

Grassroots discussion:

A Dayak Limbai Indigenous People's story – “Protecting our Bukit Bunyau ICCA from logging, mining, palm oil plantations and other encroaching threats”

Sintang District, West Kalimantan, Indonesia



Results based upon community grassroots discussions and a Resilience and Security Tool

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The ICCA
Consortium

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Executive summary

Bunyau community is an ethnic group who self-identify themselves as *Dayak Limbai* indigenous people. According to Bunyau community, for centuries their ancestors occupied, managed and protected Bunyau customary territory known locally as *Bukit Bunyau*, translatable to 'Bunyau Hill'. Covering over 4,700 hectares, *Bukit Bunyau* is a prime example of an ICCA: an Indigenous Peoples' and Local Community Conserved Area and/or Territory. *Bukit Bunyau* and its Masyarakat Adat (Indigenous People) who inhabit it are the focus of this report.

Bunyau community conserve (which includes managing, governing and protecting) their *Bukit Bunyau*, dividing it into six main land-use categories: 1) village/settlement site; 2) community gardens or small-scale plantations; 3) cultivation or farming fields; 4) ancestral burial and/or religious grounds; 5) rivers, streams and waterfall areas; and 6) forested or jungle areas. They

maintain their *Bukit Bunyau* via strict *Adat* (customary) laws of which anyone found violating is either fined, sanctioned or in the worst case, evicted. It is these very customary rules and institutions, upheld by Bunyau community, which have ensured the survival and integrity of this astoundingly bio-diverse and culturally rich ICCA.

As is the case with thousands of ICCAs across the world, due to *Bukit Bunyau's* wealth in natural resources and relatively easy access, it faces severe threats from external forces, particularly government sponsored logging and mining exploitations, along with oil palm plantations. Internal threats, admitted by the community itself, also exist involving small-scale gold mining, farming methods using agrochemical (roundup herbicide) and burning grasslands for farming.

This report, accompanied by Bunyau's community created Photo Story (7-minute video) documents *Bukit Bunyau* as the successfully conserved ICCA it is today, whilst also outlining internal and external threats to its integrity and long-term survival. Both report and Photo Story record why and how Bunyau community are actively defending their ICCA and in so doing, it hopes to be an inspiration for other local and indigenous communities facing similar threats.

All photos are courtesy of Bunyau community members, Norman Jiwan and Vanessa Reid.

Acknowledgements

Deepest gratitude goes to the tremendous help and support from dedicated people, friends and colleagues for sharing inspiring stories of their struggles. They are Pak Mijar, Pak Odong Maman, Alexander (Pemimpin Umat), Pelaik Keruap village Bambang, Pak Yon, Mentibar village pak Sukirman (community leader), and members of the Bunyau community impacted by PT Citra Mahkota. Thanks also goes to respected

teachers and friendly comrades from the Catholic Church, in particular Romo Ubin of Paroki Nanga Pinoh in Melawi and Romo Gani of Paroki Serawai in Serawai sub-district who willingly shared their experiences and insights.

Thanks also to friends from WALHI Kalbar and Lembaga Bela Banua Talino (LBBT), in particular Anton P. Wijaya and Abdias Yas who originally suggested *Bukit Bunyau* as an ICCA case study. Thanks to PPSDAK for their insights and to Deccy of WWF Indonesia for her invaluable help with translating and facilitating the grassroots discussions among Bunyau community.

We thank motorbike taxi (*ojek*) riders for taking care of the transport to Bunyau and Pelaik Keruap. Great thanks also goes to ICCA consortium colleagues for their support in linking global recognition to people-based conservation practices, livelihoods and areas worldwide.



Nangapinoh ferry port at sunrise

Dedication

This report is dedicated to the late Sujarni Alloy who passed in August 2012. Alloy was the AMAN Kalbar Regional Coordinator and was invaluable in organising logistics to make the field visit to Bunyau community possible. He facilitated the second round of grassroots discussions with Bunyau community members and was an avid supporter of ICCAs. He is greatly missed and his work, particularly regarding securing rights of Masyarakat Adat in West Kalimantan will never be forgotten.



Sujarni Alloy on route to visit Bunyau community, June 2012

Acronyms and definitions in this document

Bukit Bunyau = ‘Bunyau Hill’ in Bahasa Indonesian (Bunyau ICCA)

FPIC= Free, Prior and Informed Consent

ICCA = Indigenous Peoples’ and Community Conserved Areas and Territories

IP = Indigenous People

LC = Local Community

NGO = Non-Governmental Organisations

RST = Resilience and Security Tool

Part 1: What are ICCAs

The term ‘ICCA’ was coined at the beginning of the 20th Century and defines ‘**Indigenous Peoples’ and Community Conserved Areas and Territories**’. It is now recognised within the United Nation’s EMRIP (Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples), the CBD (Convention on Biological Diversity) and IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature). IUCN defines ICCA as a fourth governance type within its [Protected Areas Matrix](#)¹.

In short they simply mean areas and territories actively protected, conserved and in some cases restored by the Indigenous Peoples (IPs) and/or Local Communities (LCs) who inhabit them. The term refers to specific sites, resources or species, voluntarily conserved through common values, practices, rules and institutions².

In a global context, there are **three criteria** to define an ICCA³:

- A **community closely connected** to a well-defined ecosystem (or to a species and its habitat) culturally and/or because of survival and dependence for livelihood
- The community is the major player in **decision-making (governance)** and implementation regarding the management of the site, implying that community institutions have the capacity to enforce regulations. Primary decision-making rests with the concerned community

Community management decisions and efforts lead to the conservation of the ecosystem’s habitats, species, ecological services and associated cultural values

ICCAs in Indonesia

Community control and management over natural resources, biodiversity, forest and coastal areas/sea have a long history of advocacy and conflict in Indonesia. Although the Indonesian Constitution recognizes in a broad sense *Masyarakat Adat*, for gaining the appropriate recognition they need for claiming rights to ICCAs there is still a very long way to go. Sectoral legislation like the Forestry Act, for example, is premised on the fact that forestland is public domain, but defines the requirements for a process of formal recognition of customary forests (*hutan adat*). Other legislation by the marine and fisheries Ministry goes further in securing the

¹ [IUCN’s Protected Area’s Matrix \(table\)](#) is a classification system for protected areas comprising management categories and governance types.

² For more information on ICCAs, visit www.iccaconsortium.org

³ This criteria comes from an ICCA Consortium companion document to [IUCN/CEESP Briefing Note No. 10, 2010](#)

recognition of the rights of *Masyarakat Adat* to natural resources and customary areas/territories. While the UN declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) has been voted by the government of Indonesia, it has not yet been ratified by the parliament and much deliberation, and even confusion within government, exists surrounding this⁴. At local levels, there exist various forms (decrees, local regulations) of ICCAs with Bunyau being a model case in point. An academic paper for the reform of the basic law on biodiversity conservation has been produced which proposes ICCAs as a 'form of community conservation outside the government system of protected areas'.

Bunyau case is just one example of the multiple ICCA types an archipelago extending for over 5,000 miles in width, with total a population estimated at 220 million has. Ranging from community-managed forests, to marine and wetland/swamp ecosystems managed by local and IPs, the scope of ICCAs is astounding. The term ICCA is a generic, global one. Thus, localised and context specific terminology is needed to define areas and territories conserved by IPs and LCs.

In October 2012, the ICCA Consortium, NTFP-EP and WWF Indonesia co-organised a '[Symposium on ICCAs](#)'. The event explored the current status of and the prospects, options and opportunities for ICCAs in Indonesia. It highlighted the need for forest tenure reform in the country and witnessed collaboration with and support from both the Indonesian government and the national NGOs dedicated to conservation, development and human and indigenous rights as fundamental to secure the future of ICCAs. It succeeded in highlighting the need for a national common vision on ICCAs in Indonesia.

Part 2: Grassroots Discussions and Resilience and Security Tool (RST)

The content of this report is a compilation of findings from Grassroots Discussions of May and June 2012 between Bunyau community members and a facilitation team involving individuals from NGOs [Swait Watch](#), [AMAN](#), [The ICCA Consortium](#), and [WWF Indonesia](#). Two visits took place: the first being a preliminary discussion with community members centred around criteria outlined in a Resilience and Security tool (RST); and the second involving further in-depth community discussions and the creation of a Photo Story (7 minute video) and the completion of a RST by Bunyau community.



Bunyau community members in a photography training session, June 2012

Input regarding Adat tenure in Indonesia comes from Christina Eghenter of WWF Indonesia who is currently work on ICCA issues in Indonesia.

A Photo Story is a short video (normally between 4-7 minutes) consisting of photos telling a story accompanied by running script and/or voice/music narration. Community members - sometimes facilitated by an NGO field team - create the Photo Story themselves and become the official Authors and Owners of the content. Bunyau community created their Photo Story, designed to accompany and compliment this report. Its purpose is to be an advocacy tool for Bunyau community, as it documents their rich ICCA and details how they are responding to major threats facing its survival and integrity. It also provides a *success story* for other communities facing similar issues, wishing to defend their ICCAs.

The [Bunyau Photo Story](#) is available within the [ICCA Consortium website](#) with links to other ICCA Photo Stories from Senegal, Niger, Spain, and the Philippines.

A RST is essentially a table of questions for IPs and LCs to answer in order to self-reflect and analyse potential, current or future internal and external threats facing their ICCA. This is of course voluntary and is generally community members themselves who facilitate the discussion sessions.

Due to time, economic and political restrictions, the RST process during the Bunyau case was unfortunately rushed. It is hoped members from West Kalimantan NGOs will return to Bunyau to facilitate a more in-depth RST discussion (LBBT and/or PPSDAK) and possibly Huma will conduct a Legal Review (needs assessment).

Part 3: Bunyau ICCA and its Community

Bukit Bunyau covers 4.619,42 hectares and is inhabited by Bunyau community comprising around two-hundred self-identified *Dayak Limbai Masyarakat Adat*. Bunyau territory is officially under *Kampung Bunyau* (Bunyau village) administration of *Dusun Bunyau* (Bunyau Hamlet), within the Melawi (formerly Sintang) district of West Kalimantan.



Map of Indonesia: Sintang District demarcated with blue triangle



Bunyau community members meet outside their community church on a regular basis for services or community discussions/voting sessions

History of Bunyau settlement

Dayak Limbai is one of the largest Dayak ethnic groups in West Kalimantan. According to Bunyau customary leaders and elders, the name of *Kampung Bunyau* derives from a name of tree called *Kayu Bunyau* (Bunyau Tree) whose fruit is like sawo fruit. There are no written records stating when Bunyau community was first established. However, thanks to stories passed orally from generation to generation it is thought the *Dayak Limbai* established their territory during the *Ngayau* (head-hunting) period, long before Dutch and Japan colonial times. References describe *Ngayau* as a traditional Dayak practice performed to show and protect superiority and dignity within communities. It is said to be a defence strategy to protect communities from threats of external groups or enemies. *Dayak Limbai* Bunyau community consider these historical references proof of their ancestor-ship to *Bukit Bunyau*.

Customary institution and leadership

Bunyau community members recognise and exercise indigenous governance systems both *de facto* and *de jure*. They recognise *adat* (customary) institution systems and leadership based on *Pemerintahan Ketemenggungan* (governance) which in turn is based on respected norms, customs and traditions. The governance system in Bunyau falls under a larger authority of the *Ketemenggungan Batas Nangka*. The diagram below represents the basic governance structure within Bunyau community. *Ketemenggungan* governance and authority cover large indigenous territories of ethnic groups comprising of several hamlets and villages.

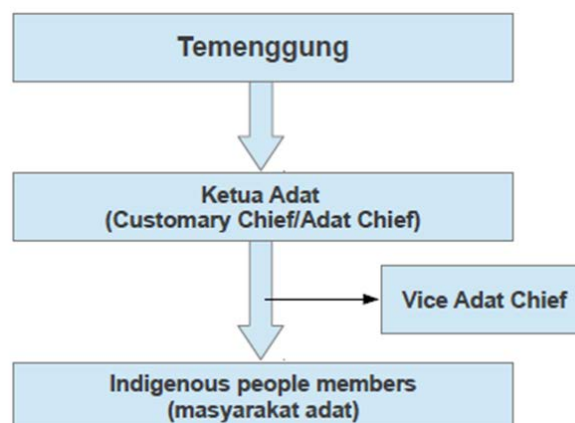


Diagram of governance structure within Bunyau community

Temenggung: a designated Adat governance jurisdiction (body of elders) holding authority over more than one territory/area extending over several villages and hamlets. The *Temenggung* takes and resolves *Perkara Adat* (customary affairs) which the *Ketua Adat* (customary chief) at the hamlet/village level is not able to resolve.

Ketua Adat: is at the hamlet/village level. He holds authority to deal with customs, norms and *Adat* laws within his hamlet/village. When *Ketua Adat* is absent or unable to participate, *Wakil Ketua Adat* (vice Adat Chief) generally assists in dealing with customs, norms and *Adat* laws.⁵

Formal institution (de jure)

As well as *Adat* customs and traditions under their own recognised customary governance institution, Bunyau community also recognise and apply a formal governance system known as *Pemerintahan Desa*. It is based on institutionally recognised regulations for village administration and is governed by a *Kepala Desa* (Village Head). Within that structure is a village Secretary, supporting staff and *Badan Permusyawaratan Desa* (Village Assembly Body), *Kepala Dusun* (head of smaller hamlets), and *Rukun Tetangga* (RT) or households/neighbourhood unit.

This *de jure* formal governance system is officially administered within *Kecamatan* (sub-district government authority), *Kabupaten* (district government authority), *Provinsi* (provincial government authority) and *Pemerintahan Pusat* (central/national government).

Customary laws and courts

Hukum adat (customary laws) are laws exercised and recognised by Bunyau community stipulating rules and provisions on appropriate social codes of conduct and relationships between community members as well as with their natural environment.



Bunyau Elders and children during a grassroots discussion in Bunyau church

5 See Hasil pertemuan tingkat kampung untuk memahami kebijakan tata ruang dalam upaya mendorong pengakuan hukum atas wilayah adat di Bunyau, 15-16 Februari 2012.

<i>Specific customary rules and norms (and laws)</i>	<i>English translation</i>
1. Adat pembunuhan (adat pati)	Murder or killing. Adat pati is also called adat nyawa (rule on life of .
2. Mengancam membunuh	Expressing threats (or warns) to kill somebody
3. Pencurian	Stealing. Taking someone's property illegally.
4. Perkelahian	Quarrelling. Fighting amongst associated community members or outsider(s).
5. Penganiayaan	Torture, mistreatment, maltreatment, molestation
6. Balang betunang	Cancelling engagement (cancelling promised to marry someone)
7. Cerai	Divorce.
8. Kerongkat kawin (jinah)	Adultery. Having sexual affairs or relationships out of recognised customary marriage.
9. Basa dusa	When someone is forcefully and/or intentionally doing something wrong that he/she knows that do it such action is wrong or against norms and/or customs. Amoral action.
10. Kesupan	Consequently causing or embarrassed his/her parents (father/mother) or family or the community at large.
11. Fitnah (pemungkal)	Accusing someone's committed mistakes or something wrong, for example, stealing someone's property yet in fact the accused person did nothing wrong. Defamation.
12. Sumpoh	The highest customary court level after customary court process at Temenggung level fails then both parties take a <i>sumpoh</i> to determine who is right and who is wrong in an action concerned. They believe with bless and guide from spirits of ancestors victory always with the right person or group.
13. Pemungkir janji	Undelivered promises. Broken promises
14. Perusakan pekarangan	Intentionally or unintentionally destroy or cause destroyed fruits, gardens
15. Menubo sungai	Rules or sanction against dangerous or unauthorised fishing
16. Sengketa tata batas	Land boundary (land boundaries) dispute(s)
17. Sengketa tanah	Land dispute(s)/conflict(s)
18. Perusakan dan perampasan hutan adat	Damaging and appropriation of customary forest (rima/hutan or jungle/forest)
19. Kebakaran tanam tumbuh atau kebun orang lain	Burning or action caused burnt someone's property, for example, garden of crops, fruits, vegetables, etc.
20. Beumo di tempat keramat/mali	Cultivate sacred sites. Farming is strictly prohibited in sacred sites.
21. Pelanggar kampung/wilayah adat	When people illegally or without permission entering or encroaching areas of customary jurisdiction

List of Adat laws in Bukit Bunyau community

Bunyau land tenure systems

Complex inter-generational land-use systems have developed in Bunyau community in order to support the community's livelihood needs. Such land-use systems are:

(1) **Umo or lading:** Bunyau community recognise *Umo Rima* (dry high farmland) and *huma tanah payak* (wet farmlands (low land/flat areas) as cultivation areas for fulfilling daily needs. *Umo* land is planted with rice corn, cassava, ubi jalar, kribang, sawi, labuk, eggplant, ginger, cucumber, and local rubber species.

(2) ***Babas/bawas***: areas prepared for regrowth of natural vegetation in order to eventually be cultivated in subsequent years. They leave *babas* land for as long as twelve years for maximum regrowth.

(3) ***Rima***: Jungle (primary forest) areas not cultivated but owned collectively by Bunyau community within the collective property of *Ketemenggungan* customary territory or a certain hamlet/village. All members of Bunyau community have the rights to access and utilise resources in *Rima* such as hunting animals, catching fish, collecting resins and *gaharu*, collecting timber for domestic construction materials, hand crafting materials, honeys, rattans, herbs for medicines, wood skin for erecting walls of huts and shelters.

(4) ***Gupung adat or temawang***: settlement areas planted with a variety of local edible fruit trees such as durian, rambutan, langsung, pegawai, rambai, kemayau, Tengawang and commercial rubber as well as many other indigenous crop trees. These areas also hold graves and sacred sites (*tanah mali*) of ancestors and great grandparents.

(5) ***Kebun karet***: areas containing community rubber gardens/plantations. Rubber fields span from 5 to up to 20 kilometres from Bunyau houses. Rubber tapping is one of the major income generating activities with one household earning to 1.5 to 4 million Rupiah a month (\$USD 150 – 400).

(6) ***Rasau/rawa***: areas with wet lowland cultivated and farmed as *Umo Rawa* (wetland) or *sawah* (paddy fields). The main source of carbohydrate comes from rice of which Bunyau community are heavily dependent and self-sufficient. They grow a number of local rice varieties.

(7) ***Tempat keramat***: sites within *Bukit Bunyau* with sacred value and *Adat* rituals are performed. The sacred site of *Natai Murao* is particularly famous locally with its two caves *Goa Bukong Bawah* and *Goa Bukong Atas* containing antique relics such as vases and cooking equipment. Bunyau community members believe the caves house magical spirits and deserve upmost respect from Bunyau community.

(8) ***Kawasan Kampung***: human settlement/village area of Bunyau including a church, school and house of the *Kepala Desa* (village head) who in turn acts as the ‘social glue’ keeping Bunyau community together.



Grandson and grandfather describing different uses of plants in ‘Umo’ areas

Bunyau Adat rules on protected areas, forests and livelihoods

Bukit Bunyau covers a wide range of landscape/ecosystem types of which Bunyau community have an agreed-upon process for managing. Resources within Bunyau customary territory are protected through clear boundary markers and names agreed upon between Bunyau community and neighbouring villages or hamlets.

In order to change or remove these boundaries, an agreed negotiation amongst both parties must be involved. Ensuring this equal process is the responsibility of the Village Head. If such

boundaries are breached or violated the perpetrators will be fined with customary sanction '*Pemungkir Janji*'⁶ and the boundary markers are put back to the origin site of the markers.

Part 4: External threats and Bunyau community responses

Bunyau community has managed natural resources in a sustainable manner for generations and have lived in relative peace up until the turn of the twenty-first century. *Bukit Bunyau*, highly rich in natural resources unfortunately means it is also highly sought after from private companies wishing to exploit and extract!

History of threats

Logging: In 2003, PT Maju Karya Kita logging company (PT MKK) unilaterally logged timbers from *Bukit Bunyau* without the Free, Prior or Informed Consent (FPIC) of Bunyau community. Community members saw this as a violation of their rights and decided on a 'direct action strategy'. They initially requested PT MKK immediately leave the area. The company wholly ignored this continuing with their exploits, against the will of Bunyau community members. The Community thus held a planning meeting and devised a strategic plan of action.



Bunyau community members come together to plan their 'direct action strategy'

During this period, they staged a series of 'sit in' campaigns where they literally sat on the logged wood and refused to move. Eventually the logging company were forced to leave the area.



Bunyau community members' launch a 'sit in' campaign upon the illegally logged wood within their Bukit Bunyau

⁶ All customary norms and rules are stipulated within the *Pemungkir Janji*.

Mining in 2004: two mining companies PT Sumber Gas Sakti and PT Mekanika Utama carried out field surveys and feasibility assessments in *Bukit Bunyau* and *Bukit Kerapas* (neighbouring village). Bunyau community members opposed this and stood united against the mining operations. Using their *Adat* laws and with the help of Bunyau's Pastor Romo Ubin, the community, amazingly enough fined the companies! They had carried out survey activities without appropriate consultation or consent from Bunyau community members: Bunyau's territorial ancestors. Bunyau community received a compensation of 600 Million Rupiah (\$USD 60,000). This was a great victory for Bunyau community. It also represents the power united community action can have and provides an inspiring example for many other communities to learn from.



Illegal mining projects along the main river leading to Bukit Bunyau

On-going mining threats: despite their 2004 victory, seven coal-mining companies have now secured exploration survey permits from the *Bupati* (head of the district). According to the Decree of the Bupati Melawi No.355 2006 mining companies with permits are: PT Duta Makasar Mining (20.000 ha), PT Louis Josua Internasional Mining (10.000 ha), PT Makasar Megah Mining (20.000 ha), PT Grand U Fullerton Successful (10.000 ha), PT Melawi Rimba Mineral (25.000 ha), PT Sumber Rezki Lestari (2.500 ha), and PT Sindo Resources (4.000 ha).

Bunyau community members are currently fighting to oppose these mining permits. Their chief struggle lies within local legislation and proving they are the rightful, traditional owners of Bukit Bunyau.

As of yet, these companies have not entered their *Bukit Bunyau*. However, the area planned for these permits is very close to *Bukit Bunyau* territory and could easily encroach onto that land. Bunyau community need continued legal empowerment and support in this regard.

Oil palm plantations: thus far, three companies have secured approximately 10.000 hectares each from the local district authorities. The company operators are PT Satria Manunggal Sejahtera (PT SMS) is subsidiary of BW Plantation group, PT Bintang Permata Khatulistiwa (PT BPK), and PT Citra Mahkota (PT CM) . Similar to the case of mining permits, these applications do not fall onto *Bukit Bunyau* territory but surround its borders. Based on interviews with community members, many of them feel a great urgency in ensuring these permits do not enter their *Bukit Bunyau*. Very little information is available as to when permits were issued and awarded to the holding companies and there is a high degree of secrecy in disclosing this information. Bunyau community have plans to lobby to make these companies transparent with sharing their plans, but appear to have a long way to go.

Part 5: Internal threats and problems

Small-scale gold mining: some community members partake in gold mining activities in areas where it is permitted, particularly during times of undue economic pressures on the community. They are operating only in four hectares of land of which Bunyau people have rights in mining activities in the area. Mining activities are allowed but strictly limited in areas of degraded grasslands. Bunyau community laws insist these mining activities must not go beyond these designated areas. The RST discussions with community members highlighted mixed views on the issue. The larger proportion believe the environmental pollution this form of industry creates far outweighs the insignificant economic gain. In order to extract gold, one must use mercury and other harmful substances which in turn enters water systems causing irrevocable damage to peoples' health and the surrounding ecosystems.

Rather than mine for gold, Bunyau community members are encouraged by community elders to pursue more environmental and socially friendly livelihood options, like the harvesting of NTFPs such as rubber and breeding and selling cattle as well as growing rice and various fruit varieties.

Grassland fires: approximately two hectares of grassland were recently burnt in 2012. The RST discussions revealed some discord within the community as to why such fires occurred. Bunyau community customary laws normally prohibit such burning, except for burning fields during rice farming seasons every July to August. They are strongly motivated to reforest and restore currently degraded lands and grasslands (alang-alang) by planting rubber and fruit trees in order to lessen the risk of wild fires.⁷

Agrochemical application: community members sometimes use agrochemicals to control weeds and pests in their farming and rubber fields. During discussions, concerns were raised particularly by women members regarding health impacts of agrochemical exposure to breast-feeding mothers who spray in their rice farms and rubber fields.⁸ *Roundup* is a trademark chemical used due to its effectiveness in controlling weeds and grass. Bunyau community is thus faced with the challenge of: *how to explore concerns and problems of persistent agrochemical application as well as promote alternatives and educational programmes aimed at gradually reducing and eliminating hazardous pesticides, herbicides and other agrochemicals?*

Unclear future leadership (unconnected roles of young people): Bunyau community elders are deeply aware of the challenges and temptations put onto Bunyau youth members. They are highly supportive however of youth members studying outside of Bunyau and see education, particularly knowledge relating to legal systems and human rights as a pathway to protecting their *Bukit Bunyau*. They just hope



Young Bunyau kids posing after a Grassroots Discussion

⁷ Quoted from Pak Alexander, Pemimpin Umat Katolik (church leaders)

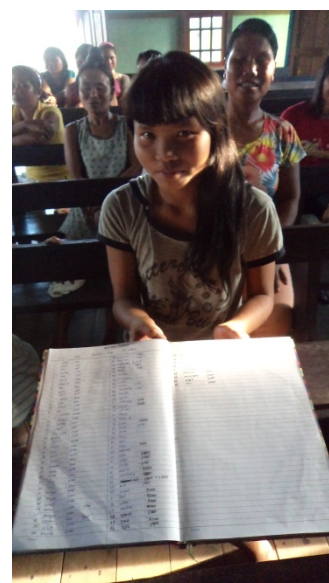
⁸ Bapak Odong Maman frankly shares his concern on wide application of agrochemicals in particular *Roundup*. This is also confirmed by participating women (among 4) during the discussion

they will eventually return to Bunyau and “put their knowledge into practice.”⁹

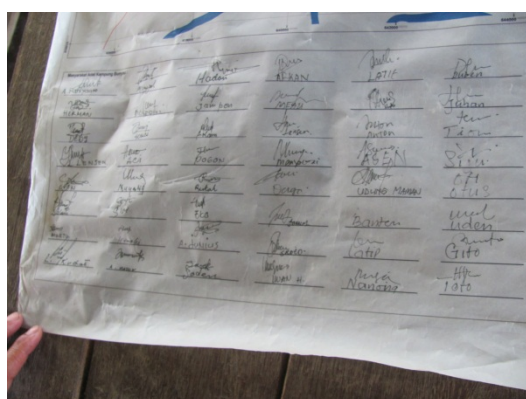
Strong internal recognition but weak governance: there is a lack of documentation of events which have led to the effective implementation of Bunyau community’s territory *Adat* regulation. As external threats and internal threats increase, it is crucial this information is documented as a means for better proving/fighting their cases.

To counteract some of these threats, Bunyau community have:

1. **Started a community fund.** Each household gives 5,000 rupiah per month which is put into a community pot. This money will then be used when and if the need for documentation/direct action arises I.e to buy a camera or transport costs to visit a congressional hearing (as was the case with the wining compensation over the logging applications).
2. **Created GIS maps of their *Bukit Bunyau*** with the facilitation of NGOs LBBT and PPSDAK. These maps document, using GIS coordinates the boundaries of Bunyau, the multiple land uses (as described above) and contain community signatures ratifying this.
3. **Created a photo story** to document their ICCAs designed for Bunyau community to share their story both at the local and international level. The [Bunyau Photo Story](#) is available within the ICCA Consortium website and social media pages. It was presented during a presentation, by an ICCA Consortium representative (and Photo Story facilitator) at a UNDP event during the [CBD COP-11](#) (Convention on Biological Diversity Conference of the Parties).



Bunyau village girl shows community funds ‘record book’



Community signatures on bottom of GIS Bukit Bunyau map



GIS map of Bukit Bunyau created by Bunyau community and facilitated by NGOs LBBT and PPSDAK (West Kalimantan)

4. **Registered their *Bukit Bunyau*** within the global [ICCA Registry of UNEP-WCMC](#) (United Nations World Conservation Monitoring Centre). The Registry is an on-line database of ICCAs¹⁰.

⁹ Quote from a discussion with village elders regarding the youth of Bunyau studying outside of Bunyau.

Part 6: Next steps

Bunyau community now need a legal review or legal assessment of laws relating to their ICCA.

In Indonesia, legal and non-legal recognition and support for ICCAs is highly insufficient for IPs and LCs. A Legal Review would need to investigate the binding and non-binding provisions within the Indonesian legal system for the rights of LCs and IP to their ancestral lands (ICCAs). It would also consider the positive aspects of the Indonesian legal system, particularly for West Kalimantan and what Bunyau community can utilise in the legal system to ensure the protection of their *Bukit Bunyau*. The Review should also highlight how IPs and LCs are still routinely denied rights to their ICCAs and how under-recognized and under-supported they are by state agencies and other key actors. It is hoped this Review might propose recommendations for the Indonesian government to better recognise IPs and LC rights to their ICCAs.

The review might also encourage governments, development and environment agencies to better apply human rights standards in their engagements with IPs and LCs by upholding substantive rights and respecting procedural rights such as FPIC whilst also recognizing *Adat* authorities and laws. The Review, as well as the content in this report could also inform the Indonesian government regarding issues of land restitution and reform programmes, programmes which can significantly contribute to IPs and LCs rights over their territories and resources. Finally, the Review could also feed into the wider objective of forming a well-organized alliance, federation or organisation in support of ICCAs in Indonesia.

Annexes

Annex 1: Completed Resilience and Security tool by Bunyau community

Internal factors

Connection between the IP/LC and the ICCA

ICCA's cultural, spiritual and other non-material values appreciated by the community as evidenced by the ICCA being part of their worldview and identity and/or being culturally or religiously important

Bunyau community members self-identify themselves as *Dayak Limbai* IPs within *Bukit Bunyau* customary territory. They celebrate *Dayak Gawai* day every 1 June: a thanksgiving day for good harvests considered as a time to plan for the new farming season. Celebrations involve singing traditional Dayak songs and drinking rice wine whilst giving thanks for fertile soils, clean watersheds and plentiful life-giving forests.

Bunyau community practice Roman Catholicism whilst also integrating indigenous *Dayak* myths, traditional knowledge and orally-transmitted stories into their belief systems. They believe there is an innate balance with nature and the cosmos, manifesting in *Gawai* rites. The Bunyau community believe *Dayak Gawai* festivals were practiced long before the Dutch and Japanese rule.

¹⁰ The ICCA Registry can be accessed by visiting: www.iccaregistry.org

One Bunyau community Elder expressed his relationship to his *Bukit Bunyau*:

“Land is the breast-feeder to human beings: the same as a mother. Our forest is for construction material, our land for farming, and water for drinking. No land = no life.”

Bunyau community believe their customary laws and regulations help maintain *Bukit Bunyau*’s cosmic balance. Almost all internal problems are solved through their customary law system with no cases/problems having yet been brought to the police or sub-district. Rather, all problems are dealt with via the Bunyau customary leader (currently Pak Aswan having held this position for over ten years now) elected and approved by the community.

The *Permadali* law (persatuan masyarakat adat dayak Limbai) represents a collective agreement that communal assets cannot be surrendered or sold by any individual to outsiders. If such transactions happen, the actor(s) are punished and/or fined according to the Bunyau customary law system.

ICCA’s values for the conservation of biological diversity appreciated by the community, as evidenced by endemic species & ecosystem functions being well known & appreciated/ protected.

One of the chief concerns of Bunyau community is **ensuring clean drinking water** is available for all community members. They believe if extractive and commercial companies enter *Bukit Bunyau* (described within this report) their water systems, which they heavily rely on will become polluted. At the heart of *Bukit Bunyau* lies a number of magnificent waterfalls and naturally formed, small reservoirs. If such companies enter the area, their construction work is planned to take place at the heart of these water systems. This would most likely result in Bunyau community members having to buy water, an expense the community cannot afford.

To ensure livelihood stability, **conserving and enhancing *Bukit Bunyau*’s biological diversity** is an extreme concern for Bunyau community. According to them, if there is a drought for a year the rivers and streams will continue to flow. They attribute this to their forest: a natural water storage and purifying system. They drink water directly from *Bukit Bunyau* streams and rivers as currently there is no pollution coming from upstream areas.

There is an intricate sacred system within *Bukit Bunyau* waterfalls (*Cahai*). The first level *cahai* is ***Cahai Teluk Birah*** reaching about 25 meters high and 8 metres wide. The second is ***Cahai Nanga Sungai Tengawang*** about 15 meters high and around 8 metres wide. The third is ***Cahai Tampuk Bunyau*** reaching around 200 metres high and 8 meters wide. These waterfalls are situated within dense jungle (*rimba*) of *Bukit Bunyau*. They are protected and highly revered by Bunyau community and it is believed **ancestral spirits (*petapa*)** reside there.

There are **prohibitions and taboos** relating to entering the forest:

- ‘Do not grill fish within the forest as this can cause a headache or death’;
- ‘Never dry a wet shirt over fire as it shows lack of respect to invisible forest dwellers/spirits’;
- ‘Never hit a tree with a hole in its wood as this might annoy the invisible, indwelling forest

spirits’;

- ‘If you lose something, do not go back for it or you will be lost in the forest jungle forest forever¹¹’;
- ‘When you drink or eat always give something to the jungle dwellers known locally as *Punan Uwut* or *Gana Rimo*.’

ICCA’s subsistence & economic values appreciated by the community. Does the ICCA provide food and water sources, income and/or protection from environmental disasters?

Thanks to *Bukit Bunyau*’s abundant natural resources, Bunyau community is 80% self-sufficient. Community members harvest NTFPs (Non-Timber Forest Products) including rubber, rattan and wild honey. They report 15 to 20 types of *umbuts* (root vegetables), 8 bamboo sprout types and fifty fruit varieties grow within *Bukit Bunyau*. They raise cattle and grow a range of crops from rice, vegetables and other cereals to self-sustain themselves, sell at local markets or barter with neighbouring communities.

There are four water streams (*Langir, Adau, Bunyau and Tapal*) divided for paddy field irrigation and community water consumption including washing, bathing and drinking. They provide a crucial social function within Bunyau community as much of the washing and socialising is done here, particularly with women community members.

Age of relationship between the ICCA and the community.

According to Bapak Sondui (89 years old) Bunyau community have existed before the Dutch colonial period began (turn of 17th Century), inhabited by five families living in four long houses. They wore only loincloth (*cawat*) from the bark fibre of plants (*kulit kepuak*). There is no written or concrete evidence recording when the first Bunyau community members inhabited this area. Bapak Sondui’s opinion is therefore based on Bunyau history passed down orally from generation to generation.

What is the strength of the relationship between *Bukit Bunyau* ICCA and Bunyau community?

Bukit Bunyau ICCA is the heart of Bunyau community. Their village is contained within it and their livelihoods are 80% dependent on it.

Each family is allocated a share of land with all community members involved in maintaining *Bukit Bunyau*. This responsibility is known as *barariari* and involves maintaining rubber farms, lowland rice farms, dry rice fields, harvesting crops and other NTFPs whilst also maintaining water irrigation systems. Four men’s working groups known as *gotong royong* exist to coordinate this.

11 A law according to Alexander, Pemimpin Umat Katolik in Bunyau, recorded during an interview in *Bukit Bunyau* forest with Vanessa Reid, June 2012.

Governance of the ICCA (External Factors)

ICCA decision-making valued & respected by the community, as evidenced by **strong ICCA-related institutions, champions and leaders**

Bunyau community has a strict and intricate system for decision-making. See *Peraturan Adat Kampung Bunyau Tentang Pengelolaan Wilayah* Appendix 2.

What is the community engagement in decision-making?

Decisions affecting community members are made at either weekly or monthly community meetings held within Bunyau community church.

Bunyau community congregated to make a collective agreement for rejecting the planned commercial operations of PT Makasar Mega Mining, PT Maju Karya Kita (MKK), Kelompok Tani Bukit Kencana, and PT Citra Mahkota (an oil palm company). All community members approved this decision and signed letter with many community members giving their fingerprints.

The community have created a communal fund for emergency campaigns if and/or when their Bukit Bunyau is threatened. Each family contributes 5,000 Rupiah (approx. USD \$0.50) per month towards the fund.

Community cohesion and solidarity, as evidenced by a sense of common identity, mutual help and respect

Bunyau community exercises *gotong royong* (mutual aid/collective work) by establishing a *Kerja Kelompok* (community work) which all, bar exceptions, community members conduct. Community members say this helps ensure a sense of community comradeship and cohesion.

When a family member passes away, at his or her funeral donations and contributions are given to the grieving family, most commonly in the form of money, rice, coffee and sugar and community members partake in rituals for the deceased. Pak Udong, a village elder remarked, “*we believe collective efforts and power is far greater than serving just your individual interests and needs.*”

Effective enforcement of rules, as evidenced by local rules concerning a variety of aspects of community life (not only the ICCA) being well-known and respected

There are a number of strict rules and regulations existing within Bunyau community ranging from the ways in which an individual is expected to act to laws pertaining to land and trespassers. Sexual relationships outside of wedlock are perceived to be amoral and unacceptable in Bunyau community with certain penalties for the perpetrators.

Transparency and accountability, as evidenced by:

1. information on local decision-making readily available;
2. technical archives and financial accounting readily available;
3. evaluations regularly performed;

4. Community is free and competent to discuss ICCA management issues.

Copies of information on local decision-making is readily available to all those who wish to see it. Technical archives and financial accounting is also readily available (managed by village Treasurer). During an interview, Bunyau community members stated any activities/actions pertaining to collective decisions making are always recorded.

Conservation of nature and sustainable livelihoods

Status of ecosystems in the ICCA, as evidenced by indicators such as integrity of forest areas; status of soil; quality and quantity of freshwater in and from the ICCA; abundance and vigour of endemic biodiversity.

The forest and jungle areas are intensely dense with 'out of bounds' areas delineated. The soil is extremely fertile and community members state they have no major problems with producing crops in this soil. One hectare in a normal growing cycle reportedly produces about 1 tonne of rice. The water system comes from a series of waterfalls (as previously described) to which Bunyau community are dependent upon. Thus far, the water system served the community well and it is clean enough. However, some women members, during this grassroots discussion, spoke of the emerging problems some modern cleaning fluids are starting to produce – such as dirty water and some skin problems such as rashes.

One significant issue is the many illegal gold mines located in the main river leading to Bunyau. Extracting gold is a highly toxic process using chemicals like Mercury which in turn pollute nearby water supplies and enters fish and surrounding agricultural crops and food supplies.

Bunyau community hunt seasonally both as a social activity and for nutritional reasons. They catch wild pig, deer, bear, snakes, kijang (deer), terenggiling (protected), bats, etc. Fish is still one of the main protein sources for Bunyau community as well as the occasional monkey (normally the kelempiau species), and some tingang birds.

Status of ecosystems in the surroundings of the ICCA, as evidenced by indicators such as the ones noted above in areas bordering with the ICCA.

Bunyau community have managed to maintain the status of their Bukit Bunyau to a very high standard, allowing them to live almost 80% sustainably from NTFP's and the wild animals in and around the forest. The status of the surrounding ecosystem is far more worrying however and poses a potential threat to Bukit Bunyau. Illegal gold mines populate the rivers leading to Bunyau whilst logging concessions line the surrounding banks of those rivers. Local farmers have also started using cheap pesticides and fertilisers this past twenty years of which Bunyau community are concerned will eventually spread to their own soil and pollute their water supplies.

Quality of livelihoods for the community governing the ICCA, as evidenced by material indicators, e.g. food sovereignty, wealth per capita, public health, but also non-material

indicators, e.g. internal solidarity and sense of satisfaction and well-being.

Due to the set-up of Bunyau community – being 80% self-sufficient from their Bukit Bunyau – one could argue the community have food sovereignty. There have been no recorded cases where the community had hunger issues. Even during a famine in 1965, a plague of locust in 2006 and numerous droughts over the years – some lasting up to eight months – the community managed to sell rice and live-off stored food supplies/NTFPs.

Wealth per capita ranges from 800, 000 Rupiah (80 USD) to 4 million Rupiah (400 USD) per month, per household from rubber tapping. Considering Bunyau community is able to collect most of its food from the forest, this means community members are able to save some money each month as personal capital. Bunyau community members reported that overall they believe their health is in good condition with no endemic health problems. The most common health threats comes from diarrhoea, malaria, and a local disease known as ‘cikungunya’. Many women reported their increasing concern with their water supplies becoming contaminated due to community members using the same water supply for multiple purposes, such as washing food and plates in the same river as people bathing and brushing their teeth. They believe this is due to the recent use of soaps, detergents and toothpaste in the water.

In terms of non-material indicators, they believe there is internal solidarity and sense of satisfaction and well-being within their community.

Internal threats

Extent of community members migrating outside the areas

Many community members are now migrating to the closest town Nangapinoh (three hours speed-boat ride away) for school and economical purposes. Village elders expressed their deep concern that the youth of Bunyau are not well informed or particularly interested in learning or understanding Bunyau’s rules and customary laws. Many of the young people now have access to internet via their mobile phones, which some elders believe is the cause of their disinterest.

Evidence of rapid cultural change related to national assimilation policies, influences of globalization, education curricula disrespectful of customary values and institutions, changing ethnic composition because of extensive migration, etc.

Bunyau community are now exposed to the internet via mobile phones. This has led to an introduction of popular culture and music, particularly via social media platforms such as Facebook into Bunyau culture. Learning Indonesian is mandatory for children at school which has apparently lead to children talking Indonesian together and not their local language. An imposed unilateral village administration system is increasingly being ‘introduced’ within the Sintang region which, according to Bunyau community, weakens local political units and governance systems within customary institutions. Language carries cultural values within its histories and stories. Considering that Indonesian is predominating, this is greatly influencing age-old cultural values and practices of which many elders fear their youth could forget.

Evidence of rapid changes in economic lifestyles and aspirations

Lifestyles are changing. Luxuries lifestyle through mobilisation in communication and transportation. Majority of the people own mobile phones. This shows that information and communication technology bring about consequences to cultural dynamic. They are connected to external interaction. There are about 30% of the Bunyau population own motorbikes. Such changes were weak in directly changing the language, values and concepts of the Bunyau people. These change don't transform directly culture, customary laws and values.

Evidence of political/ social fragmentation, as revealed by political and social differences well apparent within the community

During the grassroots discussions community members stated political differences are not apparent, or at-least do not cause any notable conflicts within the community. They claim to be united by common social and political objectives based upon adat (customary) laws and institutions.

Please note: The community did not expand a great deal on this subject possibly due to its contentious nature. Grassroots facilitators felt this subject needed to be discussed in greater detail during a later visit.

External factors

Tenure and recognition

ICCA recognised and respected by neighbouring communities

Overall, neighbouring communities recognise Bunyau communities tenure rights over Bukit Bunyau. There are however more complex unresolved and contested interpretations regarding the valid application of sanctions to those outsiders violating Bunyau customary laws. Their indigenous Dayak Limbai brothers from Oyah and Terapa Mawan (other villages) currently disagree with some of the monetary sanctions imposed by Bunyau community.

Collective territorial, land, water and natural resource rights (ownership and/or use) recognised by civil society in general and national/ international NGOs, e.g. through provision of support and public acknowledgement and respect

Bukit Bunyau is recognised as 'Wilayah Adat' (a form of ICCA) by NGOs in West Kalimantan – [LBBT](#), [PPSDAK](#), and [Aman Kalimantan Barat](#). All three of these NGOs have previously helped Bunyau community with advocacy relating to defending their customary rights to their Bukit Bunyau in the face of mining, logging and palm oil company applications. Bunyau still struggles with official recognition from the national government and is currently in search of ways to obtain this formal recognition. They believe that international bodies such as the UN or international NGOs such as the Consortium can help Bunyau community gain the recognition through the global movement of recognising ICCAs.

ICCA status formally recognised in state law and policy

Currently, legislation is unclear with regards to supporting and recognising Wilayah Adat and other forms of indigenous conserved areas. According to many IP rights NGO in Indonesia, the government still does appropriately recognise customary and/or local institutions and does not help to enforce customary laws and locally-agreed rules. Rather, both Bunyau community and the local NGOs (previously mentioned) believe the local and national government actually tries to impose and promote government-supported commercial interests in the form of logging, mining and oil palm plantations.

Recently Bunyau community representatives approached and lobbied district government in Nangapinoh (the closest city in West Kalimantan). They called on the government to recognise indigenous rights, greater authority to manage and control their customary territory, and urge government authorities stops issuing business permits against the wishes of their people.

External Factors: balance between demanded and received support

Political support from outsiders, e.g., advocacy by outside actors for the rights of the community.

Bunyau community have received advocacy support via the Catholic Church in the form of local Pastors frequenting the area helping the community form advocacy campaigns. Other advocacy support has come from a neighbouring village collective known as JAKA (Jaringan Komunikasi Antar Kampung), as well as NGOs such as Permadali (Union of Indigenous Dayak Limbai), LBBT, [the Pontianak Institute](#), [HuMA](#), PPSDAK, Kalimantan Review, [WALHI](#), [JATAM](#), AMAN Kalbar, [the TIFA Foundation](#) and the ICCA Consortium. The community report they welcomed these advocacy efforts in the hope they might contribute towards supporting Bunyau community defend their ICCA. They are aware of the unique biological and cultural wealth their almost 5,000 hectare Bukit Bunyau contains and thus appreciate why advocacy groups want to help them in their struggle to defend it. The community has thus far been open and receptive to outside help: which can be considered as both a blessing and a cure depending on who the 'helpers' might be.

Economic support from outsiders, e.g., in terms of financial resources and/or in kind support provided to the community for a variety of initiatives

As of yet, Bunyau community have received no support funds or contributions from outside sources. LBBT (a local NGO) supports Bunyau community via in kind contributions of helping with advocacy campaigns for over the past fifteen years. Other NGOs such as Huma and WAHLI have provided legal support and advice. Bunyau have received government sponsored Bantuan Langsung Tunai (cash aid funds) and their fuel has been subsidised due to the increased inflation of fuel costs the past decade.

Technical support from outside actors, e.g. for biodiversity inventories, legal advice, etc.

Technical support for Bunyau community was absent from the district and provincial authorities. LBBT therefore conducted paralegal training whilst PPSDAK conducted participatory mapping. The

participatory map they helped Bunyau community produce describes and defines land-use within Bunyau territory:

1) Bawas (fallow lands)	: 2.025,35 ha
2) Karet (rubber)	: 881,68 ha
3) Padang ilalang (grassland)	: 293,74 ha
4) Pemukiman (settlement)	: 3,92 ha
5) Rasau/Rawa (wet lowlands)	: 334,50 ha
6) Rimba (jungle/forest)	: 746,32 ha
7) Sawah (wet paddy fields)	: 333,91 ha
Total	: 4.619,42 ha

Cultural recognition, e.g., understanding and respect of the cultural and identity values motivating the community

Customary (adat) laws forms the backbone how Bunyau conducts itself as a community. These laws are not taught within the school curricula but are practiced and 'passed-down' via community interaction and decision-making.

Recognition of (Masyarakat Adat) Indigenous Peoples rights is a complex and still highly controversial issue within Indonesia. The Indonesian Constitution give conditional recognition to Masyarakat Adat under specific conditions. For a community to prove they officially qualify as Masyarakat Adat, they must demonstrate they:

- (1) live in a distinct cultural group (pagguyuban),
- (2) have occupied and managed customary territory for a specific amount of time,
- (3) exercise customary institutions and systems, and
- (4) shall be recognised under local legislative act (Peraturan Daerah).

For most communities, Bunyau included, providing written evidence of all the four above is not possible. The lack of recognition and currently weakening of indigenous authorities is daily making it harder to Masyarakat Adat to prove their cases. It is down to the discretion of the Indonesian government who unilaterally determine if certain tribes of native indigenous people still exist and if they are 'worthy' of this title.

The key issue lies around the right to self-determination, or the lack thereof within Indonesia. Article 1 of the 'International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights' the Government of the Republic of Indonesia declared "the right of self-determination...does not apply to a section of people within a sovereign independent state and can not be construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of

sovereign and independent states." ¹²

External threats

Major economic forces coveting the ICCA, including for extractive industries, the development of major infrastructure, mass tourism, industrial fishing and agriculture, biofuels, conservation initiatives, etc.

'Development' plans from extractive industries is the key threats facing Bukit Bunyau today. It is the very companies from extractive industries whom Bunyau community have been fighting against the past fifteen years.

Currently there are planned expansions for mining, logging, and oil palm plantations within the Bukit Bunyau zone. The direct action Bunyau community took is outlined in depth earlier in this report.

According to Bunyau community, twenty years ago there was no threat to their Bukit Bunyau. However, in 2002 a logging company arrived in the area "exploiting a local cooperative in order to manipulate community members and persuade us to agree to their plans."¹³

Although Bunyau community have thus been successful in saying a resolute no to mining, logging and oil palm plantation companies wishing to extract, some permits have been issued for the companies – by the local authorities – which overlap with Bukit Bunyau creating conflicts regards Bunyau's right to land.

Settlers, migrants and refugees coveting the ICCA's land and resources

There is no influx of settlers, migrants or refugees to Bunyau area as there are no large towns/cities around or commercial opportunities. This could well be a future threat however as Bukit Bunyau is extremely rich in natural resources. It is therefore crucial Bunyau community maintain customary laws and local governance systems.

Major environmental threats to the ICCA, such as pollution, widespread invasive species or current/ expected severe effects of climate change.

There are no major signs of climate change currently affecting the environment of Bukit Bunyau. The chief environmental threats come from:

- Pollution of Bunyau water systems come from chemicals the community uses such as

¹²With reference to Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia declares that, consistent with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States, and the relevant paragraph of the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action of 1993, the words "the right of self-determination" appearing in this article do not apply to a section of people within a sovereign independent state and can not be construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent states."

¹³ A quote from a village Elder (who wishes to remain anonymous for this quote).

cleaning fluids like washing powder and bleach as well as toothpaste and soaps;

- Mercury pollution from gold mining in the main river which leads to Bukit Bunyau. Gold mining is a highly toxic process which not only releases huge quantities of Mercury into the river, but also dirties the water endangering the health of those daily dependent upon the river and the gold mine workers also. Bunyau believe toxicants from gold mining are leaking into Bunyau land and the river is no longer safe for catching fish. There is also a threat that the young members of Bunyau might become increasingly 'lured-in' to this industry, thus impacting their health and their connection to their cultural heritage and understanding of Adat practices of farming and self-sufficiency.
- Bunyau community farmers have begun using some agrochemicals for their rubber and rice paddy crops, known as *Roundup*. Still used on a small scale, it appears they are not aware of the environmental impacts these chemicals can cause.

Threats to the ICCA related to war, violent conflicts and crime, such as because of guerrilla and counterinsurgency operations in the area

There is currently no reported guerrilla or counterinsurgency in the area. There is increasing tensions however between Bunyau community members and the local government authorities. Community members believe the local government does not support them, but is focused more on trying to issue permits to extractive industries and oil palm companies to enter the area and start extracting/planting. The community believe the local government benefits financially if they issue permits to these large, often multinational companies.

Appendix 2 - Bunyau customary territory participatory map



Appendix 3 - Chronology of efforts taken by Bunyau people to stop logging company and cooperative

This is a long chronology in Indonesian (about 10 scanned pages)...is it necessary to include?

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