

WHY TRADITIONAL LEADERS SUCCEED IN FIGHTING INDIGENOUS FOREST?: THE CASE OF *DATUK SINARO PUTIH* TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY

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Abstract

This article focuses on the study of the reasons why traditional leaders succeeded in obtaining customary forests. This study reveals how customary leaders carry out efforts and lobby and convince local governments to establish their customary forests on a formal legal basis so that their customary forests can be protected. Interviews were conducted with traditional and community leaders in the Datuk Sinaro Putih area, the board of the customary forest management institution, the Datuk Sinaro Putih customary forest mapping team from the Bungo Regency Government, and KKI Warsi. The success of the traditional leaders of the indigenous peoples of Datuk Sinaro Putih is due to the affiliation of actors within the indigenous peoples themselves in fighting for the recognition of customary forests. Meanwhile, the external factor is KKI Warsi's total role in advocating for indigenous peoples in lobbying the local government, the Regional People's Representative Assembly, and the media.

Keywords: customary leaders, indigenous forests, customary people, actor

Introduction

Datuk Sinaro Putih community is a Customary Law Community: there are customary institutions, jurisdictions, and there are institutions that still collect forest products in the surrounding forest area (Dewi, 2014). Currently, the community members live in three administrative villages: Batu Kerbau, Dusun Baru, and Lubuk Telau. Datuk Sinaro Putih is the ancestor of the third person in the village. Datuk comes from the Minangkabau region (Adnan et al (eds.), 2008). Datuk Sinaro Nan Putih and his entourage came from the Pagaruyung kingdom (Minangkabau Kingdom) in the 14th century. The group's journey was carried out to trace the trail of Cindur Mato (the legendary figure of the Pagaruyung kingdom, Minangkabau), starting from Pagaruyung through the Kerinci realm, circling to Air Liki, and entering Batang Napat around Mount

Rantau Bayur (Adnan et al (eds.), 2008). So the indigenous people of Datuk Sinaro Putih have lived there for hundreds of years, there is no definite data when Datuk Sinaro Putih came there (Ridwan, 2019).

In Indonesia, to obtain recognition from the government for the right of land-based on customary, the customary law community must have legalization of its existence issued by the district government. Moreover, the acknowledgment of Datuk Sinaro Putih's existence was officially obtained in 2006 which is stated in Bungo regency regulation No. 3/2006 concerning *Datuk Sinaro Putih* customary law community. The territory of Datuk Sinaro Putih Indigenous Community includes Baru Pelepat, Batu Kerbau, and Lubuk Telau. All of them are located in Pelepat District, Bungo Regency. PIn 2017, they obtained the Decree of the Minister of Environment and

Forestry Number 5254/MENLHK-PSKL/PKTHA/PSL.1/10/2017 as the central government's mapping of customary forests for the Batu Kerbau and Pelepat communities.

This article focuses on the study of the reasons why traditional leaders succeeded in obtaining indigenous forests. Thus, this study reveals how customary leaders carry out efforts and lobby and convince local governments to establish their customary forests on a formal legal basis so that their customary forests can be protected.

Method

The research was conducted in Dusun Batu Kerbau and Dusun Baru Pelepat, and Lubuk Telau, Pelepat District, Bungo Regency. The villages are the territory of the Datuk Sinaro Putih people. The villages are the center of the sustainability of Datuk Sinaro Putih's customs. This research is qualitative, so it is hoped that an overview of the role, service, quality, social reality, and perception of the research target will be raised without being polluted by formal measurements (Sugiyono, 2018). Data were collected from interviews with traditional leaders or figures and communities in the Datuk Sinaro Putih area, the board of the customary forest management institution, Datuk Sinaro Putih customary forest mapping team from the Bungo Regency Government, and KKI Warsi. Data were analyzed, interpreted, and discussed with previous research studies relevant to the topic of this research.

Results

The head of a village government is led by a called Rio. In terms of managing his society or a formal structure of a village, the government is fully led by a Rio. Meanwhile, in the field of customs or tradition, it is led by Datuk Sinaro Putih. In other words, all forms of social problems in the custom will be resolved by Datuk Sinaro Putih. So, Rio as the leader in the three villages and Datuk Sinaro Putih are interconnected diametrically in controlling the government (Ridwan, 2018).

Nowadays, the authority of Datuk Sinaro Putih Community over their customary land has been reduced. Villages in the area of the customary law community of Datuk Sinaro Putih lost their

rights of the land. The district government issued Forest Tenure Rights (HPH) over forest areas covered the village. Any kinds of persuasion or persuasive ways were carried out by large corporations to make Datuk Sinaro Putih as the Customary Stakeholder wanted to release his customary forest area to the company, but he still refused that way. However, the customary law community was finally lost their right when the state of government had intervened and suppressed them.

The arrival of PT Prima Mas Lestari (PML), PT Citra Sawit Harum (CSH), and PT Inhutani V, and several local entrepreneurs with a timber harvesting and utilization permit (IPKK) from the Bungo Regent has left them excluded from their forest. They could not free to take forest products for supporting their livelihoods. It happened because their wooden was taken by existing companies, for economic benefits and the land can be used for the plantations. In the end, the villagers were only able to see without being able to do anything.

Then, the impact of forest exploitation by companies is a flood disaster. Floods, generally occur every rainy season, when the water discharge is getting bigger. At first, the floods that occurred were not on a big scale and were destroyed. However, when the forest areas are being cut down by companies, big floods are becoming more frequent. The biggest flood occurred on Saturday 6 February 2016, the flood washed away six (6) houses and caused the destruction of agricultural land and community plantations in Lubuk Tebat village. In addition, dozens of community livestock also died and were swept away by the flash flood (Ridwan, 2020).

Moreover, there was one way that residents solved the flood problem, which was called migration. All residents of Lubuk Tebat Village were moved to a new residential area due to exposure to flooding. A total of sixty (60) heads of families (KK) were moved to Kampung Batu Kerbau. Were placed in a higher area in the *sesap* land which is still located on the edge of the Batu Kerbau village. Bungo Regency Government immediately intervened by making the displacement a local transmigration program. Bungo also submitted a proposal for local transmigration to the central government and also proposed that the production forest around the Batu Kerbau area be transferred to APL

(another use area). The central government paid all the funds for the implementation of local transmigration, while the Bungo regional government only acts as a facilitator. All residents of Lubuk Tebat village were relocated by the government because their village could no longer be occupied. After all, the flood had washed away their houses and damaged their agricultural land. After being moved, there were any conveniences and difficulties experienced by residents. The convenience was that they lived in high areas, so they could be safe from flooding, they were financed by the local government and made houses like the houses of transmigration residents, generally in the form of semi-permanent houses with walls wooden and tin roofs. In addition, some of the difficulties experienced by residents were that they had to go further to tap rubber as their main livelihood.

The Struggle for Getting Acknowledgement of Customary Rights to the Forest

Datuk Sinaro Putih as a customary holder with Rio (the village head) and community leaders had made for some years lobbying or compromising the Bungo District government. They demanded that the Bungo Regional government could decide on their customary forest. By having the district government's decision, it is hoped that customary forests will have legalization and legal force that is certain and protected. This struggle initially began in 1997 when the old HPHs operating in the Datuk Sinaro Putih community's customary forest area expired (Ridwan, 2020). When new companies such as PT PML, PT CSH, and PT Inhutani V intend to continue the HPH from old companies such as PT Rimba Karya Indah (RKI) and how many other companies such as PT Merangin Karya Sejati (MKS) have obtained the Regent's permit through IPKK (permit collection and utilization of wood and) the community's concerns are getting higher.

The results of the lobbying succeeded in awakening the Bungo Regional government to support indigenous people to protect customary forests. So, the local government formed a team consisting of the Bungo National Land Agency (BPN), Government Division, Legal Division, Forestry and Plantation Service (Dishutbun), KKI-Warsi, and the head of Pelepat Sub-district to check again the boundaries of customary

forest (Adnan learned from Bungo) Datuk Sinaro Putih was also a pioneer in the community's struggle to defend the remaining customary forests. He invited the grandmothers of *Mamak* and ancient people of *adat*, Rio as the head of formal government and community leaders to take action protecting the forest.

Cross-Actor Affiliation in Obtaining Acknowledgment of Customary Rights: Internal factors

Affiliation in the context of this research is the relationship between actors, both indigenous community actors, and citizen actors. These two actors play an important role in preserving the customary forest of the Datuk Sinaro Putih indigenous people. In defending the forest area of Customary Datuk Sinaro Putih customary law community, it can be distinguished between identity actors or actors customary community actors with local community actors, these two actors are also called actors community (Afrizal, 2021).

The actor of its customary community is Datuk Sinaro Putih with his traditional *parabokalo* (traditional institutions), while local community actors consist of local villagers who feel that their forest is threatened by Forest Tenure Rights (HPH) by existing corporations. In the power of structure, Datuk Sinaro Putih was assisted by ancient customs. The traditional parabokalo consists of Datuk Rangkayo Mulio as his representative in Dusun Baru and Dusun Lubuk Telau. In addition, there is a Long Pole who is the ancestor of the Dusun Batu Kerbau community who was authorized by Datuk Sinaro Putih to hold power as a traditional leader. Furthermore, Tuo Negeri is an institutional apparatus for customary law communities in charge of solving problems at the community level. Then there is another institution called Lep which is an assembly formed from and by the participants of the deliberations to make decisions in sessions or customary deliberations which are not permanent. Another institution is the Syara' or regulation of employee, which is the customary institution charge of implementing Islamic Shari'a or islamicsonal rule in the Datuk Sinaro Putih indigenous unity.

The traditional institution which has traditionally been from one generation to serving in the field of health and disaster within

the territory of the Datuk Sinaro Putih customary law community is called the Tenggana Dukun. Furthermore, Sutan Marajo Lelo and Sutan Marajo Indo are customary institutions that have power at the hamlet level and are responsible to Datuk Rangkyo Mulio. Meanwhile, Datuk Rabun and Pangulu Alam are customary institutions that are tasked with assisting the implementation of the tasks of Datuk Pole Panjang at the hamlet level within the Batu Kerbau Village area. Apart from that, there is the Dubalang, which is a customary institution that deals with matters relating to the security issues of indigenous people. Furthermore, Monti Rajo is a traditional institution whose task is to help communicate and convey information to the community. After that, there is Jonang, which is a traditional institution whose job is to provide services in traditional events. Lastly, Bundo Kandang is a traditional institution that represents women in customary law communities (Ridwan, 2018).

Datuk Sinaro Putih and these traditional Parabakalo as heirs of customary *ulayat* rights feel that their rights are being abused by existing companies. Datuk Sinaro Putih and the traditional Parabakalo are the spearheads in the community's struggle to preserve the customary forest. All forms of mediation, protest, and lobbying, whether to the Company, local governments, and even to the central government, are the actors who are persistent and at the forefront. For example, during mediation with the Bungo Regent, Datuk Sinaro Putih and this traditional parabakalo were at the forefront of hearing with the Regent. For them, preserving the customary forest is a must which has become a moral burden for their ancestors from a long time ago.

Local community actors consist of local villagers, including Rio as formal government leaders, their staff, and community and

community leaders members of the customary forest management institution. They are also the descendants of Datuk Sinaro Putih, A local community actor who carries out his function as a village government official and village figure. Their involvement in the customary forest because they feel they have a forest that has been guarded for a long time and passed down from generation to generation by their ancestors. They have the sake of protecting the forest because it is often exposed to floods due to the decreasing the amount of tress in the forest for holding back the water that decreases since the growing the palm oil companies and HTI akasia. They have been involved in any kind of protests movement against companies and local governments and seriously escorted Datuk Sinaro Putih in doing any mediation with some important people. In addition, their involvement is very important in measuring customary forest boundaries. For example, this local community blocks PT CSH heavy equipment to be willing to provide CSR (corporate social responsibility) in terms of providing clean water in the community. In the end, some companies such as PT PML finally built a water facility clean for the people in the villages in the hamlets of Batu Kerbau and Dusun Baru. The leaders of this local community are Rio and the head of the guard from the customary forest institution.

These actors are affiliated with each other in fighting to defend customary forest areas from the greed of companies that operate in the area. The actors are involved in some common actions to overcome the issues that appear to maintain the preservation of customary forests. These cross-actor affiliates make a decision together in each of their efforts protecting the customary forests when conducting a hearing session with companies as well as the audience with the regent, DPRD (Representative Board), forestry Service, and other stakeholders.

Chart 1. Cross-Actor Affiliates in Defending Customary Forests

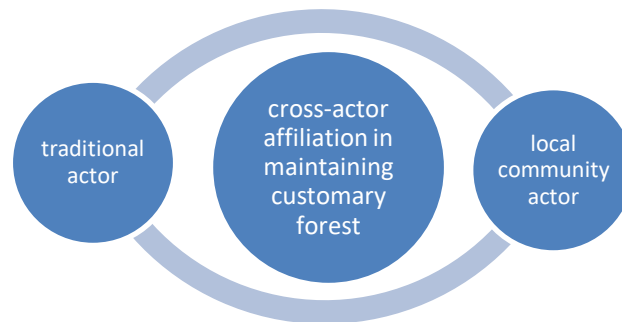


Chart 1.1 It shows the pattern of cross-actor affiliation in maintaining customary forest areas in the village of Batu Kerbau and Dusun Baru Pelepat. Cross-actor affiliation in this context is a form of political affiliation. Cross-actor affiliations in preserving customary forests in the Datuk Sinaro Putih customary law community are defensive, namely to defend themselves against attacks from outside (W. Surya Endra, 1979), in this context the oil palm companies, PT PML, PT CSH, and PT Inhutani V (Acacia HTI).

Conflicts that occur between companies and local communities are due to the government not being seriously involved in determining the boundaries of existing forest areas. Forest management is almost impossible without involving traditional communities because it will always end in conflict (Saarikoski & Raitio, 2013). This phenomenon was discovered in the process of establishing a map of customary forest areas by Bungo District Forestry and Plantation Service. The community felt cheated when the map included residential areas in the forest area, so when there was assistance in making village roads by the Indonesian National Army (TNI) it could not be carried out because the residential area was included in a forest area. Automatically, TNI (national army) did not want to continue the project because it violated existing regulations.

The government should involve them when setting the boundaries of the forest area on the map that has been determined. It was made because they know exactly their forest area. The role of indigenous people cannot be ignored because they have indigenous knowledge about the resources and landscapes in the area (Kamal & Lim, 2019), (Hijjang et al., 2018), (Lawler & Bullock, 2017), (Lin & Liu, 2016). Unfortunately, the government's attitude of not fully involving customary people in Batu Kerbau village and Baru pelepat village lead to protests from the local customary itself.

Based on interview data in the field, several forms of affiliation between these actors were found as follow:

First, carry out joint measurements to determine the boundaries between their customary forest areas and the state forest area that is included in the HPH of the palm oil company PT Prima Mas Lestari (PML), PT Citra Sawit Harum (CSH), and PT Inhutani V. Datuk Rio (village head). Mr. Yakub, a village head explained that he with Datuk Sinaro Putih and people had taken measurements directly into the forest for days to clear the boundaries between customary forest areas and forest friends included in the company's HPH.

The results are brought to the Bungo District Forestry and Plantation Service for being decided as customary forest area. Then, Bungo

Regency Government gave responded positively to the results of the community mapping. So that, on February 2002, the Regional Government through Bungo Regional Secretary facilitated a meeting between Datuk Sinaro Putih, traditional parabakalo, Rio, and community leaders with the National Land Agency, Forestry and Plantation Service, Legal Department, Government Section, Chairman of Bungo Regency Customary Institution, members of the press, and KKI WARSI. Then, Datuk Sinaro Putih explained how the mapping process was carried out and the purpose of the mapping itself. Finally, the meeting bore fruit with the formation of a team for monitoring and reviewing the Customary Forest by the Regent of Bungo. This team re-checked the boundaries of customary forest areas and existing companies. However, after the official map was released from the government people became disappointed because the boundaries set by the government did not match the initial map they made together before. The community felt that they have been lied to by the government in deciding their customary forest area.

Second, they had made lobby with the Bungo district government to ratify or legalize the customary forest area. As a matrilineal society that applies Minangkabau cultures or traditions, Datuk Sinaro Putih has a customary land called a forest. The forest which belongs to Datuk Sinaro Putih's customary land automatically becomes their customary land. This forest is referred to as customary forest because it is located in the traditional land of Datuk Sinaro Putih. They wanted the customary forest as customary land or belong to the community that cultivated by themselves. If the government did not make the forest ulayat (community) forest then it would easily be a production forest that can be cultivated by an investor through the government.

Then, on 24 April 2001, the people of Batu Kerbau Village documented the rules for managing customary forests and *lubuk* (pond) of prohibitions in the written forms as the legal basis for making each decision on customary forests, which was called the Batu Kerbau Village Customary Community Agreement Charter for Natural Resources Management. This charter then became the basic capital for the community to fight for law enforcement to local governments (Arizona, 2010).

Traditional actors and local community actors such as Datuk Rio (village head) kept trying continuously to make efforts lobbying Bungo Regent, Bungo Regency Regional Representative Council, Head of Customary Institutions Melayu (LAM) Bungo to determine their customary forest area. Moreover, they have come to Bungo several times which is about 80 kilometers from their village which the access of the roads was mostly still dirt roads. Then, they have done many ways even sacrifices given to obtain their right to the customary forest that was admitted by the government. Fortunately, they got it by receiving the regulation of district government No 3 2006 dealing with Datuk Sinaro Putih customary law community and the decision letter of Bupati (leader) in 2002 No. 1249 dealing with the legalization of customary forest in Batu Kerbau village- Pelepat- Bungo regency.

Bungo Regency Government is finally willing to establish customary forest because Datuk Sinaro Putih customary forest is a buffering forest for the Kerinci Seblat National Park (TNKS). Currently, the buffer forests of TNKS are generally in critical condition, many have become HPHs and illegal logging by communities around the forest is conducted in a massive. So it is a certain thing that if the customary forest of the Batu Kerbau community is not established and its surroundings will clear up the buffer forest of TNKS to take economic benefits such as wood, rattan, and others and turn it into farming. In addition, if the customary forest is not protected, the disaster of flood will not be avoided, because already one village, namely Lubuk Tebat village, has been relocated by the government because their village was destroyed by the flood. So, the Bungo Regent issued the Regent's Decree No. 1249 concerning the Inauguration of the Batu Buffalo Customary Forest.

Third, they insisted the Ministry of Forestry issued a Decree on the determination of Forest Areas custom. Datuk Sinaro Putih with Bungo District Forestry and Plantation Agency came to the Ministry of Forestry in Jakarta to urge the forestry ministry to establish customary forest areas in Batu Kerbau village and Baru Pelepat village as customary forest areas. When set with a ministerial decree it is hoped that existing companies will not expand HPH them to the remaining customary forest areas. This is

important because the company is suspected of secretly expanding their area into existing forest areas.

The management of customary forests in local communities is managed by the Indigenous Forest Management Institute LKMD and Parabokalo Adat. The term of office is five years and every year this group provides a report on the progress of the group's activities to the village community. After Batu Kerbau Customary Forest was confirmed through the Bungo Regent's Decree, the management group was also required to submit a report to the Regent once a year (Adnan et al (eds.), 2008). In

its management, the Indigenous Forest Management Institution was trained by KKI Warsi to increase its knowledge of forest management. The community may only take forest products such as rattan and manage, while wood may not be taken, and even if they have to, only for public facilities. For example, several years ago, Rio and the Indigenous Forest Management Institute took several cubic meters of wood for the construction of a mosque in Batu Kerbau. In addition, it is not allowed and if anyone tries to violate it, they will be given strict sanctions by the customary forest management agency.

Table 1. Customary Forest of Datuk Sinaro Putih and its legal basis

No	Location	Legal Basis	Area (Ha)
1	Batu Kerbau Village	SK Bungo Regent Number 1249 of 2002 Bungo Regency Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2006 concerning Customary Law Community of Datuk Sinaro Putih SK Minister of Environment and Forestry Forestry Number 5254/MENLHK PSKL/PKTHA/PSL.1/10/2017	386
2	Dusun Baru	Bungo Regency Regulation Number 3 of 2006 Decree of the Minister of Environment and Forestry Number SK.5531/MENLHK.PSKL/PKTHA/PSL.11/10/2017	780
3	Belukar Panjang Village-Batu Kerbau	SK Bungo Regent Number 1249 Year 2002 Bungo Regency Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2006 concerning the customary Law Community of Datuk Sinaro Putih	472
4	Lubuk Tebat Village-Batu Kerbau	SK Bungo Regent Number 1249 of 2002 Bungo Regency Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2006 concerning the Customary Law Community of Datuk Sinaro Putih	360

Source: data field- processed, 2021.

The customary forest is the last bastion of community forest that can be utilized with the customary forest being used for their multi-cultural cultivation (agroforestry). In the agreement charter of the Batu Kerbau

Community, it is stated that customary forests are not allowed to be planted with monoculture crops such as oil palm which will deplete its function as a buffer forest for KSNP. Old plants such as rubber, petai, rattan, jernang can be

utilized on existing customary forest lands. The indigenous people of Dusun Batu Kerbau and Dusun Baru Pelepat are allowed to access the customary forest. On the other hand, transmigrating people are not allowed at all because they are considered not descendants of Datuk Sinaro Putih. However, until now, there is no community that has cultivated rubber and other agroforestry in customary forest areas. This may be because their ability to process the existing sips has not been maximized so that the community has not utilized the customary forest to plant old crops.

KKI-Warsi From Assistance to Funding

The struggle of the indigenous people of Datuk Sinaro Putih in maintaining their customary forest area cannot be separated from the serious and simultaneous assistance of the Indonesian Conservation Community (KKI) Warsi. For approximately seven years, WARSI has been assisting indigenous peoples to get government recognition and to provide guidance after the legalization of customary forests. Communities need to be strengthened economically through the use of existing land with various training and assistance so that they are no longer tempted to cut down forests. There were several periods of WARSI in assisting Indigenous peoples to obtain recognition of their customary forests.

Period 1998-2000 Through the Community Forest System Project (SHK)

This period was the most crucial, as the recognition of WARSI staff who stated that the rise of IPKK permits from the Bungo Regent to PT MKS and CV Beringin Hijau. In addition, illegal logging occurred massively in the surrounding of Datuk Sinaro Putih indigenous community by the villagers of Rantau Kelayang. Approximately 120 chainsaw machines were carrying out logging activities around Datuk Sinaro Putih's customary forest area at that time. The toughest challenge for WARSI at that time was to convince the customary people to protect customary forests from loggers. The community is afraid to face the illegal loggers, which mostly are the residents of Rantau Kelayang, their neighbor and it is the only way to go to the market is the only market access to fulfill their daily needs. In addition, it also becomes the only

way to get out of Bungo town.

People of Dusun Batu Kerbau and Dusun Baru felt unconfident and worried when dealing with illegal timber businessmen in Rantau Kelayang. In the end, Warsi was able to convince the community to challenge illegal logging and several rogue IPKK companies who dare to take wood into their forest areas.

Period 2000-2005 Through Community-Based Forests Management (CBFM)

The project of five years funded by the Ford Foundation continues to empower communities to urge the Bupati to give legality to their customary forests. In 2002, finally, the Bungo Regent Decree No. 1249/2002 concerning the Inauguration of the Customary Forest of Batu Kerbau Village, Pelepat District, Bungo Regency was issued. The Regent's Decree takes precedence over the Regional Regulation (Perda) because the process of making a Regent's Decree is faster, while the process of making a Regional Regulation is quite long. If the local regulation (perda) is issued, it is feared that customary forests will be increasingly depleted because the process and administration of local regulations take a long time.

Then, to support the Regent's decree, the CBFM project is more concerned with the strengthening of the economics and recognizing stakeholders. It also launched some programs or activities by WARSI in collaboration with the Bungo Government, ICRAF, and CIFOR. The project is made in the form of forest management training with agroforestry. The community was assisted with seeds of rubber, rattan, and jernang so that they were planted in the existing forest area. It is hoped that this project can improve the local economy. In addition, they were invited to conduct comparative studies in the areas with good customary forest management, such as in Guguk, Merangin, Lampung, and Palembang (Adnan et.al (eds), 2008).

In 2003, Warsi succeeded in repelling PT Aman Pratama, which was lobbying the local government and indigenous peoples to open an oil palm plantation there. The Warsi staff were terrorized by the company because they were considered to be blocking their move. However, after a meeting was held between Warsi staff and company representatives, PT Aman Pratama

finally announced that they had resigned. Apart from that, there was also a fictitious cooperative that had received a letter of the surrender of land by a traditional community leader, but after the Warsi side traced their office and address in Jambi, it turned out to be only fictitious. The struggle of approximately six years finally got a satisfactory result with the issue of Bungo Regency Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2006 concerning Datuk Sinaro Putih Customary Law Community.

Dealing with the fund of these activities starting from meetings between Datuk Sinaro Putih with Parabakalo and community as well as Warsi, measuring the borders of forest, lobbies, and mediation to government and also House of Representative (DPRD) were fully paid by Warsi. Moreover, warsi also brought the group of forest cultivating group to have the study comparative to Guguk Merangin forest, Palembang, and Marga Way Tenong in West Lampung.

Summary

The success of customary leader Datuk Sinaro Putih is due to the affiliation of actors in the customary people who have fought together in striving for the acknowledgment of customary forest. The affiliations have proven effective in the society itself in defending the customary forest from the threat of cooperation. Cooperation to defend between indigenous actors and the local community was great. Meanwhile, the external factor was the role given by KKI Warsi who has helped in accompanying and giving the law escort for the society. It also gave the contribution to help to lobby the government, the representative council, media, and others. All of the costs or funds as the main support for those activities were also fully given and paid by Warsi whose cooperated with the Ford Foundation and environmental organizations such as ICRAF and CIFOR.

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