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**Sharing the Fruit of Forestry Products:
Indigenous People and Their Incomes in the Forestry Sector
in East Kalimantan, Indonesia**

Yekti Maunati

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Yekti Maunati is Director of the Research Center for Regional Resources at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (PSDR-LIPI). This paper was written when the author was a Visiting Researcher at the Asian Development Bank Institute and the Institute supported the survey whose results are reported here. The views expressed in this paper are the views of the author and do not necessarily reflect the view or policies of the Asian Development Bank Institute.

Chapter I: Introduction

Background

This research is concerned with a number of related themes, but most particularly it seeks to explore the advantages to indigenous people from the forestry sector in East Kalimantan, Indonesia. Specifically, I will address three main issues: First, to understand whether or not the indigenous people benefit from the forest products in East Kalimantan; Second, to investigate the role of the indigenous people and other parties in forestry related enterprises; and finally, to understand the way in which the indigenous people have become incorporated into the current situation, especially since the granting of regional autonomy in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, it has been widely argued that under the New Order government, the central government bestowed privileges upon the private sector to exploit the forests in the name of economic development (Samego, 1992; Barber, 1997; Ross, 2001; etc.). Often, the processes were channelled through a form of patron client relationship in which the bureaucrats acted as patrons of the businessmen. This type of relationship was practiced not only in the forestry related businesses, but also in many other enterprises (Budiman, 1990; MacIntyre, 1990; etc.). Forests have contributed significantly to the national economy, especially through the export of timber.

The introduction of regional autonomy in the reform period has affected forestry-related issues. Local governments, especially at the district level, have challenged the previous power holders on forestry matters. At the same time, the indigenous people were given an opportunity to regain their rights over forest lands whereas in the past they had been cast aside, far from their sources of livelihood. In stark contrast to previous times, the indigenous people's wisdom on managing the forests is now being taken into consideration by the local governments. However, the emergence of local powers (both government and civil) does not automatically equate with a total weakening of the central power base since this power struggle over forestry is still under way, involving a number of different groups. Indigenous people are not the only groups that hope to gain benefits from the forest products.

As in Indonesia, in Sarawak, East Malaysia, the indigenous people have very limited involvement in forestry related enterprises since these have been dominated by nonindigenous people, especially the Chinese. Malaysia as well as Indonesia, has benefited from booming timber exports from 1950 to 1995 (Ross, 2001). However, the parties who received most benefits have not been the indigenous people though they reside around the forest areas.

In Indonesia the New Order government had given particular privileges to the private sector in terms of logging concessions. The dispossession of forest villagers has been widely reported whereby they are forcibly distanced from their main sources of livelihood such as gathering honey or rattan, hunting, etc. (Kadok, 1995) and resettled (King, 1993). While the notion behind such actions is one of modernizing isolated groups like the Dayak, it also acts to prevent their access to fruitful natural resources (Djuweng, 1996). On top of this, forest villagers are often blamed for environmental degradation, due to forest fires and so forth because of their slash and burn cultivation methods. In this case, one needs to ponder whether the forest villagers are the perpetrators or merely the victims since the plantation enterprises are often involved in forest fires. The problem seems to be political in nature. It is therefore very important to investigate the position of indigenous people in relation to the economic and political forces in forestry in East Kalimantan, Indonesia.

Apart from gathering forest products, another source of livelihoods from forestry is engagement in forestry related enterprises either as entrepreneurs or as employees. Employing local people in forest enterprises is often considered as the most direct benefit which the surrounding community can get from the forest enterprises. Yet, the forest enterprises are often accused of reluctance to recruit local people. Based on his study in East Kalimantan, Gellert (1995) finds that forest enterprises (*HPHs - Hak Pengusahaan Hutan* or Forest Concession rights) employed thousands of local people when they still used *banjir kap* manual methods, but these methods have been replaced since the early 1970s by mechanized technologies which require skilled labour. The local people did not have the experience to take over the heavy equipment like tractors and logging trucks. Consequently, recruitment of local people has been very limited. During this shifting period, many logging employees were experienced workers from Malaysia and the Philippines. Many of the experienced operators of recent years used to be the 'helpers' of those Malaysian and Filipino operators. Other reasons for not recruiting the locals are as follows: lack of education, lack of work discipline and easy resignation from jobs (especially among the Dayak) (Gillert, 1995:25).

The focus of this research will be the struggle of the indigenous people to participate in forestry related enterprises. Specifically, I will discuss the following issues: the Indonesian government's dependence on forestry; the role of non indigenous people in forestry related businesses; who are the indigenous people; the marginalization of the indigenous people as forest villagers; the position of indigenous people in different periods; and the recent window opening opportunities for indigenous people as well as their incomes.

The Aims of the Study

The central issue in this research is a concern with the impact of decentralisation on the livelihoods of the indigenous people in East Kalimantan, particularly in relation to the forestry sector. This study aims not only to add to the existing body of knowledge on indigenous people in Southeast Asia and their changing economic situation but also to understand whether or not the indigenous people are less marginalized in their own territory, especially in terms of getting access to forestry products after the decentralisation. A further aim of the study is to investigate other factors, which contribute to the changing position of indigenous people in relation to the forestry products during different periods, especially in that of the New Order government period and now. The study addresses several questions about the contemporary role of indigenous people in the forestry sector. I will also investigate who has the power to dominate the forestry related enterprises and what are the reasons behind such domination.

Research Method

Fieldwork was carried out in East Kalimantan, Indonesia for about 2 weeks, September 8 to September 22, 2004. To find information on the role of the indigenous people in the forestry sector, I interviewed officials of the Office of Forestry at regional levels. I sought data from different sources, including colonial literature on Borneo, writings on Borneo or Kalimantan by westerners and Indonesians, my own interviews with many indigenous people, and interviews with the members of non government organizations which represent the indigenous people. In depth interviews were conducted with many groups. Bernard's discussion on the use of unstructured and semi structured interviewing was very useful (1995). Geertz's research methods, such as his conceptualisation of fieldwork as 'thick description', were also very important for my research (Geertz, 1973).

In order to collect the data on the role of indigenous people in the forestry sector, I started with local government officials who represent the indigenous people in many areas. Government policy on the indigenous people is partly based on local government perspectives on the Dayak of East Kalimantan. In depth interviews were conducted with government officials in Samarinda, including in the Department of Forestry, the Planning Board and the Industrial Offices. I have also interviewed several people from non government organisations (NGOs) concerned with the Dayak. NGOs often speak for the Dayak and empower them. They frequently speak on behalf of the Dayak in negotiations with the logging companies which exploit Dayak territory. As well I interviewed members of the Dayak Organisation in Samarinda and Melak people engaged in forestry related businesses.

Apart from this, I interviewed about 50 Dayak people who are the indigenous people in East Kalimantan, from 9 villages surrounding forests in the Linggang Bigung sub district, West Kutai district (Questionnaire for Villagers, Appendix B). Fifty (50) respondents have been selected through the following method. As there is no formal record on occupations of the population either at the sub district or village levels, the respondents, therefore, were selected based on information from all nine village administrative officials. A method like random sampling could not be used due to limited numbers of the Dayak who engage in particular forestry related sectors. For instance, there is only one hunter who depends totally on hunting animals for a living. Similarly, only one person in the Linggang Bigung Sub District is a logging entrepreneur.

I selected the Linggang Bigung sub district, West Kutai district, for particular reasons. Firstly, the majority of the population in Linggang Bigung of West Kutai is the Dayak. Secondly, as a newly established district, West Kutai has put in place a new regulation on customary forests which proposes that the indigenous people participate in the management of the forests. Linggang Bigung sub district which is under the West Kutai district, follows the West Kutai regulation. I conducted in depth interviews with many village leaders and key informants, particularly in the Linggang Bigung sub district.

Chapter II: Overview of Forestry in Indonesia

In Indonesia under the New Order government, the central government had given privileges to the private sector to exploit the forest in the name of economic development (Samego, 1992; Barber, 1997; Ross, 2001; etc.). Forests have contributed significantly to the national economy, especially through the export of timber. The New Order government had installed many policies dealing with the exploitation of forest products. In 1967, for instance, the government implemented the 'Basic Forestry Law' Act to bolster economic growth at a time both of economic crisis and of transition from the Old Order to the New Order. The government had attempted to attract foreign investors and promoted timber exports by endorsing specific strategies: First, implementation of a new foreign investment law that proposed tax holidays, free repatriation of profits, and a guarantee of compensation and instalment of a second investment law to give similar benefits to domestic firms; Second, assertive recruitment of foreign investors in the timber sector; Third, making forest royalties and taxes low enough to strengthen logging firms in Indonesia in order for them to be able to compete with neighbouring countries (Ross, 2001:166-7).

In the 1970s foreign investors, particularly from Japan, Republic of Korea, the Philippines and Malaysia were attracted to the forestry sector. The majority of all approved investment in this sector (58 per cent) at the end of 1973 was from abroad (Ross, 2001). Ross further notes that the above policies were aimed at enticing foreign investors. Yet, after 1970 the New Order officials started to participate in lease seizing, partly by 'dismantling the customary rights of forest dwellers' (Ross, *ibid*: 171).

Under the original terms of the Basic Forestry Law, there was a division of responsibility among several institutions, including the forestry department, provincial governors, district heads (*Bupati*) and sub district heads (*Camat*), that could grant concessions of certain sizes (Ross, *ibid*:173). By having such distribution of power, the provincial and local officials received part of the forest income. The majority of the small scale enterprises in the forestry sector used 'a traditional, non-mechanized logging technique called *banjir kap* ("cutting during the flood")' (Ross, *ibid*:174). *Banjir kap* did not last long because the New Order government put in place Government Regulation No.20/1970 which allowed only a minimum concession size of 50,000 hectares and set that all logging be mechanized. This took the edge off the power of provincial authorities to issue timber concessions and put aside the *banjir kap* operators. Local people who benefited from the *banjir kap* suffered under this new regulation. This circumstance was explained as being for the sake of economic development.

Indonesia has benefited from booming timber exports particularly between 1950 and 1995 (Ross, *ibid*). Indonesia has around 112.3 million hectares of state forests, consisting of protected forest (29.3 million hectares), reserve forest (19 million hectares), and production forest (64 million hectares) (Kartodihardjo, 1999:1). However, the potential and volume of forests has decreased markedly. Since the implementation of the Logging Concession (HPH) of 1967, forestry has significantly contributed to the national economy. During the last ten years, the timber industry has constituted around 20 per cent of the foreign exchange (Kartodihardjo, 1999:1).

The private sector was invited to play a significant role in forest management because the state itself faced a lack of capital. The New Order government, backed by the army, encouraged the private sector to play a part in the utilization of the natural resources (Samego, 1992). Besides private domestic players, many foreign investors from Malaysia, the Philippines, Republic of

Korea and the United States have participated in the forestry business. The introduction of the ideology of economic nationalism led to a prioritizing of domestic companies. Samego (1992) argues that the bureaucrats provided favourable conditions for big business and to those who were close to figures of political authority. Foreign investors also sought backing. Evidence of this are the joint ventures between well connected businessmen, backed by the Indonesian Army Reserve Command and foreign investors. Barber et al. (1994) note that by the late 1960s a large number of logging concessions (HPH) were closely connected with military organisations, including the regional military commands in Kalimantan. Supporting the companies that depend on subcontracting agreements or joint ventures with foreign or Chinese companies had become the means for the military to run their concessions (Ross, 2001). Ross further reports that being involved in joint ventures was profitable because the commercial partner was to provide almost all of the capital, to handle the concession and to sell the timber, while the military partner made available the licence and a small part of the capital.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, most military companies were out of the industry and Chinese businessmen replaced them. During this time, the radical changes also included the establishment of sawn timber and plywood industries and the phasing out of the export of unprocessed logs (Ross, *ibid*).

The liberalisation of the economy in 1986 and 1988 brought about wider opportunities for favoured groups in society, especially 'members of the Suharto family and Suharto's Chinese cronies', to expand their businesses (Robertson-Snape, 1999:595). In terms of forestry related businesses, Bob Hasan was one of Suharto's Chinese cronies, who had the ability to set up timber exports and determine export levels through the Wood Panel Association (*ibid*:596). The conglomerates controlled the forestry sector (Barber et al. 1994). Barber et al. note that these conglomerates were silent partners or in ventures with the powerful civilian or military political figures. Perhaps, the roles of military officers or organisations in forestry have not been the same as in the timber boom period, but they still exist. According to McBeth (2002) the army's largest holding company has its finger in many enterprises, including timber and plantations. McBeth (*ibid*:21) notes that the army foundation has about 22 joint venture companies that are engaged in timber, plantation, and other businesses.

Whilst the military officers or organisations and big businesses were given the privilege to exploit the forest resources especially during the New Order period, the indigenous people, the forest villagers and the local people were pushed aside from their home environments.

Chapter III: Indigenous People of Kalimantan and Their Marginalization

Indigenous People of Kalimantan: Who are they?

It is widely argued that the Dayak should be considered the indigenous people of Kalimantan. The term 'Dayak' refers collectively to non Muslim or non Malay natives of Borneo in general (King, 1993). The term 'Dayak' appeared at the end of the nineteenth century, in the context of the imposition of Dutch colonial rule over the tribes residing in the interior regions of Borneo (Rousseau, 1990). The meaning of 'Dayak' itself is debatable. Commans (1987) for instance, notes that according to some authors Dayak means human being, while others argue that 'Dayak' means interior. Commans suggests that the most appropriate meaning is people who reside in the upper course of a river (Commans, *ibid*:6). In a similar vein, Lahajir et al. report that the Iban people use the term Dayak to mean human being, while the Tunjung and Benuaq use it to refer it to the upper course of a river (1993:4).

The island of Borneo is home to more than 400 tribes including the Iban, Kayan, Molah, Kendayan, Kenyah, Punan, Benuaq, Tunjung, Ngaju and Dusun, each with its own language and customs (King, 1993:29). There are similarities among the Dayak, except that the Punan have been wanderers, in terms of residing in longhouses, the use of knives and blowpipes, the production of rattan basketry, the use of ceramics in rituals, shifting cultivation, and the performance of dance in rituals (Ukur, 1991; Widjono, 1998). In East Kalimantan, the Dayak consist of twelve major sub tribes: Tunjung, Kenyah, Punan, Bahau Sa, Bahau Busang, Benuaq, Bentian, Kayan, Lundayeh, Modang, Krayan and Penihing. According to several informants, the Tunjung Dayak have occupied certain areas, which are mostly in the West Kutai district.

Classical anthropological literature tends to portray the Dayak as an exotic and unique group of people, characterized by head hunting, longhouse dwelling, animism, and a nomadic life style. This presentation of the Dayak as an isolated, untouched and change resistant 'other' in contrast to European man, the supposed active agent of history, can be clearly seen in but is by no means limited to, the writings of the colonial era (Millun, 1994).

The most popular image of Borneo has been that of headhunting. Bock's publication, *The Headhunters of Borneo* published in English in 1881, contributed significantly to the production of the 'headhunter' image (Saunders, 1993:23). Another key feature of Dayak society, according to many anthropological accounts, is to be found in their distinctive residential patterns. Most ethnographic studies of the Dayak focus in particular on the longhouse, not only as a distinctive architectural form but as manifesting a structure of social relations that is, it is often implied, unique to the Dayak (Geddes, 1968:30; and Furness, 1902:1). The longhouse facilitates the system of labour cooperation (Geddes, 1968:30-32).

The longhouse came to be viewed as a key to understanding important aspects of Dayak society through the study of its architecture, and kinship relations, and social relations. The longhouse is also important in understanding social relations. Lebar, for instance, looks at the positioning of the chief of the longhouse and other longhouse members in order to understand a wider system of social relations. Many emphasize the existence of a chief of the longhouse (Miller, 1946; Lebar, 1972:171; Conley, 1973; King, 1985; and Whittier, 1978).

Unlike other Dayaks, the Punan do not live in longhouses but are nomadic forest dwellers (Hoffman, 1952; Lebar, 1972; King, 1985; Rousseau, 1990; Sellato, 1994; etc) The nomadic groups, who live in the forest, do not stay in one place for long periods, but move from one place to another, sheltering in camps in the primary forest, that is, forest which has not been opened up for cultivation (Hoffman, 1952).

The distinctive social and political organizations are often related to the Dayak uniqueness. Conley, for instance, identifies the system of villages, chiefs, councils, minor officials, and longhouse headmen as the key features of Kenyah political organisation (1973). He notes that the village is the basic unit of social and political organisation of the Kenyah, but there is also a strong sense of identity with Kenyah in one or two other villages of the same 'lepo' or 'uma' tribal division (1973:165). Conley argues that the political control of the paramount chief in Long Nawang over all villages is unstructured and symbolic, the village itself functioning as 'a complete and autonomous unit' (1973:165). The chief is responsible for the people's welfare and prosperity and has authority over the headmen of the longhouses. He represents the people in every issue dealing with the government, or in inter village affairs (Conley, 1973:166). However, there is a lot of variation in socio-political organisation among the Dayak.

In terms of economic activities, a common point of departure in studies of the Dayak economy is their practice of shifting cultivation (Lebar, 1972; King, 1985; Conley, 1973; etc.). Lebar notes that Kenyah-Kayan-Kayang subsistence is predominantly reliant upon the shifting cultivation of the staple rice crop. Likewise, Freeman notes that indigenous hill people, like the Land Dayak, the Iban, the Kayan, the Kenyah, the Kajang all have a subsistence economy, based on the shifting cultivation of dry rice (1960:65). Freeman further reports that the *bilek* family, residing in a single longhouse apartment, is economically independent, fulfilling their own subsistence through the shifting cultivation of hill rice and other crops (Freeman, 1960:66). According to Freeman the longhouse has no collective ownership rights over the swidden, and thus the longhouse community is not a corporate economic group (1960:69). Similarly, Conley notes that each family of Kenyah cultivates rice in the *ladang* through swidden agriculture, ideally on heavily forested hillsides (1973:217). Each family has its own land, and the right to use the land. The rule is that when forest is cleared and as long as the family keeps working it, it has rights over this land (Conley, 1973:218). Related families make their *ladang* alongside each other. The borders of neighbouring fields are marked by large trees felled to mark their edges. He further notes that the preparation of *ladang* is hard and dangerous work but planting rice seeds is 'a gala occasion' when men and women dress up in their best clothing and colourful traditional sunhats (ibid:219). Following a gender division of labour, men make a hole about one and a half inches deep, whilst women with small baskets of seed rice, follow the men, dropping about three or four grains into each hole (ibid: 220-221).

However, the Dayak cannot be identified solely by reference to their economic activities. Among the Punan Dayak, as we have seen, hunting and gathering are the main economic activities, except for the settled Punan who grow rice (Lebar, 1972:178). Hoffman points out that the settled Punan are economically comparable in their use of swidden to other Dayak (1988:96). However, Punan forest dwellers did not engage in agriculture, but were hunters and gatherers (Dove, 1988:10). Lebar reports that for forest dwelling Punan the staple food is not rice, but sago palm (1972:178). Presently, there is an increasing number of Dayak who engage in different types of economic activities, such as waged work for small scale enterprises and large logging companies. They cannot depend solely upon a traditional way of living, like shifting cultivation or hunting and gathering. Rubber estates and palm oil plantations, for instance, have also developed into alternatives in certain regions like in the West Kutai district.

The Vulnerable Position of Forest Villagers

Forests are central to the economic livelihoods of the societies surrounding them. In Indonesia, the government often treats the indigenous people or forest villagers living in and close to the forests in the outer islands (like the Dayak of Kalimantan) as if they do not exist. One should not ignore the role of national influence in such processes. Often, this is related to the idea of 'primitiveness' or 'backwardness' and its association in the case of the Dayak with cultural practices such as headhunting, hunting and gathering and living communally in longhouses. Similar treatment has been meted out to many other indigenous people or the 'sons of the soil' like the West Papuans etc. In many ways the framework for the identification of the Dayak as primitive, is linked to the conceptualisation of the Dayak (and in fact all Indonesians during the colonial period) as the 'other'. The New Order government in many ways continued the colonial evaluation of the 'primitive' Dayak, only this time as the 'other' to its Javanese centric self. This sort of view has affected the way in which the government pursued 'economic development' through exploitation of forests and forest by products whilst ignoring the long term inhabitants of those areas.

We can see that the New Order government has operated with many parallel assumptions to those evident in the supposed European superiority (Millun, 1994) and its civilising project to 'modernise' a 'primitive' group of people going as far as their resettlement. The nation state's ability to represent its people and determine their lives can result in a situation whereby the ways of living engaged in by relatively powerless local people can be designed by the state. Resettlement is clearly a case in point. Ave and King (1986) highlight this point in their study of the resettlement of the Dayak which is much the same as of other groups targeted for resettlement. They note how government settlement programs aimed at permanently settling the Dayak in particular places, by giving them houses and land, draw on images of the 'uncivilized' semi nomadic lifestyle of the Dayak. For example, 'primitive' behaviour such as 'uncivilized' dress, attachment to animist beliefs, and a lack of education were seen as barriers to the state's construction of Indonesia as a 'modern' nation. Such programs conducted through the Department of Social Affairs are in many respects similar to the Dutch colonial policy of forced resettlement in other parts of Indonesia. Schrauwers outlines the colonial policy which forced the highlanders of Sulawesi to resettle to 'the few alluvial plains suitable for wet-rice agriculture' from 1906 to 1908 (1998: 219). Like the Indonesian government, in Sarawak, East Malaysia, in order to implement a policy on modernization and integration of tribal people, the Malaysian government has attempted to 'civilize' the Penan who have been residing in the surrounding forests. Around 9,000 out of the 9,500 Penan who reside in Sarawak, have been resettled by the government although the government considers them only as semi settlers in those camps. (<http://forests.org/archive/indomalay/malbasic.htm>, The Global Fight to Save Sarawak Tropical Rainforests).

Critics observe that behind the civilizing and modernizing rationale given to support resettlement, there is often a direct link between the removal of indigenous people and the exploitation of the natural resources. In postcolonial settings, the process of resettlement is often expressed in terms of national development. Here the 'development' of 'backward' groups is bound to the logic of national development and the impulse to exploit natural resources for this cause. For this reason, indigenous people are often relocated to areas deemed suitable for settled farming. In such a way, they can then 'develop' their own economic activities (as settled farming is seen as being more developed and having greater potential to link up to national and international markets than subsistence or swidden agriculture), while other parties 'develop' the natural resources of the interior. King argues that the main aim of resettlement in Kalimantan has been

to eradicate shifting cultivation and also to remove people from areas 'valuable in timber and mineral resources' (1993:287). Kahn notes that in relation to indigenous people the new global economy needs their land and resources, not their labour (1995:145). In a similar vein, citing Robert Rice, Samego reports that the New Order government's economic ideology to control land and natural resources was the ideology of both the Sukarno and the Netherlands East Indies' governments (1992:131).

In the Indonesian case, the Indonesian government faces a critical problem due to its long term implementation of a forest policy which is based on an outmoded perspective. Citing Poffenberger, Messerschmidt states that this 'traditional' perspective views the forest villagers 'either as a threat to the resource, a cheap source of labour, or irrelevant' (1993:36).

There are several criteria which are used to define an isolated society. Firstly, the group must share certain physical, social and cultural similarities and reside in a particular area. Such similarities typically include residing in small, scattered or nomadic groups surviving through hunting, gathering, and/or shifting cultivation (Direktorat Bina Masyarakat Terasing, 1996/1997). Reflecting the modernising ambitions of the postcolonial government, these isolated groups are seen to suffer from an unhealthy life style and improper housing, to have a simple traditional social structure, values system and technology and to lack access to development services (Direktorat Bina Masyarakat Terasing, 1996/1997:2-3).

It is typically argued that their backward way of life is evidenced by their wearing of 'traditional clothes', living in and off the forest, and residing in caves or trees. Appell (1985b) reports the extraordinary response of Indonesians to indigenous people of Kalimantan who wear loincloths:

In the early days of the resettlement area, we were told that all the males were made to line up by the Javanese resettlement workers, and their loincloths were stripped off, thrown in a barrel, and they were handed shorts. One man who persisted in wearing his native dress was made to stand outside in the sun all day to "dry out" (Appell, 1985b:26).

For these non indigenous people, the loincloth was a symbol of savagery and backwardness. This view echoes earlier colonial views of the Dayak of Borneo as savage, fearsome people with tails. Djuweng (1996) sees this as evidence that non Dayak Indonesians as well as some Dayaks imitate colonial European assessments of the Dayak. In a similar vein, Appell notes that new postcolonial elites have largely accepted the colonialists' view that 'the rural traditional populations of their countries are backward, unsophisticated, dirty, savage' (1991:29).

The issue of forced settlement is also linked to accusations that the Dayak destroy the forest through their practice of slash and burn agriculture. However, it should be noted that the government's assessment of the facts here is somewhat questionable given that the New Order government encouraged timber companies to destroy the forest while at the same time resettling the Dayak into compounds.

The indigenous people may not always maintain silence in the face of state action against them. In East Kalimantan, Inoeu (1994) notes that there have been three forestry revolutions — 1970s Logging, 1980s Plywood, and 1990s Tree Plantation. The implementation of these kinds of policies does not question the economic contribution to the national economy, but does lead to conflict, including land disputes due to bureaucratic ignorance concerning the indigenous people living nearby or in the forests. Conflicts arose around governmental exploitation of the forest for economic gain in pursuit of the above development strategies. During the New Order

government, the Dayak had clearly been marginalized by 'development' projects, involving the forest policies taken up by the government. As mentioned previously, the first and foremost problem being forest exploitation including the concessions given to the logging industry.

By the 1980s the golden age of logging was over. Since then we have seen the expansion of large scale plantations for export crops. These have had drastic implications for the Dayak. It is known that the Dayak rely on forest products, such as honey, eaglewood (*gaharu*), and rattan. They now face problems in maintaining their traditional livelihoods. Logging concessions and timber estates have led to the expulsion of the Dayak from their lands and their environment has been destroyed.

Indigenous people of Sarawak share similar experiences. Roos (1999) reports that since 1987, protests against large scale logging and implementation of oil palm plantations by the local people has been widespread in Sarawak. Large scale logging and oil palm plantations have been accused of threatening the very basis of the existence of forest peoples. Native customary rights of forest people in Sarawak continue to be ignored. Roos argues that the rights of the people in and around the forests should be respected otherwise sustainable forest management will be far from reality.

In Sarawak, between October 1996 and December 1997 there were many arrests of indigenous people in 8 different areas. A sad event occurred in December 1997 when one Iban was killed by police who opened fire on unarmed indigenous people protesting the takeover of their lands by oil palm plantations (Roos, 1999).

Governments and large organizations often are reluctant to use the term 'indigenous people', which may be due to the connotations of original rights, to land, mutual respect, etc. (Kampe, 1997:3-4). Eriksen reports:

Indigenous peoples stand in a potentially conflictual relationship to the nation-state as an institution. Their main political project is often presented as an attempt to survive as a culture-bearing group, but they rarely or never envision the formation of their own nation-state. They are non-state people (1993:126).

Eriksen stresses that:

Potential conflicts between indigenous groups and the nation state are activated when the majority wishes to control resources – ecological, economic or human – in the territory of the indigenous population (1993:129).

These conflicts often encourage the rise of middlemen or brokers who mediate between indigenous people and the institutions of the nation state. Such brokers are not necessarily newcomers; they often already exist in the system through their roles as patrons in local patron client relationships. To an extent, these elite locals are attempting to displace other authorised non local voices, such as local government officials, who in the past spoke on the indigenous people's behalf. The local indigenous people prefer to rely on people already known to them in order to negotiate with the unfamiliar and unknown agents of the state.

The rise of indigenous leaders as brokers in dealing with conflicts between the indigenous people and the state over the rights to resources, specifically land, is well known (Eriksen, 1993:126). Citing Feit's study of the Cree Indian confrontation with the Canadian government

over land earmarked for a hydroelectric scheme highlights the very difficult political situation facing 'stateless people' (ibid). Cultural brokers often act as negotiators between indigenous groups, the state and international society (ibid:127), a role which also helps them to achieve political power (Roosens, 1989).

Apart from the marginalisation of indigenous people, environmental degradation has become a grave consequence of forest exploitation. International concerns about environmental degradation are being voiced more and more strongly. Additionally, there are many other factors at work like legal and illegal logging that may cause the destruction of forests. Indonesian newspapers have reported on the reluctance of big businesses to replant trees after being granted concession rights. Illegal loggers were even worse offenders than legal loggers since such people do not have a sense of responsibility to engage in reforestation. Wijaksana (2001) reports that every year the destruction of forests through illegal logging reaches around 60 million cubic metres. Annually, the government has lost approximately Rp 30 trillion (US\$3 billion) at the average price of Rp 500 thousand (US\$ 50) per cubic metre (ibid:17). Tanjung notes that Indonesia has only 55 million hectares of forest left from 120 million hectares previously and it is predicted that in the next twenty 20 years this forest may disappear due to high illegal logging (<http://jkt1.detiknews.com/index.php/detik.read/tahun/2004/bulan/12/tgl/02/time/141333/id...12/2/2004>).

The government and the local people have quite different perspectives on the meaning and the purpose of the forest. According to Kadok, conflicts occur when the government hands over the management of the forest to private companies (1995:18-19). The tension between the local residents and the companies has been widely reported by local non government organizations. Kadok states that these companies often do not respect local traditions and proceed to cut down local community fruit gardens, disrupt ancient cemeteries, and cultivate communal land. Widjono (1998) argues that the Dayak are familiar with land tenure. Lamis (1992) also provides an example of the existence of the customary law of the '*tana ulen*' belonging to the Kenyah Dayak which classifies things as either private or common property. The result of such conflicts, especially between companies and local people, is that locals are often accused of destroying the forest or of rejecting development projects (Kadok, 1995:19).

This problem is compounded by the tendency to place the blame for many of the problems on swidden cultivators. Swidden cultivators were not only widely blamed for their use of slash and burn methods but also for the loss of crops and land borders. For instance, people often lay the blame for regular forest fires on the Dayak practice of shifting cultivation.

However, there is some evidence that the government is changing in terms of accusing specific actors of damage to the forests. In this case, the local users, swidden cultivators or the people who live in and around the forests are not always being blamed for the forests' destruction. Messerschmidt (1993) argues that the local forest users are knowledgeable and have a comprehensive understanding of the resources and their management. Based on studies in Nepal, India and Indonesia, he insists that local forest users should be involved in the forest management policy. Based upon research in Indonesia, Messerschmidt says:

...Villagers were highly knowledgeable and that the systems of forest use and management which had been developed by local initiative demonstrated highly sophisticated understandings about the complex functions of the forest, including its

hydrological roles, its microclimates, its soils, and its productive capacities... (1993:41-42).

Likewise, many studies have found that the Dayak (being local users) method of shifting cultivation is sensible with a sound ecological base (Widjono 1998). In the case of forest fires, in early 1998, there was support for the Dayak, including from the former Minister of Environment, Sarwono, who stated that the Dayak were not to be blamed. Instead, he said, large companies who run plantations and use fire to clear land should be blamed for the forest fires of 1997 and early 1998. The process of suing the big companies has been very slow. This indicates that the companies have elite backing or are owned by the elite so are often legally untouchable. In turn, this inequity irritates the locals who are often held responsible for the fires.

Towards the Rising Power of the Indigenous People

In Indonesia, during the New Order government period, the exploitation of forests was dominated by the cronies (friends and families of people in businesses and in power). Ross (2001) argues that they had basically taken over the power of the regional and local officials in issuing the concessions with the latter now only issuing the smaller concessions. This Law undermined the *adat* rights as well. The marginalization of the local community in relation to forestry not only occurs in Indonesia, but also in other countries like Cambodia (Bottomley, 2002).

The opening window of opportunity for local participation came into existence especially following the instalment of the Ministry of Forestry decrees No.677/KPTS-II/1998 on the community forests (*hutan kemasyarakatan*) and No 310, 1999 on the direction of providing the right for collecting forest products (*HPHH – Hak Pemungutan Hasil Hutan*) (Suramenggala, et al. 2001) and the regional autonomy. The forestry related enterprises have been carried out by different parties. The *HPH*, which mostly exploited larger areas, has been dominated by the business groups previously associated with the New Order power. Meanwhile, the new regulations mentioned above have expanded the parties involved in forestry, including local people and the small scale businessmen. Suramenggala et al. (2001) report the complexity of the forestry related enterprises in relation to the instalment of the new regulations. They pinpoint that the new regulations were partly to bolster the local people's economic improvement by being able to participate in the forestry related businesses. In reality, the local community (*masyarakat adat*) who own the customary land (*tanah adat*) mostly have not performed the job, but they have given the opportunity to the businessmen. In return, they receive fees, ranging from 20-45,000/m³ depending on their ability to negotiate with the businessmen (ibid.). They also report that there are often differences between one village and another in terms of receiving fees for particular reasons, especially the ability to bargain and the transparency of the head of a village and traditional leaders. It often happens that the companies only give the fees to the heads of villages and traditional leaders in order to reduce the costs of production.

According to a Dutch observer, in the 1920s, the forests of Kalimantan were controlled by an array of groups, including the local people, chiefs of native jurisdictions, local Europeans, native civil servants, heads of the regional administrations and self governments (Ross, 2001). It seems that the recent situation is not a new phenomenon where local people own the forests and the local government controls them. Even before the instalment of the Forestry Basic Law, the local government had been more free to control the forest (ibid.).

The instalment of the regulation to allow the heads of districts – *kabupaten* to put in place their own decrees on forestry was withdrawn by the Ministry of Forestry for certain reasons. Syamsir (2002) notes that the General Secretary of The Department of Forestry, argues that the withdrawing of such a decree is due to the forestry restructuring because the realization of the Ministry of Forestry decree No. 05.1/Kpts-II/2000 brought about the overlapping of logging concessions. According to the official, this is also to fulfil the demand for protecting the forests. In addition, this decree has created problems for companies which hold logging concessions. There have been many such cases: the local government does not recognise the logging concessions issued by the central government; the launching of logging concessions issued at the provincial level has not been discussed with the central government; and the regulations on levies and responsibilities issued by the local government without discussion with the central government (ibid.). Apart from the above issues, the issue of the ineffectiveness of local government in forest protection and the downturn of the market demand for logs have also become parts of the above considerations. Syamsir notes that many districts have ignored the withdrawal of such regulations partly because they have issued several licences.

Suramenggala et al. (2001) find in their studies in the Bulungan district of East Kalimantan, that the newly installed IPPK has given more profit to the local people instead of to the larger logging concessions (known as *HPH*) launched during the New Order government period. They also report that there are many different conflicts that involve different parties, including the local people, the heads of villages and traditional leaders, the IPPK companies and *HPH* companies. To mention one, in several villages in the Bulungan district, the IPPK's company has asked the local community to get rid of the military who have protected the area of the *HPH* that utilizes the customary land (*tanah adat masyarakat*). (ibid.).

In addition, the demand for customary land to be returned to local people has become greater day by day in many districts after the debut of regional autonomy. Power relations are obviously important in the process of gaining access to natural resources. In the past, indigenous people or forest villagers did not have power to control natural resources surrounding them, but today in Indonesia with the debut of regional autonomy, the government needs to consider them, otherwise its policy may not be effective. Haba (2002), for instance, notes that the issue of *putera daerah* (including indigenous people) is significant within the context of regional autonomy. In this context, it seems that the participation of indigenous people could determine the success of the development in their region. However, I am aware that the issues surrounding the regional autonomy need to be investigated further.

Today, the image of the Dayak as culturally distinctive is a powerful one. This image is strengthened in the era of regional autonomy, which in turn is illustrated by the revitalisation of 'Dayak traditions', especially in dealing with land ownership and forestry. Regional autonomy has presented the Dayak with a new opportunity to regain their 'missing' lands and forests. The local government at the district level has often discussed modes by which to empower the local people to get access to 'their lands and forests'. It has attempted to write a regulation on forest management, which also emphasises the '*hutan adat*' (customary forests) and intends to facilitate the possibility for the local people (the Dayak) to access the forests surrounding them. The ability of the local government to provide licences to local businessmen does not always go smoothly because forests are still important sources of money. A negative perspective can often be observed. For instance, Soekanto clearly notes, 'In Irian Jaya and East Kalimantan, district administrations have issued bylaws which have allowed them to over exploit forests to boost revenues' (2001:11). Tanjung reports that during a workshop on illegal logging in Pekanbaru, the Minister of Forestry argued that regional autonomy has partly resulted in the process of forest reduction. His argument was based on the prediction that the governors and the heads of

districts (regents) could issue licences for forest exploitation to timber traders (*cukong kayu*) which in turn would impact on the destruction of forests. He further argued that there is a possibility of involvement amongst the apparatuses of the Forestry Office, the Police and the Military which in turn would cause difficulties in handling such issues.

Haba et al. (2003), based on their research on illegal logging in Central Kalimantan, also find conflicts amongst the stakeholders, including the government, local people, and businessmen. Furthermore, they report that there are many factors behind the illegal logging, especially the overlapping of regulations in the forestry, space and its use, land ownership and entitlement to doing business, and the marginalization of local people (ibid:134). They also report that the mushrooming of illegal logging partly relates to the opening of a window of opportunity for the local people to get access to forests. For a long time, their rights were undermined, while logging companies which are owned by non locals, have been given the authority to exploit the forests (ibid:138).

The process of regaining the forest land may already be realised since the local governments in certain districts, which are generally ruled by the Dayak, understand Dayak traditions. They, therefore, have called many competent people (including scholars and traditional leaders) to research and make evident Dayak customary laws. The Dayak are relearning their traditional cultures, which were degraded by development, especially during the New Order era.

The Dayak have experienced some changes in relation to land ownership and land use. They were dispossessed of their lands and forests for a long time, especially under the New Order government, which has profoundly affected the lifestyle of the Dayak. There has been a series of land disputes between big business and the local people. There are still some unresolved problems today.

However, for the Dayak, recent legislative changes have constituted an opportunity for them to regain their rights and as a result, the Dayak as a group, have become stronger. This is primarily due to the fact that the Dayak have been able to utilise their 'traditional' customary law in terms of land ownership, an institution that was severely weakened under the previous government. This revitalization of their customary law and land ownership is well under way.

From the explanation, it is therefore very important to understand to what extent the indigenous people in East Kalimantan have become involved and gained economic benefits from the forestry sector both in the past and at the present time.

Chapter IV: East Kalimantan and the Linggang Bigung Sub District

People of East Kalimantan: population, and ethnicity

Based on *Kalimantan Timur Dalam Angka* (in Figures) in 2003, the population in East Kalimantan was 2,704,851 (*Badan Pusat Statistik, Propinsi Kalimantan Timur*, 2004:51). Table 1 below shows the size and population of each district of East Kalimantan in 2003.

Table 1: The size and population of each district of East Kalimantan in 2003

District	2003	Size (km)
Pasir	172,845	12,460.56
West Kutai	143,664	31,628.70
Kutai	480,499	28,972.98
East Kutai	163,549	37,317.20
Berau	133,386	34,127.47
Malinau	46,694	41,990.40
Bulungan	94,564	19,003.05
Nunukan	104,112	16,966.66
Penajam Noth Paser*	113,659	3,333.10
Balikpapan	428,819	867.18
Samarinda	561,571	783
Tarakan	148,319	657.33
Bontang	113,270	497.57
<i>East Kalimantan</i>	2,704,851	16,632.60

Source: Bureau of Statistics East Kalimantan, 2004; Note: * The most recent established district in East Kalimantan.

As mentioned by Gerke (1997), the Dayak is a minority in East Kalimantan even though their material cultures have been used to represent East Kalimantan. Table 2 shows that the Dayak consist of 12 per cent of the population of East Kalimantan (the most recent data on the basis of ethnicity was compiled in 2002). The Dayak are the largest population among the ethnic groups only in the West Kutai, Malinau and Bulungan Districts, while the Dayak are in the second position in the Nunukan District after the Buginese.

Table 2: Population and dominant ethnic groups in districts/ municipalities of East Kalimantan

District/municipality	Javanese	Dayak	Banjarese	Buginese	Kutai	Total
Pasir	82,021	7,262	32,323	54,953	860	177,419
West Kutai	14,424	78,681	6,658	5,242	22,297	127,302
Kutai	122,105	19,026	57,506	68,459	118,328	385,424
East Kutai	37,503	14,593	11,380	24,192	36,934	124,603
Berau	26,031	15,059	9,659	26,210	979	77,938
Malinau	1,327	26,081	490	1,207	20	29,125
Bulungan	16,873	27,499	3,315	10,839	188	58,714
Nunukan	5,131	29,783	1,124	34,574	55	70,667
Balikpapan	163,281	1,866	63,010	83,613	2,759	314,529
Samarinda	183,195	10,725	140,761	68,536	39,315	442,532
Tarakan	29,881	10,690	8,766	39,264	334	88,935
Bontang	36,428	599	5,328	28,677	2,760	73,792
East Kalimantan	718,200 (36%)	241,864 (12%)	340,320 (17%)	445,766 (22%)	244,829 (12%)	1,990,979 (99%)

Source: Bureau of Statistics East Kalimantan, 2002; Note: I have corrected the total from 2,440,767 to 1,990,979.

The position of the Dayak in Indonesia parallels in important ways that of the *Orang Asli* of Malaysia, in that they are both considered backward and less civilised compared with other ethnic groups in their respective countries. Clarke (2001) argues that the Dayak of Sarawak and Sabah are considered to be minorities. Gerke (1997) considers the Dayak of East Kalimantan a minority because of the small proportion of the Dayak in the area. The Dayak of East Kalimantan consider themselves to be indigenous people.

The size of the Kutai Barat (West Kutai) District is 31,628.70 kilometres. The West Kutai District in the north is bordered by the Bulungan District and Sarawak - East Malaysia, in the east it is bordered by the Kutai Kertanegara District, in the south it is bordered by the Pasir District, and in the west by the West Kalimantan Province and the Central Kalimantan Province.

The West Kutai District has fifteen Sub Districts: Bongon (2,274.40 kilometres); Jempang (5,654.40 kilometres); Penyinggahan (271.90 kilometres); Muara Pahu (2,833.80 kilometres); Muara Lawa (444.50 kilometres); Damai (3,438.70 kilometres); Barong Tongkok (544.64 kilometres); Melak (1,139.70 kilometres); Long Iram (3,126.96 kilometres); Long Hubung (1,432.70 kilometres); Long Bagun (4,971.20 kilometres); Long Pahangai (3,420.40 kilometres); Long Apari (5,490.70 kilometres); Bentian Besar (886.40 kilometres); and Linggang Bigung (699.30 kilometres) (Source: Regional Development Planning Board, West Kutai District)

Linggang Bigung Sub District and Its People

The Linggang Bigung Sub District is one of the sub districts under the District of the West Kutai, Province of East Kalimantan. This sub district is newly established and previously was only a village, which was headed by the village head, the lowest level of the structure of organisation in the provincial administration.

Based on data for the year 2000, the size of Linggang Bigung was 699.30 kilometres and is still the same at present. The total population in 2000 was 11,873 people (BPS – Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Kutai, 2000), while in 2002 it slightly increased to be 13,701 with 3,427 households (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah Kabupaten Kutai Barat and Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Kutai Barat, 2003:25).

Table 3: The size and the population of each village in the Linggang Bigung Sub District in 2000.

Village	Size (km)	Population	Household
Linggang Mapan	32.77	770	201
Linggang Melapeh	49.15	1,121	233
Purwodadi	2.00	1,170	291
Linggang Bigung	20.48	1,839	461
Bangun Sari	2.00	1,382	321
Linggang Amer	36.86	856	205
Bigung Baru	109.86	314	66
Melapeh Baru	366.18	1,004	228
Tutung	80.00	3,417	924
Total	699.30	11,873	2,930

Source: Sub District of Linggang Bigung

Table 4: Population of Linggang Bigung Sub District based on gender in 2000

Village	Male	Female	Total
Linggang Mapan	391	379	770
Linggang Melapeh	604	517	1,121
Purwodadi	646	524	1,170
Linggang Bigung	983	856	1,839
Bangun Sari	737	645	1,382
Linggang Amer	454	402	856
Bigung Baru	164	150	314
Melapeh Baru	526	478	1,004
Tutung	1831	1586	3,417
Total	6,336	5,537	11,873

Source: Sub District of Linggang Bigung

In terms of ethnicity, there is no census on ethnicity, but based on interviews with sub district administrators the majority of the population is Tunjung Dayak. As mentioned previously, the Dayak are considered to be the indigenous people of East Kalimantan though in terms of their number they are a minority (Gerke, 1997). If we count them by districts, the Dayak are not always a minority because in at least two districts, West Kutai and Bulungan, they are believed to be the majority. In Linggang Bigung, which is part of the West Kutai District, it is believed that they constitute around 70 per cent of the population. Other groups are mainly constituted of Buginese, Javanese, Banjarese, and the Kutai. Since there is no census on such matters, the calculation has been predicted on the ground of religious adherence in which all Christians are counted as Dayak (see Table below on religious adherence). Many experts assume Dayaks are Christians and that Muslims are not Dayaks (see for instance, King, 1993). Likewise, many informants in Linggang Bigung Sub District told me that the Dayak are mostly Christians. They further said that people could predict the number of the Dayak based on this religious determination.

Religious adherence in nine villages of Linggang Bigung Sub District, September 2004, can be illustrated as follows:

Linggang Melapeh village: Catholic: 403; Protestant: 262; Muslim: 58

Purwodadi village: Catholic: 42; Muslim: 1,319

Linggang Mapan village: Catholic: 658; Protestant: 155; Muslim: 64

Linggang Amer village: Catholic: 428; Muslim: 86; PGKII: 140; PGKSI: 62; PGPPI: 51

Tutung village: Catholic 187; Protestant: 431; Muslim: 1,718; Hindu: 6; Animist: 14

Bigung Baru village: Muslim: 37; Catholic: 193; Protestant (GapemBRI):121; Protestant (GPDI): 29

Bangun Sari village: Muslim: 1,403; Protestant: 8; Catholic: 18; Hindu 4

Linggang Melapeh village: Catholic: 667; Protestant: 360; GPDI: 30

Linggang Bigung village: Muslim: 310; Catholic: 509; Protestant:1,152; Animist: 129

It is often argued that decentralisation will bring about prosperity to the local people, including the Dayak of the interior. The West Kutai government which is headed by a Dayak and has many Dayak in high ranking positions, is expected by the Dayak to improve their economic conditions and to empower them who used to be marginalised.

There is a concern from the empowerment section of the sub district in Linggang Bigung with the reality that many Dayak people who used to have land along the main road in the Bigung areas now have sold their land to migrants like the Javanese. The Dayak, as indigenous people there, have moved back when they sold their land along the main road to migrants because they own many land areas. The Dayak's use rights to many land areas are partly because they practice the shifting cultivation method in which they rotate the use of the land areas so that they need not depend on one area only. Shifting cultivation is the mode of subsistence most closely associated with the Dayak (Dove, 1988; Lebar, 1972; and Conley, 1973). Officials in the empowerment section of a sub district told me that many Dayak people have moved away from the main road because for them to engage in shifting cultivation they do not need to stay close to the main road. A Dayak lady, who is an official at the sub district level, told me that the Dayak basically do not have a tradition of entrepreneurship so that they do not use the opening up opportunities since the debut of decentralisation.

The story of a Javanese lady, Ibu Sri who owns a small restaurant is a case in point on how migrants can own land on the main road. She used to work in a gold mining company, PT KEM, as a chef. When she quit her job she received severance money from this company. Being a chef, she is an experienced cook so she bought a piece of land on the main road opposite the sub district market and opened a small restaurant. To her it was strategic to open a small restaurant near the market due to the fact that Linggang Bigung, as a newly established sub district is rapidly developing in terms of infrastructure and economic matters. Enterprises are growing in this new Sub District. According to many officials at the sub district level, migrants see these opportunities and engage in enterprises (which will be discussed further in a different section). Ibu Sri is doing very good business since her restaurant is quite popular. Many drivers of rented cars suggested I should go to this restaurant to eat during my stay in the Sub District.

The success story of Ibu Sri is shared by several Javanese migrants who set up businesses in sawmills. Meanwhile, the Dayak have sold their land.

The Dayak and Forestry Related Products

As mentioned previously, forestry products are a lucrative source of income, even at the national economy level. These were therefore targets for many interest groups during the New Order government. Based on recent figures, in 2003, the size of the forests in East Kalimantan was 29 million hectares, divided into six (6) categories: protected forest, natural and tourism conservation, forest for restricted production, forest for production, forest for production which can be transferred to conservation, forest for research or education (Badan Pusat Statistik Propinsi Kalimantan Timur, 2004).

Kompas (2 December 2004:29) reports, the National Convention of the Dayak Customary Institutions for Kalimantan on 30 November 2004, attended by 150 people constituted of customary chiefs (*kepala adat*), customary institutions (*lembaga adat*), and the Dayak customary board (*majelis adat Dayak*) of four provinces in Kalimantan, highlighted ten (10) recommendations. The most crucial recommendation was that the central government should get rid of illegal logging. The illegal logging will not only destroy the customary forests, but also spur on the horizontal conflicts in the society as well as destroy the life patterns of the Dayak who are dependent on the sustainability of forests. The customary chief of Long Bagun Ilir Kampong of West Kutai, East Kalimantan, argued that illegal logging has affected the indigenous Dayak people who have lost their plants for medicines and traditional ceremonies. A customary chief from Central Kalimantan added that people could gather honey, *gaharu*, plants for medicines, roots, rattan, and tree sap in the sustainable forests, without destroying them. Another important suggestion from a customary chief from West Kalimantan is that facing the problem of illegal logging should go side by side with the creation of job opportunities, otherwise conflict may emerge (*Kompas*, 2 December 2004:29).

It is therefore very crucial to understand the Dayak and their involvement before and after the decentralisation in the village. To understand the situation before and after regional autonomy, fifty (50) people from 9 (nine) villages in Linggang Bigung Sub District were interviewed by using a questionnaire. All respondents were Dayak. This selection is based on the purpose of the research itself which is to understand the income of the indigenous people from forestry related products. The result can be illustrated below.

Profile of the Dayak Involved in Forestry Related Products

The majority of the respondents were Tunjung Dayak 84 per cent of 50 respondents. The rest of the respondents include Bahau Dayak and Benuaq Dayak.

Table 5: Respondents by age groups

Age	Number (%)
15-19	1 (2)
20-24	2 (4)
25-29	8 (16)
30-34	14 (28)

35-39	8 (16)
40-44	8 (16)
45-49	4 (8)
50-54	3 (6)
55-59	-
60 and over	2 (4)
Total	50 (100)

The Table shows that the majority of respondents (76 per cent) were around 25 to 44 years old. The nature of the work mostly needs physical strength so that elderly people cannot participate in the forestry sector.

Amongst 50 respondents, about 88 per cent were married, while 10 per cent were single and 2 per cent widowed. If we look at gender status, about 10 per cent were women, while 90 per cent were men. This is because there is a division of labour by sex. Women are hardly involved in the hard work in the forests.

In terms of religion, Catholics made up 50 per cent, Protestants, 32 per cent, Muslims, 16 per cent and Buddhists, 2 per cent.

About 88 per cent of the respondents had 4 or fewer dependents, and only 12 per cent of the respondents had more than 4 dependents. Around 29 people (58 per cent) of the respondents were originally from this place and they have never moved to other places. 21 people (42 per cent) previously were not resident in the area. The reasons for migrating to this area varied, including marrying villagers there (six people), seeking and finding jobs (ten people), and returning to the original family home town (five people).

Basically, respondents are not considered to be poor in Indonesia as their basic needs appear to be met. They can eat and have shelter. They are quite different from people who live in the so-called 'poor villages'. The Economic Social Survey of Bureau of Statistics, 2002, defines the poverty line for food as Rp93,351 /capita/month in the urban area and Rp73,148 /capita/month in the rural area. Meanwhile, for non-food it is Rp37,148 for the urban area and Rp23,482 for the rural area (Aswatini, et al, 2003:24). Aswatini et al criticize this measurement by arguing that every region has a different culture and situation so that making a standard measurement has certain problems (ibid.) I agree with their criticism of the standardized poverty measurement. For instance, if the floor of the family home is made of earth this will be considered as one aspect of being deemed a 'poor' family. This will be applicable in Java, but insignificant in East Kalimantan. In East Kalimantan, especially in the interior, people use timber for the floor of the family home. It is very uncommon that the floor of a house be made of earth. In Linggang Bigung, for instance, the Dayak houses usually use wood both for the floor and the walls. A few people have started to use bricks for the walls and tiles on the floors.

Table 6: Conditions before December 2000 and after January 2001

Questions	Yes (%)	No (%)
Before December 2000, were all family members usually able to eat at least twice a day?	46 (92)	4 (8)
After January 2001, are all family members usually able to eat at least twice a day?	48 (96)	2 (4)
Before December 2000, did all family members have different sets of clothing for home, for work or school, and for formal occasions?	40 (80)	10 (20)
After January 2001, do all family members have different sets of clothing for home, for work or school, and for formal occasions?	44 (88)	6 (12)
Before December 2000, was the largest section of the floor of the family home made of earth?	7 (14)	43 (86)
After January 2001, is the largest section of the floor of the family home made of earth?	4 (8)	46 (92)
Before December 2000, were sick children able to receive modern medical attention and were women of fertile age able to access family planning services?	37 (74)	13 (26)
After January 2001, are sick children able to receive modern medical attention and are women of fertile age able to access family planning services?	41 (82)	9 (18)
Before December 2000, was at least once a week the family able to eat meat, fish or eggs?	41 (82)	9 (18)
After January 2001, is at least once a week the family able to eat meat, fish or eggs?	43 (86)	7 (14)
Before December 2000, had every family member obtained at least one new set of clothes?	30 (60)	20 (40)
After January 2001, has every family member obtained at least one new set of clothes?	40 (80)	10 (20)

Based on Table 6, there was a slight improvement in every aspect after January 2001.

Economic Activities and Incomes

As mentioned previously the traditional method of obtaining a livelihood by the Dayak has been through shifting cultivation. Many respondents still engage in shifting cultivation though they are also involved in other jobs in the forestry sector. Some informants argue that people cannot rely on shifting cultivation only. They, therefore, need to seek other economic activities. The forestry sector has given them the opportunity to earn a living. To see the types of jobs and the shift in the type of jobs we can look at Table 7 below.

Table 7: Respondents' occupations before December 2000, after January 2001, and at the present time.

Type of occupation	Before Dec 2000 (Percentage)	After Jan 2001 (Percentage)	Present time (percentage)
a. Shifting cultivation	16 (32)	7 (14)	-
b. Hunting and gathering	2 (4)	3 (6)	1 (2)
c. Working for logging company and big enterprises in forestry related products	1 (2)	3 (6)	7 (14)
d. Small-scale enterprises in forestry related products			
e. Rubber	5 (10)	16 (32)	10 (20)
f. Combination a, b and d	8 (16)	6 (12)	19 (38)
g. Combination a and e	3 (6)	4 (8)	5 (10)
h. Combination a and d	9 (18)	9 (18)	3 (6)
i. Combination a and b	2 (4)	-	-
j. Private company non-logging	1 (2)	1 (2)	4 (8)
k. Logging entrepreneur	3 (6)	1 (2)	-
			1 (2)
Total	50 (100)	50 (100)	50 (100)

A few small-scale enterprises stopped their activities due to certain factors. For instance, small entrepreneurs who made rattan products encountered a scarcity of raw material (rattan). Rattan gatherers faced difficulties in getting rattan in the forests nearby. On top of this, rattan estates

have not become a priority for estate development by the government or individuals. In the Linggang Bigung Sub District rubber has become important sources of income. Rubber plotsestates are privately owned by individuals in the region. In the case of respondents, those who engage in rubber work own land for rubber production. The size of their rubber plots or small-scale estates is mostly around 1 to 2 hectares. There were only 4 respondents who owned more than 2 hectares of land for rubber production, ranging from 3 to 6 hectares. Usually, respondents gathered the latex of rubber trees, accompanied by family members. According to several people in Linggang Bigung, rubber will be the main potential source of benefit. They also say that a few people who used to work in the big companies like PT KEM (a gold company) began to engage in the rubber work when they lost their jobs in the big companies. Generally, respondents get their land through inheritance. Table 7 shows that only one person is engaged in logging entrepreneurship.

Table 8: Annual income before December 2000

Income in Rupiah (in Thousand)	2000 (percentage)	1999 (percentage)	1998 (percentage)
> 999	2 (4)	2 (4)	2 (4)
1,000 – 4,999	20 (40)	18 (36)	15 (30)
5,000 – 9,999	6 (12)	4 (8)	5 (10)
10,000 – 14,999	1 (2)	3 (6)	1 (2)
15,000 – 19,999	2 (4)	-	1 (2)
20,000 and over	1 (2)	1 (2)	-
uncertain	18 (36)	22 (44)	26 (52)
Total	50 (100)	50 (100)	50 (100)

Some respondents were not been able to disclose their incomes for many reasons, particularly for having forgotten their incomes. It is common that people do not have written accounts of what they earn

Table 9: Annual income after January 2001

Income in Rupiah (in Thousands)	2001	2002	2003
> 999	3 (6)	2 (4)	1 (2)
1,000 – 4,999	18 (36)	17 (34)	12 (24)
5,000 – 9,999	8 (16)	9 (18)	12 (24)
10,000 – 14,999	3 (6)	5 (10)	7 (14)

15,000 – 19,999	5 (10)	4 (8)	3 (6)
20,000 and over	1 (2)	1 (2)	3 (6)
uncertain	12 (24)	12 (24)	12 (24)
Total	50 (100)	50 (100)	50 (100)

If we compare between before December 2000 and after January 2001, it is clear that the percentage of people who earn more than Rp10 million is slightly higher after January 2001. It is likely that decentralization has given the opportunity for indigenous people to be involved in the forestry sector. If we look at the previous Table on the types of occupations it shows that more people engage in small scale businesses in forestry related products and more people work for a logging company after January 2001. However, at fall in the number of enterprises has occurred at present (September 2004) partly due to the scarcity of rattan. In this case, people stopped their rattan small-scale industries.

According to the detailed illustration of people with different jobs in forestry related products: There are four classifications: logging entrepreneur; small-scale entrepreneur of forest related products; hunter, forest gatherer and gatherer of the latex from rubber trees (the rubber category) and employees of a logging company or a big forest related enterprise.

The only person who is a logging entrepreneur is 'Pak Oheng. He established his business in 2003. People of Linggang Bigung know him as the 'boss' of logging. People believe that he is a good example of a Dayak who has benefited from the recent decentralisation. He admits that before regional autonomy it was not possible for the indigenous people, the Dayak of the interior, to engage in such businesses. According to 'Pak Oheng, after January 2001 or after decentralization, it was basically easier for local people to get licences than before December 2000. As mentioned previously, the Indonesian government had allowed the district to issue licences in certain schemes. When this was cancelled, many licences were issued anyway. The local people complain this is always because of their marginalization in participation in forestry. Under the New Order government, logging businesses were dominated by big businessmen, including Bob Hasan. At that time, the Dayak were pushed away from forests. There are many stories of this gloomy type. An informant told me that he was chased by the security staff of a logging company when he entered the forest to get a few logs to build his house. Before the coming of the logging companies, the Dayak could go to the dense forests to collect a few logs for building. The Dayak have their own wisdom in managing the environment. Now they were considered to be thieves if they took logs for their houses from the logging area.

'Pak Oheng who manages to own a logging enterprise used to face similar problems to those of his fellow Dayak. In the middle of my fieldwork in Linggang Bigung, I even heard a 'dark story' about him from several people who reside in the West Kutai District. Those people believe that in the past 'Pak Oheng and his friends often stole the logs that belonged to a logging company from the river at night. There are many ways for a logging company to travel its logs, including floating a raft of logs in the Mahakam River or pushing them by ship. The lack of accessibility by the Dayak to logging enterprises is sorely felt by them.

Since he established his logging enterprise, Pak Oheng often trades his logs in Samarinda. He, basically, has no problem in marketing his products. However, he finds that it is difficult to get a business licence because of bureaucratic problems. Respondents believe that bribery and paying levies have become common practices in business.

Before December 2000, the Dayak rarely worked in the logging companies or big enterprises in forestry related products. From empirical research, this common condition has been proved by the fact that it is only 1 person or 2 per cent who had been working in the logging companies. The proportion of people who are engaged in this classification has increased to 7 people or 14 per cent. In terms of income, these people who are working for logging companies have higher incomes than others, apart for the logging entrepreneurs like 'Pak Oheng. In 2004, their incomes ranged from Rp1 million to Rp2.5 million (equivalent to about US\$ 111 to US\$ 278) monthly or Rp12 million to Rp30 million annually (equivalent to about US\$ 1,333 to US\$ 3,333). The types of jobs in the logging companies include truck driving to transport logs from the *estafet* camp to the log pond at the Mahakam riverside and logging operations. Five out of seven people were working full time. In terms of job permanence, it is only two (2) people who work as permanent workers in the logging companies, the rest of them are contract based. It was only 1 person who was working before December 2000, while six (6) people have started to work since January 2001.

Another category is small-scale enterprises in forestry related products. There are ten people who are engaged in such enterprises as their main jobs. In terms of income this can be illustrated as follows:

Table 10: Income of respondents who are engaged in small-scale businesses in forestry related products

Income in Rupiah (in Thousand)	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000
1,000 – 4,999	1	1	1	4	2
5,000 – 9,999	4	4	4	2	2
10,000 – 14,999	1	2	1	-	-
15,000 – 19,999	2	-	1	1	-
20,000 and over	2	1	-	-	-
Not available*		2	3	3	6
Total	10	10	10	10	10

*Note: not available means that they have not yet engaged in the forestry related businesses. For instance, there were four people who were engaged in such businesses before December 2000.

Table 10 shows that the incomes of respondents have increased gradually. The majority of this group is engaged in sawmill work. According to a sub district official, sawmills have grown rapidly in the region. However, formally they have not registered at the sub district administrative office so that the record of sawmills does not match the reality. In the West Kutai District, there are only four (4) registered sawmills: CV Budi Satria, PT Agung Sejahtera, Loa Haor Sawmill, and KUD Lawa Setia. It is only Loa Haor Sawmill which reports its production. In June 2004, it produced 20,522 pieces of cut timber which were 2,831,983 tons in weight. According to the

formal record of the number of sawmills there are 4 (four), Anderson Sawmill at Linggang Melapeh village, C.V. Mapai Jaya at Purwodadi village, Subur Jaya at Purwodadi village, and Prasongko at Purwodadi village. However, based on prediction, officers at the Sub District of Linggang Bigung believe that there are more than 20 sawmills in this sub district alone. Many migrants, especially Javanese, have seen the opportunity in this sort of business. All sawmills in Purwodadi are owned by Javanese. Based on information, the problem of licences in West Kutai is that many people do not want to register their businesses because they think that regional autonomy partly means being free to do business. This also happened with petrol stations, with only one registered. Based on my own observation, along the main roads in the area of Linggang Bigung, there are many sawmills. Many sawmills have established recently, especially around 2003 to 2004. Six (6) out of 10 respondents, started their businesses after January 2001. They see the opening window of opportunity after the local people have become involved in the logging. The involvement can be seen in the possibility for the Dayak to go to forests and take logs by using a *sensaw* (a kind of saw to cut big trees). The price of a *sensaw* can be more than Rp5,000,000. Basically, not only the Dayak engage in this kind of work, many non-Dayak, like some Javanese, also engage in similar jobs. Based on my in-depth interviews, they explained that this job is dangerous because they have to go to the forest and stay overnight in order to be able to cut big trees. They establish a camp so that they can sleep and cook in the camp. Often, they work in a group because it is difficult to take care of big logs alone. They rent trucks to transport logs to their places. The cost of transporting logs by truck is around Rp1,500,000. They process the logs into cut timber. Once again, if they do not trade their products in their sub districts, they rent a truck to transport the cut timber to Samarinda. The land transportation has been able to be used since the regional autonomy. Though the road that connects Linggang Bigung and Samarinda is winding and has not been completely constructed with hot-mix, but is of pressed soil. The journey can take more than ten (10) hours. According to informants, on the way, truck drivers have to pay at many police posts. Previously, people could only transport wood by river transportation which was more expensive and took more time.

All respondents usually trade their products in the area of their sub district and Samarinda, the capital city of East Kalimantan. At present they can get logs easily, but are concerned about the future, especially because they are aware that the forests have become very thin or even 'dull'. To the people in Linggang Bigung, thin forests are forests that have been left by logging companies and which do not have many large trees left. They refer to 'dull' forests when the forests are about not to have trees but still have grass. In my observation, there are areas that had been burnt in annual forest fires in this region. In those areas we can only see grass and a few burnt trees. Meanwhile, the people's work relies totally on the availability of logs. They produce plywood and cut timber, The mushrooming of this business has been due to the opening up of access to logs. As mentioned previously, local people currently have more access to logging. Usually, people take logs from logging areas that have been left by the big logging companies.

Since regional autonomy, it is admitted by many informants that the indigenous people, the Dayak, have benefited from the forestry sectors, in various forms. For those who own areas of forests (*petak*) exploited as logging areas by any company will get fees from the company. The distribution of fees is a complex matter. Often, the negotiation of the amount of money as a fee involves many parties, including the head of a village, customary chief, and the company. According to Tobian, the secretary of Linggang Bigung village, apart from getting certain benefits from forest exploitation in the form of fees, the distribution of fees has somehow created conflicts. He told me that many conflicts on this issue have occurred in the Linggang Bigung Sub District. The conflicts not only relate to fair distribution, but also link with the unclear borders of the forests, where overlapping of ownership has become a common issue. Of course, the

distribution of fees does not always create a conflict. I shall illustrate the example of the distribution of fees in the village of Melapeh Baru, Linggang Bigung Sub District, in March-April 2001 from the *HPHH* (*Hak Pengusahaan Hasil Hutan* – Licence for Exploiting Forest Products) activity of PT Royindo:

List: The Detail of fee distribution to Melapeh Baru village for HPHH (PT Royindo) activity in March-April 2001 with volume of 760 M3 and value of income $760 \text{ M3} \times \text{Rp}85,000 = \text{Rp}64,600,000$ (equivalent to US\$ 7,778).

I. Foundation:

1. Fee payment by PT Royindo $760 \text{ M3} \times \text{Rp}85,000 = \text{Rp}64,600,000$
2. Distribution for land ownerships: $760 \text{ M3} \times \text{Rp}50,000 = \text{Rp}38,000,000$
3. Distribution of fee to village, village administrative officials, village customary representative, paramount customary head, sub district and so forth: $760 \text{ M3} \times \text{Rp}35,000 = \text{Rp}26,600,000$

II. Fee Distribution:

1. Head of village and village staff members: $760 \text{ M3} \times \text{Rp}5,000 = \text{Rp}3,800,000$
2. Village customary chief and staff: $760 \text{ M3} \times \text{Rp}5,000 = \text{Rp}3,800,000$
3. Paramount customary head: $760 \text{ M3} \times \text{Rp}3,000 = \text{Rp}2,280,000$
4. Village Melapeh Baru money supply (a kind of a village treasury – the money can be used for public needs, such as road improvement): $760 \text{ M3} \times \text{Rp}10,000 = \text{Rp}7,600,000$
5. Sub district: $760 \text{ M3} \times \text{Rp}8,000 = \text{Rp}6,080,000$
6. Youth Organisation (*Karang Taruna*): $760 \text{ M3} \times \text{Rp}2,000 = \text{Rp}1,520,000$
7. Unexpected funding (who gets this money is unclear as the sub district officials could not explain it): $760 \text{ M3} \times \text{Rp}2,000 = \text{Rp}1,520,000$

Total = Rp26,600,000

III: Total I + II:

I - Rp38,000,000 + II - Rp26,600,000 = Rp64,600,000 (Source: Linggang Bigung sub district file)

Comparing before and after the decentralisation or regional autonomy, Dayak people have more opportunity to access the forests since the implementation of regional autonomy. I shall illustrate the experiences of two people as a case in point. Martinus^{1[8][9]}, a Bahau Dayak, after the regional autonomy, has been able to work in a log pond. His duty is to look after the log

pond and to calculate the number of incoming logs from the log storage (*estafet* camp – TKP). He works from morning until 5 p.m. He is a permanent worker. He explained that in terms of fee distribution from forest exploitation by a company, the Bahau Dayak usually receive the same amount of money as their fellow villagers because the forest areas are owned communally. He further told me that this custom is not the same as that of the Benuaq Dayak who follow the system of inheritance. Among the Benuaq Dayak, it is only the people who own areas of forest land who receive a fee if their areas are exploited by a logging company.

Being a guard of a log pond, he has knowledge of logs. According to him, a log can have a content of 3-5 cubic metres. A Troton truck can be filled by around 7 logs. This truck will transport logs from the *estafet* camp to a log pond, on the Mahakam River bank. People from Samarinda or other places often go to the log pond to buy logs. The log pond where 'Pak Martin works is owned by the Karya Rimba Utama (KRT). Previously, KRT only owned a small log pond. There were many logging companies that went bankrupt or did not continue their operations because of the end of their licences. Recently, the licences have been given to the local people and Chinese businessmen who live in Kalimantan. During the New Order period, the logging companies had not been owned by local people, but big businessmen like Bob Hasan. In that period, the logging companies leased their forest areas to contractors. KRT used to be a contractor. In the past, logging companies did not pay fees to the local people, but now the logging companies are supposed to pay fees to the local people who own the areas of forest. He further explained that in the past the Dayak were not allowed to enter the logging areas. Now, the Dayak are paid fees if they own areas of forest exploited by a logging company. 'Pak Martin also explained the process the logs go through. The KRT sells its logs to traders who come directly to the log pond. In this way, it is the responsibility of the traders to transport the logs from the log pond to their places. Apart from this, the KRT, as a big company, transports the logs to Samarinda by using *tongkang* boats, which can transport 40-50 logs. Usually, it takes around 3 days to transport a log from this log pond to Samarinda. In Samarinda, the company processes the logs into plywood.

'Pak Martin told me that there are negative aspects to receiving fees, which he labels 'unexpected money' (*uang kaget*). He told me that the observed negative effects include the rise of prostitution, alcohol consumption, and gambling. He, however, realises that these may not only be affected by the rise of unexpected income since a few large companies have existed in the West Kutai District, previously, including PT KEM (Kelian Equatorial Mining). Many people complain that nowadays prostitution is mushrooming. From the town of Linggang Bigung, if people want to go to another small town Tering which is located on the Mahakam River bank, and want to go to a log pond which is also located on the Mahakam River bank, people will pass many cafes, which are simultaneously operated as closet prostitution venues. There are many Javanese girls who are occupied as prostitutes in this location. In this region, when people mention café, the negative connotation goes side by side with this. Another issue is gambling.

The last classification is hunter, forest gatherer and gatherer of the latex of rubber trees. I admit that this classification is somewhat wide. This is because many of the people involved do simultaneous jobs, like having a rubber garden and hunting animals. Apart from gathering the latex of the rubber trees, people gather rattan and hunt wild pigs. Compared with the other jobs, this group has less income because they mostly earn less than Rp10,000,000 annually, even in 2004. A few people who rely on hunting animals have the lowest incomes; less than Rp5,000,000 annually. Many people do not remember what they earn because they do not receive the money regularly. The majority of the people state that the forests have become thin and this will create environmental problems as well as difficulties in finding animals. Based on interviews with many people in the Sub District of Linggang Bigung, in the past the people of

Linggang Bigung with the majority of Tunjung Dayak, had lived surrounded by dense forests. The dense forests have gradually gone, especially since the large exploitation by logging companies in the 1970s.

Another important issue is that, the dependence on hunting and gathering has been drastically reduced since the exploitation of forests has been carried out extensively. An elderly man, who remains in the same job, hunting, has encountered hardship in finding animals. He keeps hunting though the results are not satisfactory because he cannot move to do something else easily at his age. The youngsters can get other jobs when they face the problem of a shortage of animals to be hunted. Hunting is a 'traditional' economic practice of the Dayak. Hunters go after not only the meat of animals, but also the gallstones (*guliga*), nails and teeth of particular animals. In the past meat was not a commodity since hunters would share their meat with fellow villagers. Today, it is common for people to aim to sell their catch, so meat has become a commodity. The methods of hunting have changed because people now use guns though the government forbids this method. Hunting certain animals, such as deer (*payau*), is not allowed. However, the people continue to hunt them. It is common for the young Dayak to learn from older people how to hunt. If the forest surrounding the village is no longer dense and as a consequence there are not many deer or wild pigs left nearby, to hunt, people need to go to areas far from the village, traveling in groups and sometimes staying overnight. It is also common practice for the hunters to be supported by brokers to be able to stay in the forest for a long period, like a month.

Today, in the villages of Linggang Bigung, it is hard to find people who engage in hunting. The Dayak youngsters have more options for jobs now due to the scarcity of animals as a result of the continuing exploitation of forest areas. Traditional practices of the Dayak could disappear along with the forest degradation.

Apart from hunting, work on rubber plots has become important in this category. According to informants, the price for the solidified latex is around Rp2,500 to Rp3,000 per kg. The prices are set by brokers. Many argue that brokers are very clever in manipulating the prices. Rubber gardens or plots have been developing not only at the sub district level, but in the West Kutai District in general. Many informants told me that the reason for the development of rubber plots at the beginning had been to replace the thin forest or abandoned land.

Rubber Estate work is an important source of income in the West Kutai District as a whole and in the Sub District of Linggang Bigung in particular. The once dense forests of the past have become small rubber plantations. Based on 2002 data, in the Linggang Bigung Sub District, the total size of small-scale rubber estates is 2,848 hectares, consisting of not yet yielding 1,530 hectares, yielding 1,268 hectares, and no longer yielding (damaged) 50 hectares (*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah Kabupaten Kutai Barat and Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Kutai Barat* (2003: 69). People have turned to rubber cultivation because it is considered to be profitable. However, now there are many brokers who manipulate the prices of the rubber. The experience of 'Pak Tobian is a case in point. 'Pak Tobian has a rubber estate and has been serious in this business since he left his previous job in the big gold company. He argues that he could survive if he were seriously involved with the rubber estate since the local government has also paid serious attention to this business.

Conclusions

Firstly, from the research findings, the indigenous people seem less marginalized in their own territory, especially in terms of getting access to forestry products since decentralisation. Indeed, based on interviews with 50 people, the Dayak have more opportunity to get involved in the forestry sector. It was very rare for the Dayak to be involved in the small-scale enterprises in the forestry related products, except for those engaged in making rattan products. However, after January 2001 a few Dayak have engaged in sawmill enterprises. The mushrooming of sawmill enterprises has been evident in Linggang Bigung. Previously, it was almost impossible for the Dayak to establish such enterprises because of restrictions on getting access to the logs. Before decentralization, the Dayak would be chased by logging security if they entered the forests claimed to be 'logging areas' by certain logging companies.

Apart from this, the Dayak used to receive nothing from the logging companies, but now they receive a fee from a logging company if the company takes logs from areas of forests belonging to the Dayak or at least claimed by the Dayak as their property. Receiving fees was not possible before for the Dayak, they had even faced problems if they cut trees from their 'communal forests'. The benefits of receiving fees have limitations. In Linggang Bigung, there are only certain villagers who receive a fee, only those who own areas of forest.

Secondly, there is a shift from traditional type of work to more modern jobs in relation to forest products. Hunting and gathering have been traditional types of jobs engaged in by the Dayak. This has been applicable to many Dayak regardless of their sub tribal affiliations. The meaning of hunting itself has been continuously changing. A long time ago, the Dayak people hunted animals for the whole community of the longhouse. This is not so nowadays because the animals once hunted have been commercialised so that the hunters sell them either in the markets or to individuals. Hunters also encounter difficulties due to the scarcity of animals in nearby forests which have been greatly exploited. Since decentralisation, logging is not only conducted by big logging companies, but also by individual loggers known as *tukang senso* (people who work alone or in a group to cut trees in the forests).

Thirdly, jobs in the forestry related products are currently still promising but people worry about the future. Indeed, the loss of dense forests has been evident and in a few years people may find it very hard to see dense forests. The exploitation of forests has meant a great deal. Non-locals can go to engage in different businesses, but local people like the Dayak, will stay and bear the burden of losing their livelihoods.

Fourthly, the regulations on forestry in relation with decentralization seem not to be fixed. The local government at district level in West Kutai argues that the central government has not given full autonomy to the district on forestry. Meanwhile, the demand from the people, especially the indigenous people who had been marginalized for a long time to regain 'their forests' or at least to get access to forest products has been very strong. The local government admits that it is often trapped in the middle of many forces. The escalating of illegal logging or legal logging has been another problem. Decentralization has often been interpreted as 'freedom' to do anything from the local people's perspective but in fact decentralisation has not been full in the forestry sector because the central government continues to have power in managing the forests.

Finally, the weaknesses from the past centralistic policy, ignoring and marginalizing the indigenous people should not be transferred into the era of decentralization. There should not be a single player in the decision making process in the forestry sector but rather there should be

involvement of many parties, including indigenous people, local government and non-government organizations. The indigenous people have their own wisdom in managing the forests. Without cooperation among many parties to establish a sustainable forest management policy, forests could be gone because to many people (businessmen, government, etc.) forests are like sugar to ants.

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