and CAs tend to be "neutral" institution. This is the consequence of CD strategy viewing from institutional dimension of mobilization. As a "neutral" institution, the role of CAs and cadres could be changed, either as promoting or even as repressive institution. It will be promoting institution if cadres or CAs win in setting programmes for the poor, although it still could be questioned, to what extent the "winning programme" is purely interests of the poor. In the first section of this chapter, I was mentioning that the winning programmes, in DAC strategy are still benefiting those are better off. If cadres or CAs fail to strive for the poor benefited-programmes then they (cadres and CAs) will be incorporated into repressive institution. The report on "certain elite-persons who are in conflict with the CAs" or classic obstacle on cadres' efforts, which is always mentioned in all PKMD reports, because of unconcerned formal as well as informal leaders in the villages; are the symptoms of

existence of repressive institutions along with the emerging of efforts for mobilizing the poor which are set by cadres and CAs. In facing demobilization efforts of repressive or coercive institution, people who are organized by PWG through PPM programmes are more prepared either than cadres and CAs or than people whose interests are represented by cadres and CAs. Because in CO's strategy, people's interests are represented by people's collective actions, while in CD strategy, people's interests are assumed as could be represented by cadres or CAs. People in CO strategy have been trained to face demobilization efforts, while people in CD strategy depend on cadres and CAs. Also in CO strategy, repressive institution could be identified. This two sides of institutions may compete, or make dialogue, even confront in pursuing their own interests and in persuading "neutral" institutions to be sustaining institutions. So it is logic if this strategy is coloured by tensions between sustaining institution and coercive institution. This tension is the struggle for power. Meaning that this dimension of mobilization relates to structural problem of poor situation.

Regarding to economic dimension, although it is limited to health cost, PKMD's dana sehat programme, which are being applied in 117 villages in less than 2 years, indicated that the strategy is responded by people as an adequate approach to mobilize people's resources economically. Other economic collective actions which are tried to be mobilized by PKMD through cadres are credit union (CU) and mapalus in term of mobilizing resources to build toilets, and some efforts of income generating in farming sub-sector. After a decade PKMD could set 4 CUs with 24 CU's cadres, toilets for around two hundreds families in rural poor areas, and a few of efforts for income generating pilot projects in several villages which are not inhabited by majority of poor. In economic dimension DAC's strategy is explicitly economic effort for increasing income or productivity. It could be seen in almost all of CAs activities to build road and bridges, to guide farmers for using modern technology in farming and other efforts of increasing income earnings. Thus the impact of DAC's projects, is to facilitate capital penetration, into rural areas by transferring capital to the people such as knowhow and skill to use technology. In this sense, according to field reports, DAC projects is successful to transfer capital into targeted-villages. I say targeted-villages, because who are benefited from this projects, mostly not the poor one, as I indicated above. Tracing field reports of CAs, I find that most of CAs tend to approach individually in mobilizing people. Collective action be applied in term of physical infrastructure such as road, bridges, etc for common interests as decided and planned by the LKMD.

PWG strategy also deals with economic dimension. Efforts of economic dimension is included within efforts for achieving other goals and to be integrated into other dimensions. Collective fish marketing among fishers or warung bersama (collective

shop) among plantations workers are also intended to replace the role of middle-persons who control fish marketing and of the corporations who tie people through indebtedness of daily needs in corporations' stores. Other forms of economic collective actions are mapalus for plaiting basket traps of fishing among artisanal fishermen and fish workers, mapalus in doing farming and erecting of houses among plantation workers. Thus in this sense, people are prepared to face capital penetration in terms of marketing problems. It is interesting to note that socio economic mobilization forms that meet people's need individually are more succesful than collectively one. This statement could be explained by comparing collective shops among plantation workers with collective fish maerketing among artisanal fishermen and fish workers. In the collective shop all of activities of the shop are collectivized. While in collective fish marketing, only marketing aspect be done collectively. Thus collective marketing directly helps people individually with imediate impacts, that is they get better price of fish and be freed from indebtedness. While collective shop only gave impact in term of free from indebtedness. After several years in operating, collective shops were collapse, while fish marketing is still operating. There are two reasons of this situation, firstly, because people could do by themselves what the collective action are intended to do, secondly, because of miss-management in sense that the executors of those collective actions have been accused to benefit themselves. The more successful is mapalus (cooperation) in building houses although all of resources are collected from people's pocket. Also fishing projects that gave credit (in-turn credit) to people individually, had been responded enthusiastically. Shortly, I would say, that the more successful collective action in term of economic dimension is action which benefits them individually than action which improves them collectively.

To review the strategies had been using in terms of mobilization dimensions then we could identify which strategy deals with strategic interests and which strategy is targeted to immediate interests of people. It is clear that PWG strategy is dealing with strategic interests because it covers all dimensions of mobilization and the main causes of poverty. PKMDs cadres and DAC's CA's strategy do not touch structural problems and tends to deal with immediate interests. In micro scope, that is poor situation in term requirement of fund health, PKMD's Dana Sehat programme deals with almost all causes of poor of health fund. Also CO strategy could touch causes of poverty those are unequal structure and capital penetration, while CD strategy deals with the phenomena of poverty, such as low income, lack of access to production resources. Even CD strategy facilitates and accelerates capital penetration into rural areas.

3. LIMITATIONS OF THOSE STRATEGIES

In this section, limitations of those strategies will be analyzed in relation to the poor,

relation with other institutions and internal relation within GMIM structure. Considering that relation with the government is a cardinal factor, then it will be useful to analyze in the next part as integrated-part of analysis about the nature and function of the church strategies towards government policies (section 4).

3.1. Relation to the Poor

Since I realized that dimensions of mobilization frame is adequate for analyzing mobilization efforts, then same approach will be used to analyze and identify limitations factors of the studied-strategies in relation to the poor. CD strategy is mostly directed to cadres or CAs, tends to neglect the main target, that is the poor, while CO strategy which is directed to poor.

Cognitively, CD strategy pay more attention to make people aware the superiority of technology or modernization for increasing productivity. It causes CD ignores other factors such as awareness of structural pressure and capital penetration. In "theology lingo" CD prefers to talk about mandate for filling, subdueing and rulling over the earth (c.f. Genesis 1 : 28), but ignores that "darkness power covers the face of abyss" (1:1) or "exodus from slavery land" (Exodus 3). Component of mobilization are brought from outside world of people.

CO strategy (with exception Dana Sehat programme) goes slowly in mobilization process cognitively, because it tries to change sense of dependency which had been deeply cultivated into the poor's mind for long time. It could be analogized as process of growing from childhood to adulthood. This slowly growing process of mobilization in turn will cause problems or limitations in other dimensions of mobilization. Shortly, once CO strategy fails to deal with this dimension, then other dimension will be failed also. Other factor which causes this slowly going process is the reality that "the role of state regulations and social sanctions has tended to be increasingly irrelevant to the people's continued survival due to personalized economic relations that shifting from realm of the social and political to the realm of the economic" (Ghose 1983:11). People witness that social justice is an empty slogan which totally difference with their experiences which led them to be apatic.

Politically, CD strategy's relies on cadres and CAs' role is the main limitation of this strategy. The CAs or cadres will be over-loaded. In relation with the people, they face many things which have to be programmed. In relation to other parties, especially disguised-repressive institutions, they have to face individually opposition against programmes which favour the poor, and certainly, if the poor favoured-programm successfull it will cut patron-client relationship. The more safety way is to incorporate

within the existing system with consequence that the programmes benefit the better off. Thus limitation factor is not the cadres or CAs but the structure which could not be changed by CAs or cadres individually. Unbalanced structure could be changed if CAs or cadres have had adequate power within the existing structure. As an example I refers to the role of a leader of farmers group, who is a leader of local congregation, the president of sub-district cooperative, and member of the executive board of provincial cooperative center in North Sulawesi province. By making use his power and influence he relative easily could help landless farmers in Teep and Moinit villages in getting access to land, by persuading landlords; access to credit for production by making use his authority within the cooperative. The only one aspect which makes this "big cadre" is same with CAs and cadres is he is motivated by theology in doing this work voluntarily (Umpel, personal communication). But in many aspects this kind of cadre is scarcely even in national level. That is why no wonder if he was appointed as a national cadre of farmer group (kontak tani nasional) in 1988. This story says that a cadre or CA needs power for helping the poor as a single fighter within the existing structure. In fact, cadres and CAs lack of this kind of power. As a PKMD senior staff told me that "if lurah or hukumtua (chief of village) unconcerns the programmes, cadres often will be confussed and lack of influence to the people" (Demuth, personal communication). From people side, inspite of limitation towards the elites power, cadres and CAs are seen by people as patrons. Cadres and CAs become additional patrons besides the existing one.

In CO strategy, even relationship between people with their patrons could be cut, it does still not mean that structure in which people depend on their patrons had been changed. Slowly going process of mobilization could make organizer be tempted to dictate what have to be done by people. From people perspective, it has to be admitted that actually, people welcome the organizers (PWG staff) because they are seen as their patrons also in church's relationship. Thus it is logic if people will be depend on the organizers as the new patron. An author has named this situation as tension between "self reliance versus dependence" (Constantino-David 1980:6). Structural transformation or balance of power as the aim of political dimension of mobilization which is contained in CO's strategy should be faced to reality that for the rural poor people survival is the main problem and "survival strategy is dependent on employability and exchangeability of their labour" (Ghose 1983:10). That is why unless people are guaranteed that their imediate interests could be fullfilled, any long term activities and projects, including structural transformation, will not be interested for them. Seeing from organization component, for long time poor people in rural areas had been organizing in vertical organization based on patron-client relationship. While mobilization efforts try to organize them into horizontal organization (Roosmalen 1989). Meaning that mobilization deals with situation which had been rooting deeply

in people's mind.

Regarding to institutional dimension, CD strategy has less emphasized people collective actions as the main promoting institution. It relies on cadres or CAs' role, which are actually "neutral" institution, for representing people's interests. This situation implies that people has no supporting institution for representing their interests constantly. Viewing from CO strategy, the main limitation factors are internal conflict of interests within people's collective action and growing of new patron-client relationship within people's institution. Those factors weaken people's collective action. Collapsing of collective shops is caused by internal conflict of interests. Accusing of each other, as taking advantage from the collective shops, has sharpened the conflict. New patron-client relationship could be recognized to the growing of certain "progressive" persons to be capitalists, to whom other people indebted for daily needs or hire out their labours.

CD strategy, especially DAC project is emphasized to economic dimension of mobilization. The main goal, in the light of this dimension, is to increase productivity by introducing technology. Three kinds of limitations are faced by this strategy (1) it could not reach the poor, (2) it does not help people in facing capital penetration, even it facilitates and accelerates capital penetration, and (3) it does not deal with structural problem which is the crucial cause of poverty. In 1970-ies a couple of pastors mobilized local people in a village which is inhabited by majority of small and landless farmers. The results were water supply project which was financed mostly from local resources, a primary high school, and introducing modern technology in farming work. These activities had been done by incorporating within existing structure of the village. After ten years they realized that only water supply and school are still exist. But they could not see the remnants of income earning efforts which had been done. Because "de jure people control the land but de facto they were controlled by merchants and money lenders in and outside the village" (Politton, personal communication). This experience says that cadres and CAs strategy could not help people economically in long term without changing the structure and also accelerating of capital penetration is not an appropriate way to help the poor.

Reviewing the impact of the above mentioned strategies of mobilization, I find a tension between activities which serve improvement the poor individually and improvement the poor collectively. Emphasizing on the former will weaken collective action itself that in turn could not solve structural problem, even will create problem of social differentiation among the poor. But emphasizing on collective action will cause lack of incentive for improving living condition, which in turn, stagnation is the result.

3.2. Relation with other Institutions

Relation with other NGOs, in one hand, helps the church for fund raising. On the other hand, GMIM has been asked to adjust its programmes with donor strategy. This is happened with DAC projects which is deeply influenced by WVI's (World Vision International) strategy. Concerning to availability of funds, as I noted in chapter III (p. 34), it makes the church being spoiled. Therefore, there is no effort for raising fund from domestic resources, which actually is available. The consequence is the PKMD programmes (except Dana Sehat) as well as DAC programs are depended on outside resources. Moreover, this dependency affects to the target groups' response on those programmes in two senses: Firstly, it will create dependency (at least in term of fund) among the target groups. Secondly, it also causes people's lack of sense of belonging on those projects or programmes. While PKMD dependency is limited to fund, DAC dependency also in term of mobilization strategy. In training the CAs, the church is only given chance for preparing CAs in philosophycal or theologycal perspective. The strategy is transfered by World Vision International. The main limitation of this "imported"-strategy is that strategy of mobilization becomes fashioned-one, without taking into account people's actual situation. DAC's imported and fashioned strategy could be illustrated as giving the target group a ready for use of package, instead of creating their own suitable "packages" of monilization. Under these circumstances, future of the programmes and projects are not determined by the interests of the target groups, but by the interests of donor agencies.

Another aspect of limitation is in term of net working with other institutions or NGOs (as 'neutral' institution) to support people's struggle. Donor agencies, who support NGOs' efforts in Indonesia have to adjust their policies or strategies with the government strategies, otherwise they will be kicked-out by the government. Lack of freedom also could be seen in term of the role of news paper for forming public opinion. Under this circumstances, the news papers have to give priority to their own interest rather than people's interests. Also exposing news through newspaper causes more repressive measures on people.

3.3. Internal Relationship within the Church

The GMIM's structure of organization (see Chart I, p. 30) shows that either Health and Rural Community Development Offices or the Lay Training Institute (PWG) are not the decision makers in GMIM' structure. The decision makers are the synod assemblies (general and annual) and the synod executive board. The former legitimize the latter, while the latter legitimizes programmes which are proposed by offices and

institutions at synod level. In practice, up till now, all offices and institutions have autonomies in implementing their programmes or projects. But this position is still unfavourable for offices and institution who conduct projects and programmes among the rural poor. Because if conflict is occurred between the offices or institutions with the executive board then the interests of the synod executive board will be won since it is more powerful than the offices or institutions, formally.

CO strategy which is being applied by the PWG is potential to affect the emerging of interests conflict between PWG and the synod executive board or even the synod assemblies. Conflict of interests between mobilized-people (who are organized by PWG) and other groups, which most possible are members of the GMIM, could affect to conflict of interests between the church (as a set of organization) with other powerful interests within society. If the existence of the church is threatened, as the consequence of PWG work, then it will be ascertainable that the church (through the executive board or synod assemblies) will take care the church's interests rather than the poor interests. Thus the limitation factor of the PWG's strategy is the church interests (e.g. the existence and the continuity of the church's life) which has to be protected while mobilizing the poor. In dealing with this limitation, PWG softens its strategy to be less radical. A good example of this proposition is a statement which had been made by the PWG staff in responding criticism towards PWG's efforts among Pungkol plantations workers. The criticism, which was launched by a participant of the synod general assembly, said that the PWG is one-sided in doing its work among the workers. The response was : "we do not try to divide the church's members [between rich and poor] but we try to erect a bridge between them. We could not erect the bridge from the middle. So we start from the weakness' side. That is the poor" (BPS-GMIM 1983 : 87).

Other internal factors are that the CO strategy itself is relatively new one for PWG with its small number of staff. Also, besides conflict of interests, most of theologians and other local leaders do not aware that one of causes of poverty which have to be taken into account is unbalanced structure which has to be changed (c.f. Roeroe 1979a:21). While many of the church members are still influenced by pietism theology which pays more attention to spiritual experiences (Kaunang, personal communication).

4. FUNCTION OF GMIM'S STRATEGIES TOWARDS GOVERNMENT POLICIES

In this section I will identify function of those strategies towards government policies in solving poverty problem in rural areas. As I mentioned in introduction, there are four possibilities functions of NGOs' activities towards government policies which are as complimentary, subsidiary, intermediary and alternative. To answer question why

the church's strategies be categorized into the above functions, implicitly will explain limitations of church's strategy in relation to government policies.

Considering the above explanation, it is obvious that CD strategy will never be an alternative approach towards government policies. It is caused by reality that CD strategy only could be applied within frame of government policies and its structure. That CD strategy is complimentary one, could be noticed in term of implementing programme in isolated areas which are not reached by government programme. This function will change to subsidiary as well as intermediary functions if government's programmes could reach isolated area. But in some cases, the three functions are launched at once by cadres and CAs. Limitation of these functions is that people are still as the consumers of development as I stated in introduction. Also this functions facilitate and accelerate technocratic strategy development which is pursued by the government. The aim of the strategy is growth of output but neglect unequal structure. At the same time the strategy facilitate capital penetration into rural areas. Meaning that there will not be fundamental transformation in development process. Under this circumstance, the root causes of poor situation will not be solved. Furthermore, the church, soon or later, will lose its function and room for participating, if government has adequate resources and apparatus to do what had been doing by the church right now.

CO strategy could be categorized as an alternative strategy since it tries to create bottom-up strategy as an alternative of top-down policy which is exercised by the government up till now. The main limitation of this strategy is the reality that government tries to control NGOs activities in order to be the vehicles of its interests. In practice, poor people's interests are not always get along with government interests. Thus conflict interests could be happened between government and people's collective action in which government is more powerful than people. To be explicitly, I refer to class consciousness as an important element in cognitive dimension of mobilization. In Indonesia, class issue is assumed as a sensitive issue by the government, especially the army. Also issue on access to production resources especially land, meaning talking about landreform, is associated to communist movement due to past experiences when the communist party was more vocal than other groups and parties in talking about landreform. To be accused as communist is worse than other criminal measures. Furthermore the strategy needs a democratic atmosphere to apply this strategy. Indonesian version of democracy, that is Pancasila democracy, is democracy which "led by wisdom in consultation and consensus" as I noted early. Confrontation, which is sometimes could not be avoided in CO strategy, is not suitable within frame of Pancasila democracy. Facing this condition, the supporting institutions, either people collective actions or the PWG, as though collide

with unbreakable-wall. To avoid this situation, the PWG, in dealing with CO strategy, applies approaches in which the government could be kept at least as "neutral" institution. As neutral institution, it could be changed into promoting institution, as long as (1) people could control the government machinery; (2) people could convince the government that their struggle is based on the same frame of state's ideology (Pancasila), constitution, and law. The first possibility could be played in local level only, where chief of villages is elected by people directly and also considering the nature of village leadership in Minahasa as I describe above (Chapter III, p. 32). But certainly, it is impossible to be applied in higher and macro level. To convince government about people's struggle and interests implies that people's struggle has to be into the frame of Pancasila, constitution and law, besides religious values. It is possible because the Pancasila gives room of maneuver for any efforts to help the poor for the sake of social justice and humanity. Thus people should be convinced on their right within society according to the state's ideology and constitution which favour their struggle. They also be encouraged to get access to political institution such as parliament or by using political parties in proper moment, for example when general election will be held soon. Other way to convince government is by forming public opinion through mass media with its limitation that I have mentioned above. Other factor which supports the recently mentioned approach is church's influences within Minahasa society. Patronage relationship within church membership could be applied to influence decision makers in village up to province level, where many bureaucracies belong to the church membership. But since the nature of Indonesian government is highly centralized, then the availability of supporting factors are still insufficient to support efforts for changing unbalanced structure in wider scope than local or villages' scope. Under the existing Indonesian situation, it is adequate. Because the PWG's intention is to help the poor and is not to take over government power.

CHAPTER V : CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The aim of this paper is to analyze the impacts and limitations of GMIM's strategies for mobilizing the rural poor. It was found that impacts and limitations are determined by relation with the poor, internal relation within the church, and relation with outside institution, including the government.

In relation to the poor, the impacts of GMIM's strategies are examined in two categories (1) to what extent the poor have been reached by those strategies, and (2) how intensively and extensively those strategies deal with causes of poverty which are covered within dimensions of mobilization. Reaching the poor is determined by types of strategies have been taking by the church. Types of strategies are community development and community organization which are approached either multisectorally or sectorally. All types of strategies and approaches had been applying by the church. In some case, such as in Pungkol village, sectoral and multisectoral approaches had been integrated. But generally each approach and strategy is launched separately. It is found that CO strategy, as it was being applied sectorally by PKMD's Dana Sehat programme and multisectorally by PWG, contains more dimension of mobilization than CD strategy which is applied by PKMD's cadres and DAC's CAs. With "more" I mean that in CO strategy cognitively poor people are mobilized directly, with all aspects of cognitive dimensions, while in CD strategy, attention is more paid to transferring of technical knowhow. Politically, CO strategy mobilizes people to be free from structural pressure, while CD strategy tries to integrate people into the existing structure without questioning it. Institutionally, CD strategy, tries to institutionalize cadres and CAs into the existing government institution and their programmes be formalized into formal institution. CO strategy creates people's institution for representing their own interests and institutionalizing their collective actions. Economically, CD strategy deals with people's productivity individually, while CO strategy tries to improve people's productivity collectively.

CD strategy, which relies on transferring of technical knowhow, could not reach the poor, who have no access to production resources. But poor area due to isolated situation in terms of transportation as well as information, could be reached by breaking through rapidly the isolation situation. CO strategy could reach the poor directly. PWG strategy with particular issue-oriented is spread slowly from one place to other places. But Dana Sehat programme with common issue-oriented is spread fastly, even more than CD strategy.

Concerning to poor women, they are reached by PKMD programmes by chance that health care had been internalized and socialized as women's task. PWG mobilizes women only for supporting their husbands efforts. While DAC tries to be mediator between government's programs on women with women in rural poor. Thus gender problems in rural poor are still neglected by the church. Because there is no any special program or project which is targeted to solve the actual problems of poor women.

Viewing from dimension of mobilization, it is found that CD strategy deals with people's productivity as its prime goal in which improvement is done individually. So it facilitates capital penetration into rural areas. Although population pressure is paid attention by this strategy, but it is not seen in relation to unequal structure. CD's cadres and CAs tend to be 'neutral' institution for the poor, since they incorporate into 'neutral' institution such as LKMD. CO strategy deals with structural problem directly. It attempts to change class relationship even tries to change balance of power within society in local level. Transformation of power leads to other efforts to improve their living condition. In this strategy, the poor are more prepared to face repressive institution collectively.

The main limitation of CD strategy is it only deals with phenomena of poverty. The consequence is, consciously or unconsciously, the strategy facilitates and accelerates capital penetration into rural areas, instead of solving it. The strategy also ignores structural problems which causes poverty in rural areas since it relies on transferring of technical knowhow. Role of cadres and CAs in turn creates additional patrons for the poor. Incorporation of cadres and CAs into local bureaucracy could not give alternative network in village level for breaking through tightly closed-network that is caused by rural bureaucratic power. CO strategy faces problem of dependency for survival which is cultivated deeply in people's mind for long time. When this situation could be changed, it is still faced limitation and problem of implementation in relation to government, that is the government has its legitimacy to control even to dictate all NGOs who are involving in development process in Indonesia. Facing this problem, the PWG as well as other "neutral" institutions which are expected to support people's collective actions, realize that democratic atmosphere only could be created within people institution but could not be applied in wider context, since there is lack of freedom. Emphasizing of CO strategy on collective action, especially in economic efforts, faces reality that people are more interested to individual improvement than collective one. Also the main limitation of collective action is lack of stimulation or incentive to increase productivity.

Availability of funds due to relation with outside institutions has caused dependency

on outside resources and had been spoiling. Even, in DAC case, dependency also occurs in term of strategy which causes the applied-strategy does not take into account the actual situation and also interests of the target groups.

The position of offices and institution which deals with programmes and projects among the rural poor also become limitation factor in mobilizing the poor. In applying CO strategy the PWG has to consider the existence and continuity of the church life besides the interests of the poor.

By applying CD strategy, the church plays roles as complimentary, subsidiary and mediator towards government policies. These roles could be applied as long as the government has not enough resources for reaching whole area and field of development, and also, as long as the strategy is getting along with the government interests. CO strategy, could play alternative function which is based on people's interests. Thus CO strategy is proper strategy for representing the interests of the poor. But on the other hand, the government tries to make use of all of NGOs efforts as the government's vehicles to implement its policies.

Answering to main problems which are faced by NGO in Indonesia, including GMIM, as those are stated in introduction; then following suggestion could be considered:

1. To play alternative function in mobilizing the poor for solving problem of centralized system which is exercised by the government. But the alternative function has to be implemented within frame of Pancasila and the existing constitution in which NGOs have room of maneuver for mobilizing poor people in the sense of changing unequal structure which causes poverty situation.
2. Coordination efforts should be made for (a) integrating multisectoral and sectoral approaches, (b) activating syamas function as the "servant" of the poor, as it is stated by the church order, in order to raise funds for rural poor projects or programs locally rather than merely as money collectors; (c) activating grass-root (local) structure for mobilizing poor people.
3. Gender problem have to be given more serious attention and efforts which particularly solve their own problems. In solving their problems, it is required to mobilize the poor women within agriculture sector as well as outside agriculture, where a lot of poor women are involving, such as small trade (peddlers) and housemaids sub-sectors.
4. If the church would be the participant within development process for long term, then alternative function is needed. As we have seen, CO is the appropriate strategy for playing an alternative function for mobilizing the poor. But in applying CO strategy, the church has to emphasize to dialogue rather than confrontation for following reasons: (a) repressive institution which manifestates

in patron-client relationship within society also consists of church members which have to be served by the church; (b) dialogue is appropriate way in which the poor could be brought because it is risky for them to confront their patrons; (c) dialogue is proper way within frame of Pancasila democracy.

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