

Planning change or changing plans: new opportunities and threats for management of common property in the Malinau District, East Kalimantan.

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Decentralization and political reform in Indonesia have provided a breathing space for indigenous movements. It was expected that indigenous systems of resources management provide alternatives for more sustainable and equitable use of common property and that finally recognition could be obtained for these systems resulting in more sustainable resource use. However Indonesia is developing rapidly, and traditional systems have to adjust to changing circumstances. Are the traditional systems able to adjust while maintaining the underlying principles of sustainable use of resources, and how can their efforts be supported? Or have they been influenced fundamentally resulting in dramatic changes?

In this paper we use the experience in two communities in the Malinau district to describe the changes of the traditional management of the forests in their territory. We examine the internal factors responsible for different outcomes, as well as possibilities and pitfalls for outside parties to support communities to adjust their indigenous system to changing conditions.

The setting

Malinau has experienced rapid and dramatic changes in the last 10 years, starting with the general changes brought about by the political reform since 1998. In 1999 Malinau was declared as new district and a new district government and district assembly were established. Regional autonomy was fully implemented in 2001. The district of Malinau is one of the few districts in East Kalimantan where the majority of the population consists of Dayaks. However as there are some 18 different ethnic groups, there has been some fierce competition amongst the different groups to obtain control in the new government and district assembly. “Due to the close-knit nature of relationships between some villages, companies and government officials, companies and government officials, coalitions based on family and economic ties have become more influential in allocating favors” (Barr 2001: 40) (see also S. Rhee, in prep)

During the same period forest exploitation changed from large logging concessions and suppression of community claims (before reform), to the chaos of small scale timber harvesting enabled by the regional autonomy law and arranged by a combination of village elite, local entrepreneurs and district decision makers. Community members also obtained economic benefits, but a small group of persons closely involved benefited disproportionately.

¹ This paper is based on work by the ACM-CIFOR team from 2000 to 2005, including Lini Wollenberg, Moira Moeliono, Ramses Iwan, Njau Anau, Made Sudana. The research was funded by IFAD, ITTO, DFID and BMZ

The villages Langap and Setulang are located along the Malinau river in the district of Malinau (see map).

Villages in the Upper Malinau Watershed

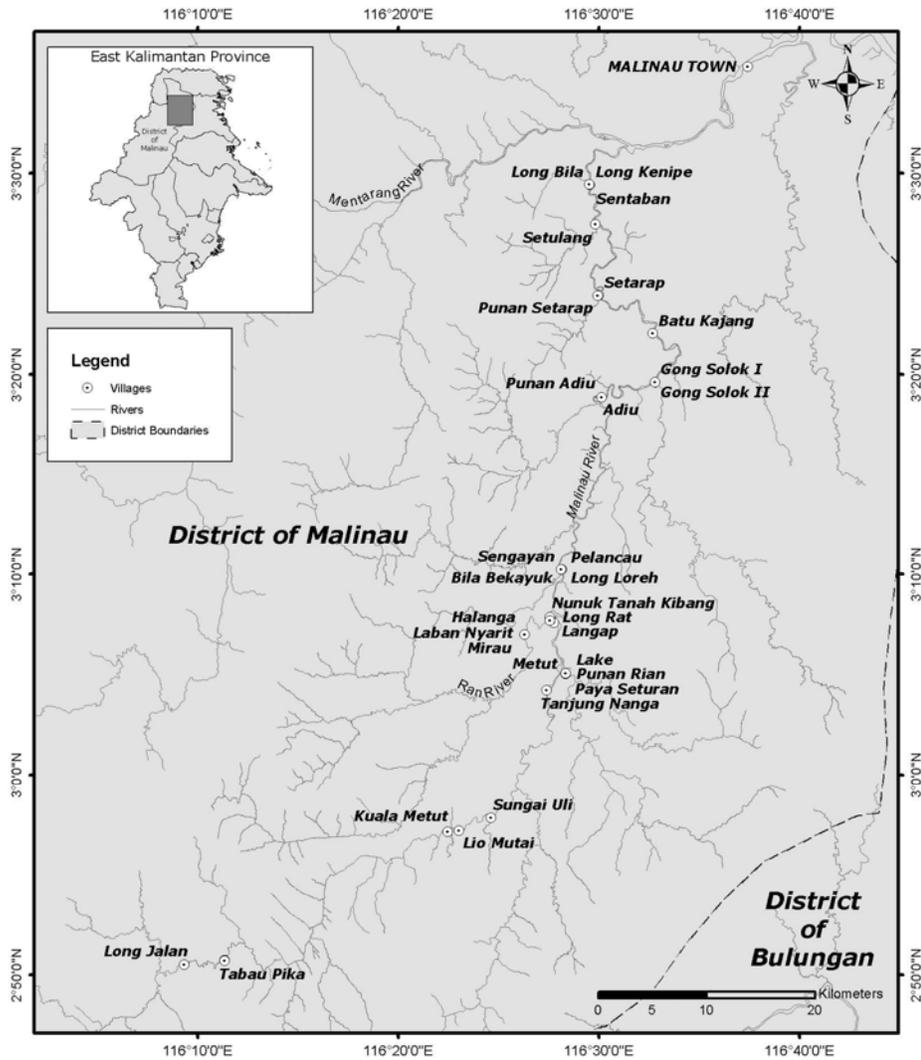


Figure 1: Location of Setulang and Langap villages in the Malinau watershed

Langap

Langap has approximately 400 inhabitants belonging to the Merap ethnic group (part of the Kayanic group of the Dayak). They consider themselves the oldest settlers in the Malinau watershed. Based on their history, the Merap are believed to have migrated into the Malinau watershed at the end of the 18th century (Kaskija, 2002). One of the reasons for settling in the Langap area was the presence of caves producing valuable bird's nests. The Merap have been ruled by descendants of one aristocratic family dating back 12 generations (Kaskija, 2002 and Wijaya, 2001), and claiming divine origin. "These chiefs won official recognition by the local trading kings, the sultan of Bulungan, and the Dutch administration both of their ownership of the caves and of their position of *kepala adat besar* (paramount customary chiefs) for the whole of the Malinau basin, a position still claimed today, despite the strong challenge put up by Kenyah newcomers." (Sellato 2001: 29)

In the late -60's and -70's other groups (Kenyah and Punan) migrated into the Malinau watershed. Before settling these groups would obtain permission from the chief of Langap, thus strengthening his position as the paramount chief of the Malinau watershed. As the Malinau watershed was sparsely populated the paramount chief welcomed the increase in population and as agricultural land was abundant, would indicate an area without very clearly defining the boundaries of the new village territory.

Resources in Langap's territory

In the Langap territory are several birds' nests caves. These caves have been inherited and divided among the descendants of the paramount chief. Two tributaries of the Malinau River along which the caves are located, are considered exclusive domain by the paramount chief. However other villagers or outsiders have been allowed access to these watersheds for collection of non timber forest products (NTFPs) as long as they would ask permission and stay away from the cave areas.

Alluvial plains around the village are utilized for upland farming and the vast tracks of forest are used for hunting and extraction of forest products or timber for local use. In the early 1970s logging companies started operating in the area and in 1974 the logging company officially recognized a 1 km buffer zone around the caves (Wijaya, 2001). However villagers were restricted by the company in cutting timber for local use and discouraged to establish upland rice fields along the logging roads. This created strong negative feelings from the villagers towards the logging company. In the early 1990's exploration for coal deposits started in the area and several coal deposits were discovered in the Langap village territory.

Increased population density and opportunities for financial gain from resource exploitation have resulted in increased conflicts between Langap and neighboring villages.

Setulang²

In late 1960's the Kenyah Uma Long migrated from Long Saan to Setulang, led by their customary chief. Before migrating they had send a team to survey potential sites and obtained agreement from the paramount chief of the Malinau River and local government officials. Presently the population of Setulang is approximately 900 persons.

Since settling in Long Setulang, the people have developed upland rice fields and tree crops. They use the produce of the rice fields to fulfill their daily needs and rice is also sold. Many of the young people travel to Malaysia mainly to work in timber companies.

Setulang has only had a brief spell of forest exploitation by logging companies in the early 1970's. Since its' establishment there has been no large scale exploitation of forest resources in its territory. As part of the land in the village territory was less appropriate / fertile for upland rice farming it was kept under forest.

“The villagers' realized their decision to protect the forests in the upper reaches of the Setulang River in 2001 when they wrote down relevant customary rules. They were written so they could be used as the basis for making decisions, and most importantly so the young generation would know about customary rules. The rules relate to the removal and use of timber and non-timber forest products found in the protected forest area (*Tane' Olen*)” (Iwan 2004:3)

Setulang has had boundary conflicts with their neighbors, especially over the forested areas. One of the neighboring villages claims that area as their customary forest, most likely to sell it off to a logging company if they have the opportunity.

Efforts undertaken to support community empowerment in resource management by CIFOR and why (underlying assumptions)

Malinau is a long term research site for the Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) to develop sustainable forest management to improve local communities' welfare and accommodating the interests of multi stakeholders. The Adaptive Collaborative Management (ACM) team used action-research to further develop community involvement in forest management at the district level and improve community's capacities to assess, communicate and negotiate their interests in forest management and economic development with district officials, private companies and other villages.

A range of approaches was used based on local interest and opportunities, including participatory mapping, research on customary rules, annual inter-villages workshops and legal awareness (see Wollenberg, in press).

In the early phase, based on the communities' interest, participatory mapping was facilitated in the 27 villages along the Malinau River. It was expected that participatory mapping would elucidate disputes assisting the communities to resolve inter-village disputes. Our assumption was that participatory mapping would result in a clear picture of the communities' vision of their rights/needs/interest towards the territory and forests, which they could then

² Detailed information on the Setulang case can be found in R. Iwan (2004) and R. Iwan (forthcoming)

communicate with other stakeholders in forest management. At the same time it was seen as a first step in assisting the communities to assess their options and develop forest management.

We also started research on customary rules and regulations for resource management in six communities. We considered articulating customary rules for resource management important so that these rules would be considered in discussion on forest management. We also collected information on claims made by communities (or individuals) on territory or certain resources, and evidence of recognition of these claims by other parties.

From 2000 to 2004 we facilitated annual workshop on resource management issues between the 27 villages. The main purpose of these workshops was to increase communities' awareness of bigger issues (e.g. recognition of village territory and boundaries, definition of rights over resources), will support inter-village cooperation and collective action, and also provide communication channel between communities and government by inviting government officials to one session during the workshop.

We also disseminated policy information through informal discussions, policy info-briefs, newsletters, sharing of the regulations and laws, training course in legal drafting, workshops and cross-visits. On the one hand we anticipated that information would assist the stakeholders to improve discussion about forest management and better assess possibilities, on the other hand we hoped it would strengthen the position of communities vis-à-vis district government.

What happened?

Langap

In 2000, when the ACM team facilitated participatory mapping, an interesting debate took place in Langap. Several members of the aristocratic family wanted to map the area where the birds' nests caves ("cave area") are located as a separate area, outside of the Langap village territory. At this stage the paramount chief described his view of rights to territory: each village is entitled to a (limited) territory to cater for villagers need for agricultural land and some forest land to satisfy other needs. All land beyond that area is customary land under the control of the paramount chief for the greater benefit of all communities in the Malinau watershed. Any benefits derived from resource exploitation in that area should be paid to the organization led by the paramount chief (*Lembaga Adat Besar Se-Sungai Malinau*).

In the discussion about the status of the "cave area" the aristocratic family was afraid they would lose control over the area by including it in the village territory. Whereas the village leaders (not related to the aristocratic family) were concerned that by including the caves in the village territory the village as a whole might be held responsible for paying taxes on the harvest of the birds' nest, something that the aristocratic family had greatly neglected so far. Eventually the village leaders were able to convince the paramount chief to include the "cave area" in the village territory, but retaining exclusive use rights.

This debate happened to coincide with the first opportunity for communities to directly benefit from timber exploitation in their territories through co-operation with logging companies. This opportunity was immediately seized by the aristocratic family. They struck a deal with a company to start exploitation of the forest in the expanded "cave area". Before this opportunity, the main attraction of the cave area was the birds nest (recognized by letter from Dutch colonial government and recognition of 1 km buffer zone by state-owned logging

company). With the chance to benefit from the exploitation of timber exclusive right over a larger area became more important and lucrative. At this time the aristocratic family increasingly started to use the term “*pewaris*” heir, not only of the caves, but also of the adjacent forest area.

Initially some village leaders protested against the initial letter of co-operation between Langap and the company, arguing that the benefits for the community were too small. Under the agreement the villagers would obtain some benefits, but the aristocratic family would obtain a disproportional large share, with the argument that the logging occurred in their exclusive domain. Members of the aristocratic family pressurized the community with the threat that the company would demand a huge compensation payment (2 billion rupiah or approximately \$200,000) if the agreement was cancelled. This argument quickly silenced most of the open protest, although individuals continued to grumble amongst themselves.

Once logging started operations expanded into areas that neighboring villages consider their village territory. Initial protest were either ignored or referred back and forth between various people (including some related to aristocratic family) within the company without addressing the issue. Again protests were internal and no collective action undertaken to dispute the claim on territory and its resources.

Having succeeded in securing their claims over increasingly large territory and obtain substantial amounts of money, the aristocratic family started to plan for the next step: exploitation of the known coal resources. Although the actual exploitation has not yet commenced, the leading family has assured that any benefit will largely benefit them.

CIFOR’s activities in Langap and withdrawal from Langap.

During the stage of negotiations between (the elite of) Langap and the logging company, the ACM team was still facilitating participatory mapping in the Malinau watershed, including Langap and it’s neighboring villages.

De facto access vs *de jure* rights

During the participatory mapping in the Langap territory a team went to physically map the boundaries. This team consisted of representatives of Langap, Paya Seturan and Punan Rian and members of the CIFOR ACM team. When the team arrived on the approximate location of the border between Langap and Punan Rian, the representatives of Punan Rian showed little interest in tracing the boundary. The representatives of Langap tried to force the people of Punan Rian to follow the boundary that was agreed upon during an earlier meeting between the 2 communities.

One likely reason for this behavior is that the people of Punan Rian have had strong historical patron-client relation with Langap, especially the aristocratic family. On the one hand the role of the Punan of Punan Rian was highly needed (and appreciated?) as the frontline defense for Langap and specialist forest product collectors. On the other hand they were seen as inferior and dependent on handouts (of basic items) from Langap.

Yet the Punan might at that point in time (before actual logging started) not have been too concerned about territory as *de facto* they had free access to a much larger area than there (administrative) village territory. Interestingly enough, after logging had occurred the Punan of Punan Rian, unilaterally marked what they perceived as the boundary between their village territory and Langap.

District government has accused participatory mapping of fomenting conflict and encouraging communities' to claim territory. In the case of Langap it was not so much the participatory mapping that triggered the claims on territory, but the interest of the village elite to gain financially and their close connections to business men and decision makers that enabled them to pursue their aims.

Because of the need for government involvement and endorsement of boundaries, CIFOR then started a follow up effort to support more sustainable and equitable forest management by research on customary regulations and assisting in developing land use plans. In researching customary regulation in Langap, villagers were afraid to articulate their visions of customary rules, stating that it is the domain of the aristocratic family. It became increasingly apparent that there was no critical mass in Langap to cooperate towards more equitable resource use and distribution of its benefits (and question some of the claims of aristocratic family). On top of that the situation also became increasingly politically sensitive, so further facilitation efforts were put on a hold.

Setulang

Since opportunities for direct co-operation between logging companies and communities opened up with decentralization, Setulang was also several times approached with lucrative offers (see R. Iwan, 2004 for details). Some community members, including members of the village elite, were interested in the possibility of cooperating and obtaining financial benefits. When companies began to approach Setulang, logging operations had already started in nearby villages. On the one hand experience demonstrated to the communities that the initial

payments offered to communities were far below possible profits to be made by the companies. This resulted in increasingly higher offers being made, including an offer of 3 Billion rupiah (approximately \$300,000). At the same time the people of Setulang saw many examples of unfulfilled promises from the logging companies and severe damage to logged areas.

This resulted in on-going discussion within the community on which course to take: convert or conserve forests. Arguments heard in favor of exploitation is that villagers needed cash. Consideration to oppose forest exploitation were experience with impact of logging in Malaysia, and observing the negligible benefit accruing to neighboring communities. Voices in support of conservation won. Thus the decision was to conserve the remaining forest in the village territory using the name "*Tane' Olen*", strengthen its management with customary regulations and setting up a separate management body (see Ramses Iwan, this panel).

Once the community had made these decisions the ACM CIFOR team identified strategic points of intervention. We included four representatives of Setulang in training on drafting of related to regulations of village land use plans, and started to facilitate development of village land use plan. In the initial discussions the *Tane' Olen* featured most prominently. Gradually plans for the complete village area developed.

Why did it happen?

Role of *adat* and customary leadership

In both cases, as is true in other parts of East Kalimantan, the role of the customary leader remains important. As explained in Ramses Iwan's paper they used to play an important role in regulating resource use, especially valuable ones. However their status and role are changing fast. Individual aristocratic families have dealt in different ways with the changes. Most can be traced back to 1970 when the Indonesian government introduced the uniform village system, where the head of the village is an elected official and customary leaders are shifted to the margins as keepers of traditional rituals. In many cases this process resulted in an elder or one of the elder generation acting as customary leader and the younger generation as village head. Even today there are villages with the father being the customary leader and the son the elected village head. The new position of village head, however, could be lucrative providing opportunities to obtain financial benefits from government projects, something that had been impossible to their fathers. This co-option within the government system often undermined village leadership. Customary leadership lost respect because the leaders became powerless with regard to external relations and village leadership lost respect because of being corrupt

But customary leaders did not give up easily. Using a range of reasons and tactics, they have attempted to maintain control as customary or paramount chief and use their position to control access to increasingly valuable resources. Unfortunately, this process has been accompanied by a distancing from the rest of the community with the resource becoming increasingly the exclusive property of the aristocracy.

Why do the people tolerate this? Sometimes people tolerate the present person in reminiscence of the father. In the case of Langap, people still talk with great respect of the late Alang Impang as a wise leader, despite the fact that he probably sometimes accrued

wealth in dubious ways. When his son succeeded him, opportunities to siphon off benefits increased and so decreased respect. Why did the people not dispose him?

The main reason is one of inertia and habit. As we found out during the survey in Langap on traditional rules and regulations related to resource management there seems to be a certain level of (psychological) dependence or subservience of community member towards the aristocratic family. People are reluctant to discuss this, because sometimes they truly do not know, but in other cases they seem afraid that they will be punished for giving an unwanted or unauthorized opinion.

This sense of dependence on the paramount chief was also observed during the participatory mapping. Negotiations between villages on the exact border location often referred to historical agreements. Sometimes people could only refer to one point at the river side that had been determined by the paramount chief, with no clear course of the boundary further inland. At the time the boundaries for “immigrating” villages were determined (late 1960’s and early 1970’s), exact definition of territory were not yet urgent, as the main activities were upland rice farming and collection of forest products.

Over time, land and forest became more valuable and boundaries needed to be better defined. In 1998 the villages along the Malinau River officially (re-)elected the paramount chief, to succeed his father who died in 1980 (Wijaya, 2001). When people expected the paramount chief to take the lead in resolving the increasing problems, they were disappointed. In fact, the leader used his new position in the interest in Langap where he was accused of unilaterally changing the boundaries to the advantage of Langap’s aristocratic family.

Collective action against *kepala adat besar* does not only need collective action at village level but also between villages. This is unlikely to occur as many villages have internal problems as well as conflicts with their neighboring villages.

The case of Setulang is simpler as the customary leadership encompasses only one village and the leader himself supported change. The revered customary leader who stimulated and led the migration from Long Saan to Setulang also supported change in the customary organization: election of customary leader based on capacity / capability not based on inheritance. Since he introduced these changes while he was still in charge, members of the aristocratic family could not directly oppose him and the community became empowered. Rights so explicitly given cannot be easily taken away, so after the death of the revered leader this new way of elected customary (and other village) leaders based on capacity remained in place, despite opposition from members of the aristocratic family.

New opportunities to claim ownership and to benefit

Concepts of forest management among indigenous communities are changing: communities adjacent to the Kayan Mentarang National Park (also in the Malinau district) are adjusting the concept of Tane Olen³ for community resource management and exploitation and community based conservation (see Konradus in Eghenter 2003). The case of Setulang (see R. Iwan), Sajau (Lahang, 1999) and Batu Majang (Imang, 2004) describe how communities adjust the

³ Different sub groups of the Dayak Kenyah have slightly different pronunciation of the word. Most commonly used: tana’ ulen and tane’ olen.

concept of *Tane' Olen* to new circumstances and ideas. Also new concepts are developed, for example in Sengayan, neighboring Langap the land use category *hutan kas desa* (literally: village treasurer forest) has been included in their land use plan.

In the interior of East Kalimantan, use and ownership of resources and land / territory was traditionally regulated by customary law. If it concerned valuable resources found in a clearly defined location regulation could be strict. If resources were plentiful and pressure limited, e.g. land for agriculture, regulations could be loose. For example, Lamis et al. in Eghenter (2003) report that a complete village territory was abandoned with no later claims towards the territory (Eghenter 2003: 119). Sometimes however, claims to territory or valuable resources could be challenged by other groups, e.g. through warfare. This also occurred in the Malinau watershed over the valuable birds' nests caves or their produce, when Kayan and other groups repeatedly raided the Seturan area (where the caves are located) (Wijaya, 2001). Interestingly enough and fairly unique, the aristocratic family in Langap has written proof of their cave ownership dating 1936, still the colonial time. In many other places in East Kalimantan no written proof exists of long term cave ownership.

During the New Order regime there was no recognition of ownership of territory or resources for communities, especially indigenous communities (Lynch, 2002), and especially in areas designated as state forest. With reform this changed, opportunities for claiming territory and resources opened up rapidly and seemingly unlimited. The people or groups best positioned could gain most; being a paramount chief in an assessable area with good timber and known coal potential, a family member with a law degree, and connected to businessmen (dealing in NTFP and timber) are the perfect ingredients.

Thus the Langap nobility immediately strengthened and expanded their territorial claims. Various means were used: Written proof of ownership of the caves, acknowledgement of the logging company of a buffer zone, and maps (both from participatory mapping and illicitly copied map from the logging company). Another important means was the debate on indigenous communities, in the sense of long term residents in the Malinau watershed, versus migrant communities, i.e. Dayak groups that arrived approximately 30 years ago. To gain control over resources they also claimed that as "common property" or communally "owned" resources, the forest area should be managed by the *Lembaga Adat Besar Se-Sungai Malinau* (Customary organization for the Malinau watershed). Another interesting argument they used is the term "*pewaris*" heir. It is a mixture of long term residence in the area, nobility, and some written proof of claims to the bird's nests caves⁴.

The Setulang case on the other hand could almost be considered opposite. When reform and regional autonomy provided opportunities for communities to claim forested land, the community of Setulang did not immediately seize this chance. They were constrained by the argument of indigenusness used by other groups. Instead they claimed their forest for conservation purposes and in that sense also used customary rules. Over time they learned that their decision how to manage the forest actually makes a difference.

This realization began when logging companies did not enter their forest if the offer of the company was turned down by the community. (During the days of new Order at most pro forma the company would obtain the signature of the village that the community allowed

⁴ Similar arguments have been used by another group to claim vast territory as well. As they do not have historical written proof of ownership of bird's nest caves, a map was used to strengthen their claims and intimidate people in that territory.

logging in the surrounding forests. If the signature was not obtained armed forces could be relied upon to assure that the community would not resist logging in their territory.)

The people of Setulang became even more convinced when the two protests they staged against logging companies unauthorized starting logging in the Setulang watershed, effectively stopped further encroachment.

Role of facilitation to empower communities

One of the questions we were interested in at the onset of our engagement in the Malinau watershed was what are enabling circumstances and what are appropriate methods to empower communities to participate in decision making over benefits derived from forest resources? However, community participation is not only a problem of empowerment vis-à-vis other stakeholders, power differences amongst communities are also huge. Facilitating empowerment of certain communities or weak groups within communities is more difficult, as it questions power relations within groups, considered by others to be homogenous. We want to reflect on some of the methods we used and the potential to support (weaker) elements of society to meaningfully participate in the decision making process.

The annual workshops between the 27 villages along the Malinau River provided a much valued platform for shared learning and discussion. During these events, community representatives were able to discuss option for forest management, potential or actual role of communities in decision over forest management and challenges faced. One problem that was continuously on the agenda was the excessive land claims made by the paramount leader (and another group of birds' nests cave owners). These claims overlapped or impinged on several village territories. During the successive workshops representatives drew up plans to discuss the problem with the concerned families, however no (collective) actions were taken. The workshops were important in assisting the community members to develop visions of forest management in their respective territories, and the visions were quite varied, but were not sufficient to build a movement for collective action.

We noticed that gradually some better connected villages did sometimes not participate at all or send less influential people to represent the village during the workshop. Participation of the weaker communities was relative stable⁵. One common problem was that community representatives seldom reported back to their respective communities. Some additional facilitation might be needed to continue the process, especially given that collective action would be needed to question existing social structures and going against strong, well positioned families / groups within the community.

Mapping, including participatory mapping, is a very powerful tool, but also a tricky and political one (Momberg, 1996). As the district government did not involve itself in the process or recognize the results, communities remained uncertain about boundaries and their rights or role in forest management. The mapping process could also be dominated by powerful communities at the expense of weaker neighboring communities, as the example in box 1 illustrates. Also the chaotic circumstances enabled powerful individuals (or families) to misuse the result of participatory mapping (esp. the map) to strike quick deals with companies. As the participatory mapping coincided with the start of small scale timber

⁵ Travel time being the main factor influencing communities' participation

harvesting, when any sort of letter of cooperation and any map sort of showing the area to be logged were sufficient.

Our efforts to disseminate information on forestry laws and regulation and other resource management related issues seems more impartial, and could support weaker elements of society. However information alone will not be sufficient for the weaker groups to obtain or demand fairer opportunities or distribution of benefits.

As the experience in Langap showed research into customary rules and regulation have the disadvantage that dominant groups or families might have turned this into their exclusive domain, pretending to be only knowledgeable persons or only authorized persons to interpret the customary rules and regulation. This position can be easily misused, and this situation is difficult to quickly change. This will be particular problematic when potentially huge benefits are at stake.

Conclusion

In this paper we have described two examples of how management of forest resources is being redefined in the Malinau area. In the case of Langap, initially the aristocratic family seemed only concerned about appropriating the valuable resource (in this case birds' nests cave) in their domain and allowed other people to use the other (economically less interesting) forest resources. As opportunities occurred they have used their influence to expand their claim and exclude others from increasingly large forested areas. As exploitation of those areas and resources are aimed at economic gain, sustainable resource management is no consideration to them.

In Setulang the customary leader was instrumental in "reforming" the customary organization. It started with changing the institution, and resulted in revising the concept of *Tane' Olen*: no longer under the direct authority of the customary leader, but managed by an elected body. However customary rules have still been the first step in regulating management of the *Tane' Olen*.

Changing circumstances, like the political reform in Indonesia and decentralization trend in Indonesia (and other countries) might present new opportunities for indigenous communities to participate in forest management. Customary institutions and rules are often believed to offer viable options to develop sustainable resource management.

What can we do as engaged researchers or social movers? The two cases presented demonstrate that the role of the customary leader is still crucial, for the better or the worse. How can more sustainable and equitable forest management meaningfully involving local communities be supported? How can we assist to plan change? Certain methods proved useful in our situation. Workshops or similar for a are helpful to define local issue, interests and make plans, but they not ensure that (collective) action will be taken. Participatory mapping can be a very useful tool to address important issues, at the same time care is needed to avoid problems during or after the process. Discussion on existing customary (or other) rules and regulation can help to reflect on problems or short comings and become a starting point for further action. Certain elements within the community might object to these discussions since they encroach into their traditional domain / authority.

Some considerations we kept in mind are that our involvement is limited (in terms of personnel and time), what could be possible repercussions for segments of community involved or as result of the activities, and how much to support weaker elements of society to plan change? If no collective action is taken, then what? Change plans?

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