

Walking a Broken Path of Life

Socio-economic and Cultural Survey of the Rimba Raya Project Area

By Aisyah Sileuw

The forests are gone. The fish have become difficult to catch in flooded rivers. We are poor people. We are not educated people. We can't compete with them in our own land. We can go nowhere from here. What is left for us? What is left for our children?

(Essom, a "kelotok" operator who took me to villages in Seruyan River)

In December 2008 a brief socioeconomic and cultural survey was conducted by Daemeter Consulting to assist Infinite Earth to identify and describe communities present in and adjacent to the Rimba Raya Project Area. The following report presents the data collected by Aisyah Sileuw and Iwan Kurniawan over their 7 day survey of the area.

Distribution of communities within and adjacent to the project site

Fourteen villages were identified, starting from Pembuang Hulu (in the northern part of the project area) down to Kuala Pembuang (the capital of Seruyan District, located in the southern end of the project area). Administratively, these 14 villages fall under the same district (*Kabupaten* Seruyan), but three different subdistricts (*kecamatan*). The villages and their sub-districts are: Bahaur, Paring Raya, Parang Batang, and Tanjung Hanau located in **Hanau Subdistrict**; Banua Usang, Paren, Ulak Batu, Palingkau, Cempaka Baru, and Telaga Pulang located in **Danau Sembuluh Subdistrict**; and Baung, Jahitan, Muara Dua and Tanjung Rengas located in **Seruyan Hilir Subdistrict**. Of these villages, only Paring Raya was not visited, as it is a recent extension of Bahaur. It is assumed that the information on communities in this village is similar to that of Bahaur. Another three settlements (Batuwirang, Kendurian and Segintong Luar) were also identified after the survey was completed. These are assumed to be separate villages from those visited during the survey. Table 1 below provides population data for the villages visited.

Table 1. Population data for villages in the Rimba Raya project area

No.	Village	No. of families	No. of people	No. of Women	No. of Men	Predominant tribe
1	Bahaur	-	1700	-	-	Dayak Kahayan
2	Paring Raya	20	-	-	-	Dayak Kahayan
3	Parang Batang	-	206	-	-	Dayak Keninjal & Bangkul
4	Tanjung Hanau	127	511	281	230	Banjar
5	Banua Usang	215	642	-	-	Dayak Pante and Banjar
6	Paren	113	227	113	114	Dayak Pante and Banjar

No.	Village	No. of families	No. of people	No. of Women	No. of Men	Predominant tribe
7	Ulak Batu	70	181	89	92	Dayak Nadju and Banjar
8	Palingkau	43	168	77	91	Dayak Nadju and Banjar
9	Cempaka Baru	133	566	216	250	Dayak and Banjar
10	Telaga Pulang	411	2313	1008	1305	Banjar and Dayak
11	Baung	250	2015	992	1223	Banjar and Dayak
12	Jahitan	133	477	208	269	Dayak and Banjar
13	Muara Dua	140	523	236	287	Banjar and Dayak
14	Tanjung Rengas	320	1406	641	765	Banjar and Dayak

Stakeholder Categories and Channels of Communication

Stakeholder categories and channels of communication identified during the survey are presented below in Table 2.

Table 2. Stakeholder categories and channels of communication

Stakeholder	Functions	Channels of Communication
Villagers	Recipients and beneficiaries of any program implemented in their villages. The programs can come from the government, civil society organizations, political parties (especially at the moment with the upcoming election in April 2009)	There are a few different channels of communication used to convey messages to villagers. The village head can use verbal communication to invite the villagers to a meeting to discuss certain issues related to their village. The village head usually gives a written invitation if the meeting will be attended by outsiders, such as oil palm companies, government officials from a higher level, and other organizations.
Farmers groups	Farmers groups are used for farmers to organize themselves into a group with the common goal of improving farmers' welfare	Word of mouth, letters and other written media such as an announcement board in the village office or mosque.
World Education	Community organizer to implement community development programs	Internet, which includes email and instant messaging, and telephone
OFI	Community facilitator to raise	Internet, which includes email

Stakeholder	Functions	Channels of Communication
	villagers and other stakeholders awareness on the importance of maintaining Tanjung Putting National Park	and instant messaging, and telephone
WALHI and other NGOs	Advocacy organizations for environmental protection.	Internet, which includes email and instant messaging, and telephone
Sawit Watch	As the network of NGOs and other civil society organizations, this network raises public awareness on the negative impacts of oil palm development.	Internet, which includes email and instant messaging, and telephone
Informal Leaders	Usually they are approached by village heads or any other stakeholder wanting to have smooth communication with villagers because they have influence in the village.	Word of mouth, letter and other written media such as announcement board in the village office or mosque.
Government Offices	To provide services for licensing of oil palm plantation companies as well as to monitor their progress, programs to be implemented at the village level, and to facilitate conflict resolution for any dispute which may emerge from the villages.	Official letter, telephone, in person visit
Oil palm companies	To develop business their oil palm plantation and business, with limited social programs for development of local communities.	Official letter, telephone, in person visit

Communities

Most of the communities living in the 14 villages visited rely on the Seruyan River as the source for meeting their basic needs, cash income and transportation. Before the 1990s, forests met the community's basic needs and cash income. They cleared forest to make their *ladang* and plant rice and rubber. They also logged and sold the logs to markets that were centered in **Baung**, **Telaga Pulang** and **Segintong Luar**. However, after the operations of Hutan Lestari conducted by the Ministry of Forestry in the end of 1990s to control illegal activities within the state forests, the logging became the least favored livelihood option for the villagers. There were (and still are) some illegal logging cases that resulted in elite village officials or their family members being jailed.

Their access to forests has become even more limited with recent oil palm plantation development. In the villages surveyed it was common to hear complaints that rather

than visiting the villages to ask permission to operate in the area, most of the oil palm companies have operated in a manner that has caused land tenure conflicts, which previously had never occurred in these villages. Only a few companies have had the good will to resolve such conflicts by negotiating with the villagers directly and some have even asked for facilitation by the government. Some of the companies still use the 'New Order approach', asking for help from the police's special task force and military to back up the companies in negotiations with the villagers, which inevitably creates an intimidating situation for the villagers.

From the villages visited, most of the villagers - who mostly belong to Dayak and Banjar tribes - earn their living from fishing. This can be considered their full time work. Seeing this, the local government of Seruyan District developed a program to help the communities improve productivity and sustainability of fish in the river by adopting a *keramba* (aquaculture) system. However, it is reported that in the last five years, the villagers have experienced more frequent flooding of the Seruyan River than previously experienced. In the past, flooding occurred predictably once a year and could be anticipated. Nowadays they have to deal with floods occurring an average of once a month. And some communities remain flooded for up to three months!

Only a few villages have healthcare facilities. The villages without healthcare facilities go to other villages to receive health care. At one point there were a number of midwives assigned to each village, but due to the extremely challenging living conditions (unhealthy environment, lack of clean water, etc.) only a few midwives stayed.

In terms of education, the elders never attended school or, if they did, only through elementary school. On average, each village has an elementary school building that is not well maintained. One exception is the elementary school in Paren village which has been renovated. The younger generations are now being educated all the way through high school, but the children must move to Telaga Pulang (Seruyan District) or Pembuang Hulu to attend. Some teenagers return to the their villages after completing high school to help their parents work. Some work with oil palm companies while others become boat operators. Some do not return to the village and instead go to town to find other types of work.

Due to the extreme poverty in the area, some people move out of the villages to look for work in other places. A number of village officials said this is the reason why it was difficult to census the population. Many villagers leave, but at the same time many migrants come in to work with oil palm companies which have started operating in areas near these villages.

The migrant workers have become an issue with villagers, as locals feel migrants are reducing employment opportunities for local villagers. All officials interviewed said that the oil palm companies prefer using their own workers instead of training the locals to work for them. The other common problem faced by villagers is the issue of land and compensation mentioned earlier; an oil palm company uses land belonging to villagers and the compensation paid by the company does not meet the communities' expectation.

Life seems difficult for most of the villagers in the project area. Their access to forests is now limited because of the expanding oil palm plantations. They cannot go fishing when the river is flooding which is happening more and more frequently these days. They cannot compete with the capacity of migrant workers if they want to look for work with the oil palm companies. They cannot afford the day-to-day costs of living which are more expensive than in other places in Indonesia (e.g., gasoline and kerosene are priced three times higher here than in cities). They have become the last party to know what is happening in the area. In effect, they have become strangers in their own land.

Presence of HCV5 and HCV6

HCV5 is concerned with natural areas critical for meeting the basic needs of local people. These include food, water, clothing, materials for housing and tools, firewood, medicine and livestock. The communities living in the settlements in the project area are dependent on local natural resources to meet a number of their basic needs, especially water, protein (fish), timber for construction material and fuel wood. Seruyan River is the most important source for meeting their water needs - for drinking, washing and sanitation purposes - and for transport. Their other basic needs (carbohydrates, vitamins, minerals, and non-fish protein) are met through cash purchases. However, the price of these products are not affordable to people. Given this situation, HCV5 is considered likely present in these villages for water, fuel wood and materials for construction. Upon full assessment HCV 5 will be explored in greater detail, with input from a larger number of villagers.

HCV 6 is concerned with areas critical for maintaining the cultural identity of local communities. In the project area, most of the communities are Dayak communities that converted to Islam in recent history. They do not have cultural practices or religious rituals that use forests as do Dayak people in other places in Kalimantan. They also do not have sacred places within forest for worshiping or other cultural uses. HCV6 is considered unlikely present in the project area.

Land Use and Community Perspectives

The local system of land ownership is quite simple and clear amongst locals, only running into complications with the system with the arrival of outside interests. Locally people respect each other's property and land rights. They know the boundaries of each other's land without it being physically demarcated. Until recently they did not have a written, official form of documentation to verify land ownership. Now some villages and individuals have started to use land ownership certificates (*Surat Kepemilikan Tanah*) issued and signed by the village head.

Most villages have a land use plan for land in their village (*desa*) boundaries. Usually, a village's land is classified into the following categories: housing, agricultural (used for planting rubber (*Hevea brasiliensis*, jelutung (*Dyera costulata*) or other species that contribute to their livelihoods), public facilities (such as health clinics and schools), fisheries and graveyards.

Regarding the expansion of oil palm plantations in the area, some communities have accepted it while others have refused it. It is common to hear comments that the communities are not informed about the existence of oil palm plantations in their

areas, but they are willing to try planting oil palm to see whether this species can contribute significantly to their welfare improvement.

When asked what kind of programs the communities would like to implement in their villages, most of them stated that basically they are open to any programs that will improve their welfare and capacity to face future challenges. Most importantly though, they want to be informed early in the process, before the program takes place.

Conflicts

Conflicts identified during the survey are described below in Table 3.

Table 3. Description of conflicts in villages along the Seryuan River.

Villages	Type of conflict	Started in	Status of Resolution
Banua Usang	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 900 hectares overlapped with PT. Sawit Mas Nugraha Persada's license area • Village land overlapped with PT. Karisma Unggul's license area but the size of the area is not clear • Village land overlapped with PT. Rim Capital's license area, but the size of the area is not clear 	2002	All three still unresolved.
Parang Batang	2000 ha of village land overlap with license area of PT. Wana Sawit Timur (oil palm company)	2005	The Head of Hanau Subdistrict is mediating, but it has yet to be resolved.
Paren	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 450 ha overlap with PT. Wana Sawit Timur's license area • 200 ha overlap with PT. Rim Capital's license area • Conflict with the villagers of Banua Usang following the operation of PT. Rim Capital. The land of a villager in Paren borrowed by a villager in Banua Usang was surrendered to PT. Rim Capital. The size 	2005 2007 2006	These three conflicts remain unresolved.

	is not clear.		
Ulak Batu	250 ha of village overlapping with PT. Wana Sawit Timur's license area.	2005	Unresolved
Telaga Pulang	Compensation of the land surrendered by villagers to PT. Mega Ika Kansa.	2006	Resolution was achieved in 2008, but with dissatisfaction by the villagers as the compensation was decided one-sidedly by the company
Baung	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A family in Telaga Pulang borrowed land from a family in Baung village. The borrower surrendered the land to an oil palm company (PT. Mega Ika Kansa). Compensation issues of the land surrendered to PT. Mega Ika Kansa 	2006 2005	Not resolved Resolved, but villagers unsatisfied wit the result

Appendix 1. Information on each village visited.

1. BAH Aur

Administratively, Bahaur village¹ is under the Hanau Subdistrict², located in the Seruyan District³. Bahaur is an old village, established prior to Indonesian Independence in 1945. The word *Bahaur* comes from the Pemuang Hulu language in which it means "*banyak hanau*" (a lot of palm trees, referring to the palm *Arenga pinnata*). Historically, and through to present day, the palm has had significant economic value for the Bahaur people, especially the women, because they process the palm water into brown sugar. At present the price of brown sugar is IDR 15,000/kg when sold locally. The population is predominantly Dayak Kahayan, with Islam as the dominant religion.

The village can be reached using speedboat, located within 40 minutes of Pemuang Hulu. It has only one sub-village⁴ (dusun), named Manggana. Reportedly comprised of 21,000 hectares, the village has categorized its

¹ The term 'village' is used as the English equivalent of the Indonesian term *desa*.

² The term 'sub-district' is used as the English equivalent of the Indonesian term *kecamatan*.

³ The term 'district' is used as the English equivalent of the Indonesian term *kabupaten*.

⁴ The term 'sub-village' is used as the English equivalent of the Indonesian term *dusun*.

land into the following land uses: settlement, swidden agriculture and graveyard.

Most land is privately owned by families, with the exception of a plantation planted with *jelutung* (*Dyera costulata*) and rubber that belongs to the village (200 ha). This land was distributed to 100 families, each given two hectares, by the Indonesian government. The families are only authorized to manage the piece of land that they were given and they do not have ownership rights to the land. These 200ha are not concentrated in one area, but rather scattered throughout the village. This plantation development is part of the National Reforestation Program that was managed under the Seruyan District's DAK-DR (*Dana Anggaran Kabupaten-Dana Reboisasi*, District Budget which came from the Department of Forestry's Reforestation Fund).

Reportedly, there aren't any conflicts between villages. They are said to respect each other, and respect the boundaries of each other's property. They know which *ladang* (swidden area) belongs to whom without having the physical marks on the ground. When conflicts arise, they like using discussion, not confrontation to resolve them. At present the ownership of land is registered through *Surat Kepemilikan Tanah (SKT)* issued by the Village Head. However not all villagers have used this SKT to officially claim their land.

Most of villagers have multiple sources of income, however the main source right now is from fishing. They used to collect rattan and use forested areas for other needs. However, since oil palm licenses were issued from Seruyan District, and plantations have been developed, they said that all forests are gone. According to the village secretary, there is a potential conflict brewing between the oil palm license holder - PT. Wana Sawit Timur - because until now the company hasn't visited the village to discuss the license area or other issues of oil palm operation. Villagers mostly meet their basic needs through a cash based economy, purchasing carbohydrate, vitamin, mineral, some protein and medicines. Their protein needs are met from self-caught fish.

Both formal and informal institutions are present in the village. The formal institutions are managed through government structures. Typically this is comprised of a village head, village secretary, other staff of the village office, and a BPD (*Badan Perwakilan Desa*, Village Representative Body). The village does not have a village office. Currently the administration is run out of the village head's house. Informal institutions pertain to women (e.g., *PKK, Program Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, Family Welfare Program) Islam, with religious study held once a week as well as the youth group, and farming. There is one farmer group in the village. For organizing meetings, this village uses written invitations, delivered one day before a meeting. They prefer to have something in writing to inform them, although the verbal communication system still functions too.

They apply national and Islamic laws to regulate most aspects of their lives. Historically they used Islam law to determine inheritance, which provides men with greater portions than women, usually twice that of what the woman receives. Yet today they have modified this law so that sons and daughters get equal portions. They have a local term “cut fish” (*potong ikan*) for dividing the inheritance, which means equal division among children.

There seems to be an equal division between villagers that support oil palm plantation development versus those that support forest conservation. Some believe that oil palm plantation development can bring a new source of income for them, improving their livelihoods, while others are confident that forests contribute most to their livelihoods, providing protection from natural disasters like flooding and erosion. To them, forests provide fuel wood and construction materials, and help keep rivers clean, which they rely on for water and fish. Following these different stances, some villagers are prepared to release land for any oil palm plantation development scheme that may arrive, while others will not sell rights to their land and are hoping for a program that will not degrade remaining forests.

2. PARING RAYA

Paring Raya is a new village established by people originating from Bahaur village. The settlement, about a 15-minute boat ride south of Bahaur, was legalised in July 2008. Only 20 families reside in this village. Information on the total population of this village was not available. Community characteristics are assumed to be similar to those of Bahaur village. This village was not visited during the survey.

3. PARANG BATANG

This village was established in 1913. It is inhabited by 206 families. Administratively it is under the Hanau Subdistrict. Information on the number of men and women residing in the village was not available during the survey. The village has one dusun (Kahoe) which is located on the west side of Seruyan River. Most of the villagers are Dayak Keninjal and Bangkul (90%) and the other 10% are from Java, Banjar or other ethnic backgrounds. They are mostly Moslem (100%). They speak the language Pembuang as well as Indonesian, the national language.

Most of the population earn their living by fishing (75%) or rubber tapping and collecting *jelutung* (25%), which can provide them with cash income of approximately IDR 50,000/day. During the rainy season they rarely tap rubber, shift over to fishing instead. In regard to basic needs, carbohydrates, protein (non-fish), vitamins/minerals and medicines are all purchased from markets. They still depend on local natural resources for water, fuel wood, wood for construction materials and protein (fish). They do not use the forest for cultural or religious purposes.

Few villagers have registered their private, individually owned land to receive a SKT from the village head (approx. 10%). In addition to the individual land, the village also has a 500 ha communal forest that the villagers use for wood. There aren't any conflicts between the villagers, but there is one with the oil palm company PT.Wana Sawit Timur. The conflict, which started in 2006, happened because of a 2,000 ha area of land where the company's license area overlapped with the village's land. The Head of Hanau Subdistrict is still mediating for the conflicting parties in order to resolve this issue. It was expected that a solution would be reached by 2009.

In December 2008 the village received funding from the Agriculture Service Office (District level) through a program called PUAP (*Program Usaha Agribusiness dan Peternakan*, Agri- and Livestock Business Program). There are two farmer groups that manage this agricultural program.

4. TANJUNG HANAU

Tanjung Hanau is the village lies on the border between the Hanau and Danau Sembuluh Subdistricts, but falls under the administration of the Hanau Subdistrict. From Pembuang Hulu (heading downstream on the Seruyan River) it can be reached within 3 hours by long boat. Alternatively it can be reached in 5 hours from Kuala Pembuang, the capital of Seruyan District, heading downstream on the Seruyan River. The village consists of 127 families and 511 people (281 women and 230 men). Of these, 130 women 192 men are considered to be of working age. Ethnically they are mostly Banjar and speak both Banjar and Indonesian. They are 100% Moslem.

Most of them earn their living by fishing and rubber tapping. The oil palm companies offer the communities one-off employment opportunities (for land clearing and planting) with a wage of IDR 50,000/day. For the last two years they have not been able to work on the land for *ladang* or the rubber plantation because of the routine flooding of the Seruyan River.

The land is owned individually with most ownership not formally documented. In addition to the individual land, they also have 25 square kilometres of village owned forest on the east side of Seruyan River. Use of this forest has not been institutionalized, except that the forest can be used to source timber, for local villagers, at a subsistence level. To date, no illegal logging has been reported in this forest.

This village has also experienced some conflict with an oil palm company. However, the respondent did not mention the name of the oil palm company or types of conflict during the interview.

A few NGOs, including WALHI and Sawit Watch, made short visits to this village. According to the respondent, their visit was intended to document any conflicts between communities and oil palm companies. They also did some advocacy work to organize villagers to be anti-oil palm. However, the community organizing activity did not give solid results seeing it was done over such a short period of time. World Education has also worked in this village conducting community organizing activities, but, for financial reasons, the activities have stopped and WE is only focusing on 5 of 12 villages along Seruyan River where they initially planned to work.

5. BANUA USANG

Banua Usang comes under the Danau Sembuluh administration. It has 215 families (642 people). They are mostly from Dayak Pante, a sub-group of Dayak who converted to Islam generations ago. They speak Banjar and Indonesian. Most of them are fishermen because their forest has been converted over to oil palm. For the last two years they have not been able to land clear forest for ladang because they have had to compete with the oil palm plantation for this land. They now depend on alternatives to meet their basic needs, including carbohydrates, protein (non-fish), vitamins, minerals and medicines. They still rely on local natural resources for protein (fish), water, wood for construction materials and fuel wood. They do not have cultural practices tied to the forest.

The village has one farmer group called Bina Sejahtera with 100 members. This farmer group received funding from PUAP (Program Usaha Agribisnis dan Peternakan) which was introduced by the Agriculture Service Office from Seruyan District. Additionally, the farmer group received the DAK-DR program assistance for planting 100 ha of rubber and jelutung on land provided by the program. The area planted is not concentrated in one location.

The village does not have a land use plan, but is interested in having an organization facilitate the process of developing such a plan. WALHI and Sawit Watch also made a short visit to this village to document conflicts between villagers and oil palm companies. As part of a program put together by these two organizations, the chairman of BPD (*Badan Perwakilan Desa*, Village Representative Body) was invited to a meeting where he exchanged and shared experiences with oil palm companies with other villagers from different islands. The intent was for him to learn how to do the advocacy work to lobby against oil palm development.

Three oil palm companies operate in the area near the village, PT. Sawit Mas Nugraha Persada, PT. Karisma Unggul and PT. Rim Capital. Conflicts with these companies were triggered by an overlap of company license areas with community owned land.

6. PAREN

Administratively this village is under the Danau Sembuluh Subdistrict. The size of the village is about 15,000 hectares, which includes the villagers' ladang and rubber plantations and the village itself. The village has 227 people (113 women and 114 men) making up 116 families. 60% of the total population are of working age. They are mostly Moslem and ethnically Dayak Pante (95%) and Banjar (5%). Most of them speak Pembuang and Indonesian.

Similarly to the other villages along Seruyan River, land is owned individually in the village, but it also has 500 ha of village forest. They use the village forest for meeting their subsistent needs for timber.

The village has organized the villagers into 2 farmer groups (Sepakat and Bahandep).

Conflicts were identified in the village, especially with oil palm companies PT. Wana Sawit Timur (over 450 hectares of overlapping land) and PT Rim Capital (200 hectares of overlapping land). The other conflict that arose in the village was between a family in Banua Usang which borrowed land from a family in Paren. When the oil palm company started their operations in the village, the land borrower surrendered the land to PT. Rim Capital. The size of the disputed land is not clear.

7. ULAK BATU

Ulak Batu used to be part of Telaga Pulang village. The name Ulak Batu was given by an official from the Bangkal Subdistrict in the 1965 because he thought that Ulak Batu had enough people to become a separate village. It is now under Danau Sembuluh Subdistrict administration. The village borders Paren village to the north, with Sembuluh to the east, Palingkau to the south and Tanjung Puting National Park to the west.

The population is 181 people, comprising 89 women and 92 men. They are in about 70 families. Most of them come from Dayak Nadju and Banjar. They are mostly Moslem. They speak Pembuang, Banjar and Indonesian.

Before the 1990s the villagers did logging and, as such, relied on the forest as their source of cash income. Since the operation to combat illegal logging by the Ministry of Forestry, which started in the late 1990s, it has been difficult for them to find cash income. Shifting to fishing, they now face difficulty with seasonal uncertainty, flooding, and degradation of the Seruyan River. It is therefore difficult for them to meet their basic needs.

8. PALINGKAU

Palingkau was established in 1977. It is under the Danau Sembuluh Subdistrict administration. It is currently inhabited by 16 people, made up of 43 families, 77 women and 91 men. Most of them are Dayak Nadju or Banjar. They are Moslem. They speak Pembuang, Banjar and Indonesian.

The village borders Ulak Batu village to the north, Sembuluh to the east, Cempaka Baru to the south and the national park to the west.

90% of the families earn their living from fishing in the Seruyan River. The fish they catch include *baung*, *jelawat*, *haruan*, *biyawan*, *tapah*, *kemancung*, etc. In addition to fishing in the Seruyan River, they also make some "keramba" to farm fish. Species they farm include *bakut*, *jelawat*, *toman*, *baung* and *haruan*.

9. CEMPAKA BARU

Cempaka Baru is one of the villages under the administration of the Danau Sembuluh Subdistrict. It contains one dusun (subvillage) which is also called Cempaka Baru with two RTs (hamlets). Prior to being named Cempaka Baru, the village was called Danau Pepundak. It was established in 1963. The population is 566 people, including 133 families. Approximately 360 of these people are of working age. 75% of the total population are Dayak and the other 25% are Banjar. All of them are Moslem. Of the 133 families, 70 of them are considered "poor". According to interviews, poverty is locally defined as people whose house roofing is made of leaves or those on a daily income of less than IDR 30,000.

The village has formal (village governance) and informal (a women's group/PKK, youth group/Karang Taruna). However, these informal institutions are no longer active. This becomes a symbol in the village that women and youth are active in the village, but in practice they have no activities going on. The village also has a cooperative bank where all members of the cooperative can deposit money and borrow from the bank.

To meet their basic needs, they depend on rivers for protein (fish) and construction material and fuel wood from the forest. However, they did not describe which forest upon which they depend.

Most people from this village do not have a land certificate for their property. Only 5% of them have the Surat Keterangan Tanah (SKT) signed by the village head. Swidden agriculture areas and rubber gardens are owned individually, not communally. Individuals know the boundaries of their properties without it having clear physical marks. They use natural features such as rivers and big trees to mark the boundaries. So far there have not been any conflicts among the villagers over land boundaries. In addition to individual property, there is also communal forest land owned by the village which villagers are allowed

to use. The village has not set up regulations for its usage, but only the villagers of Cempaka Baru are permitted to use it. The village also has a land use plan that divides the village land into settlements, agricultural areas, plantations, fisheries, graveyards and public facilities.

In general, community members would like to have a development program without sacrificing their remaining forested lands. They prefer to have a program that can protect their forests, but at the same time generate income to improve their welfare.

10. TELAGA PULANG

Administratively Telaga Pulang is in the Danau Sembuluh Subdistrict, Seruyan District. It has two sub-villages (dusun) on either side of the Seruyan River, with a total of 6 hamlets (RT). The population is 2,313 people, consisting of 1,305 men and 1,008 women. There are 411 families in the village. There are 1,754 people considered to be of working age. Almost all residents are Moslem. Only one percent of families are reported to be Christian. Ethnically they are Banjar (50%), Dayak (45%) and other (5%).

Fifty-five percent of families earn their living from fishing and farming while the other 45% work with private companies (including oil palm) operating near the village. Daily income from fishing is around IDR 45,000. Fifty percent of the families are considered poor because they earn less than IDR 30,000/day and have leaved roofs on their houses.

The land in the village is owned privately by individuals. Only 20% of the families have registered their land with the village and received official documents in the form of SKT (Surat Keterangan Tanah). About 5% of the village's total area is forested land, which belongs to village and is used communally by villagers. The village has not yet set up a separate body to manage this communal forest land.

The village has a history of conflict with the local oil palm company, PT. Mega Ika Kansa. The conflict happened in 2006 over compensation for land that the company was using to develop their plantation. The conflict was resolved in 2008 through mediation led by sub-district officials.

The village also has a cooperative bank called *Koperasi Pare Itah* which the members can use to save and borrow money.

Basic needs provided from local natural resources include protein (fish), water (from the river for bathing, drinking, washing), fuel wood and wood for construction materials. Other needs, such as carbohydrates, vitamins, minerals and medicines are purchased.

They do not use forests for cultural or religious purposes.

11. BAUNG

Administratively, Baung is located in Seruyan Hilir Sub-district. It has one sub-village (dusun) with the same name, and three hamlets (RT). Two are located on the river's edge while the other one is further south and inhabited by only three families. The population is 2,015 people (250 families) comprising 992 women and 1,223 men. 1,631 people are considered to be of working age. Ethnically almost 90% of the families are Banjar, 9% Dayak, and 1% Javanese.

Of the 250 families, 100 are considered poor because either their daily income is less than IDR 20,000 or their houses are in very poor condition. These poor families also receive a BLT (direct cash aid) program from the government. Farming and fishing are the usual main source of income (70%), while the remaining 30% work for the oil palm company. On average, farmers and fishermen can earn IDR 35,000/day. The farmers tap rubber, *jelutung* (*Dyera costulata*), and *gembor* (raw material used for mosquito repellent).

To meet their basic needs they rely heavily on cash purchases from markets in the Seruyan District or other villages near it. Natural resources they depend on to meet their basic needs include water (from the river, for drinking, bathing, washing, and fishing) and protein (fish from the river) as well as the fuel wood from remaining forests.

There are three economic institutions in the village, the Koperasi Usaha Mandiri (a oil palm-plasma cooperative, which is not active yet), the Mekar Sari Farmer Group (World Education-facilitated group which focuses on agricultural activities) and Subur Mandiri Farmer Group (a Forestry Service Office program for planting rubber (*Hevea brasiliensis*) and *jelutung* (*Dyera costulata*)).

The village has a land use plan that separates the land according to functions. The plan includes the following categories: settlement (housing), village office facility, agricultural land, plantation, fishery, and public facilities (e.g. school and medical center).

Each individual has their own land for farming or building a house. No one has written evidence, like a certificate or other document, to prove ownership, however between each other they know the boundaries of their land. Land conflict between villagers has yet to occur, but there has been some land conflicts with individuals from the neighboring village. A current conflict described during the survey involved a family whose land was borrowed by another family from Telaga Pulang village. The conflict started in 2006 when the oil palm company came to the village and the Telaga Pulang family sold the land to the oil palm company. The process of borrowing the land was not recorded in writing and until now the conflict remains unresolved. Officials from both villages (Baung and Telaga Pulang) are actively facilitating mediation and conflict resolution efforts.

Another conflict occurred in 2005 between Baung villagers and the oil palm company PT. Mega Ika Kansa over land compensation. The conflict was resolved in 2008, but compensation was decided one-sidedly by the company, leaving Baung residents dissatisfied with the outcome. The oil palm company paid compensation of IDR 500,000/hectare of individual land and IDR 200,000/ha for communal (village) land.

Seventy percent of the total area of the village is reported to be forest land, which makes it communal property.

12. JAHITAN

Jahitan is another village under the Seruyan Hilir Sub-district's administration. This village was established far before the Indonesian independence day (1945). It consists of only 1 dusun with 2 hamlets on either side of the Seruyan River. The population totals 477 people, comprised of 269 men and 208 women who live in 133 families. The number of working age individuals is 335 people. Most of the villagers are Dayak (95%). The others are Banjar (4%) and Java (1%). All are Moslem.

Sixty percents of the families work in the oil palm plantation (PT. Gawe Bahandep Sawit Mekar) and the other 40% are farmers and fishermen. Fishing and farming they can earn IDR 35,000/day on average. Of the 133 families, only 11 families are considered poor and receive BLT (Bantuan Langsung Tunai, Cash Direct Aid) from the government.

They meet their carbohydrate, vitamin, mineral and medicinal needs by purchasing them in the markets in Seruyan District or in neighboring villages. They still depend on the local natural resources to meet other basic needs like water, non-fish protein, wood for construction and fuel wood. They do not have any cultural relations to the forests.

In terms of institutions, they have one formal institution, the village government (village head, village representative body, village secretary and other officials). The only informal institution identified was the farmer group, Mardi Rukun, which was facilitated by the Forestry Service Office for planting rubber and *jelutung*.

The village has developed a land use system which divides the village area into the following functions: housing, agricultural, fishery, plantation, public facilities, village office and graveyard. 70% of the families have registered their land with the village head to get their SKT (Surat Keterangan Tanah). The village still has a lot of forested land which is considered communal property. The village has not developed regulations for using these forests, but in principle each individual in the village has access to it.

13. MUARA DUA

Muara Dua is also under the Seruyan Hilir Subdistrict administration. It has 3 dusun (Muara Dua, Belanti and Tempudan) located on the both sides of Seruyan River. The population is 523 people, comprising 287 men and 236 women who live in 140 families. The number of people of working age is 419. Ethnically they are Banjar (60%) and Dayak (40%). All are Moslem. All of them earn their living by fishing and farming with cash income of approximately IDR 40,000/day. Of the 140 families, 36 families are considered poor as they earn less than IDR 20,000/day. These poor families receive the Cash Direct Aid (BLT) from the government.

The villagers still depend on the local natural resources to meet some basic needs; fish for protein, water, wood for construction materials and fuel wood. They purchase other basic needs, such as carbohydrates, vitamins/minerals, non-fish protein and medicines.

Land is owned individually and communally. The individual ownership is not registered with the village head. However, as mentioned previously, this does not mean that the owners of the land do not know the boundaries of their properties. Reportedly, there has not been any conflicts between villagers and other outside parties. No companies operate in the village. Yet, in 2008 they heard that the government of the Seruyan District had plan for part of the village land to be allocated for oil palm plantation development. Until now the oil palm company with a license for the area, PT. Ahmad Saleh, has not started its operations on the ground. Similar to other villages in Seruyan Hilir Sub-district, this village has not developed an institution to manage the village (communal) forests. Each individual may use the communal forest land.

There are two farmer groups - Harapan Makmur (25 members) and Setia Karya (15 members). One is facilitated by World Education and the other facilitated by the Forestry Service Office at the District level.

14. TANJUNG RENGAS

Tanjung Rengas is the most southern village in the Seruyan Hilir sub-district. It has 1 dusun with 6 hamlets (RT) located on the west side of Seruyan River. It is inhabited by 1,406 people, consisting of 765 men and 641 women, with 320 families. The number of working age people is 985. Ethnically the population is 50% Dayak and 50% Banjar.

70% of the families earn their living by fishing, 20% by farming and 10% by working for companies. The average income from fishing or farming is IDR 30,000/day. Of the total number of families, 70% are said to live in poverty, which they define as having an income of less than IDR 25,000/day or living without land or living in a house with a palm roof.

Similar to other neighboring villages, they meet their basic needs such as carbohydrates, vitamins/minerals, and medicines by purchasing them. They still depend on local natural resources to meet other basic

needs, including water, wood as construction material and fuel wood. The villagers do not have cultural ties to the forests.

The oil palm company PT. Sarana Titian Permata started its operations in 2004. There was a conflict over land ownership in 2005, but was resolved right away by the villagers and the company. The agreement resulted in the company paying compensation and building a school for the village. The amount of the compensation was not mentioned.

Land is owned individually, but most land is not registered with the village. Only 5% of the families have registered their land to get the SKT signed by the village head. There is a communal forest land which is available for use by the villagers. The rule is that every individual who wants to use the land must report to the village head to get a SKT. Yet, if they do not report, no sanctions are applied. The village has delineated village land into the following use categories: housing, office, agricultural use, plantation, fishery, public facilities and graveyard.

There are five farmer groups, each with 20-50 members.