

Community based conserved areas: a rediscovery of culture in forest landscapes?

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What this paper is about and Scope

- Community Conserved Areas CCAs
- Case study 4 villages in Kiulu , Tuaran District
- To ask the question:
- Why have CCAS become of interest in conservation?
- To argue that this interest has not happened in a vacuum, but in social movements

KEY FACTORS concerning why interest in CCA (the larger picture)

1: social movement. Interest in CAA is part of a larger social movement of looking for

➤ new agents of change

--→ Collective?indigenous people? Women? Individuals (the Power of one)?

➤ for new forms of knowledge

e.g. → citizen science ----→ traditional /indigenous knowledge (CCA)

--→ new methods: transdisciplinary research , action research, 'natural capital' in ecological economics; ecosystems health

--→ new management forms, CBNRM, adaptive management, co-management,

- 2.Because of changes in Material condition:
 - a degraded environment.
 - Living in a 'risk society' , unpredictable risks in ecology and in social and quality of life (health) ;
 - **Ulrick Beck: a risk society** - Risk arising out of social and ecological interaction ----- > systemic inequality
 - 3. Related Consciousness
 - A consciousness that past and current 'command and control ' measures for solving environmental problems have not been effective in both industrial/industrialising countries;
- **OBJECTIVES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE?**
- **A belief in a more participatory/sustainable development, i.e. that conservation AND social justice is possible**
- --→ **NEW CONSERVATION**

What are community conserved areas?

- A concept that refers to areas where governance is local and made by members of a community.
- CCAs are unique system where there are rules established by the communities themselves,
- Governance is about **power**, relationships, responsibility and accountability. It is about who has influence, who decides, and how decision-makers are held accountable... it may or not involve governments.
- Examples of key decisions to be made by resource users and managers for achieving good governance at the community level:
 - 1) how to share benefits from the land/forest/rivers/coasts/seas (equity),
 - 2) rules to establish the range of access types (**bundle of rights and entitlements**) (Nancy Peluso; Amartya Sen). to land, or access to trees but not the land, to fruits but not the trees etc.) **EXAMPLES FROM KIULU.**
 - 3) Rules of inheritance, many others
 - All the above are flexible , adapt to social and ecological pressures and political economy
 - Focus of this paper is on 1) and 2)

- .
- **In the everyday lives of indigenous groups who still rely on natural resources: Conservation may not necessarily be about preservation but about careful use. E.g. Penan 'molong' -- to know when NOT to gather or collect food species, when to reserve it for future need using knowledge parameters specific to the local. AND BY EXTENSION, WHEN TO RETURN FOR IT.**
- **Traditional knowledge at sea for example in our study of the communities within the Tun Mustapha Park is instrumental knowledge about safety at sea, reefs for best fishing grounds, which parts of the coast are 'keras' (with spirits), which may not be **directly** linked to conservation as outsiders see it.**
- **Case study of Kiulu: examine the social rules and regulation about access and use of land, forests and water, the characteristics of traditional and how they are adapted**

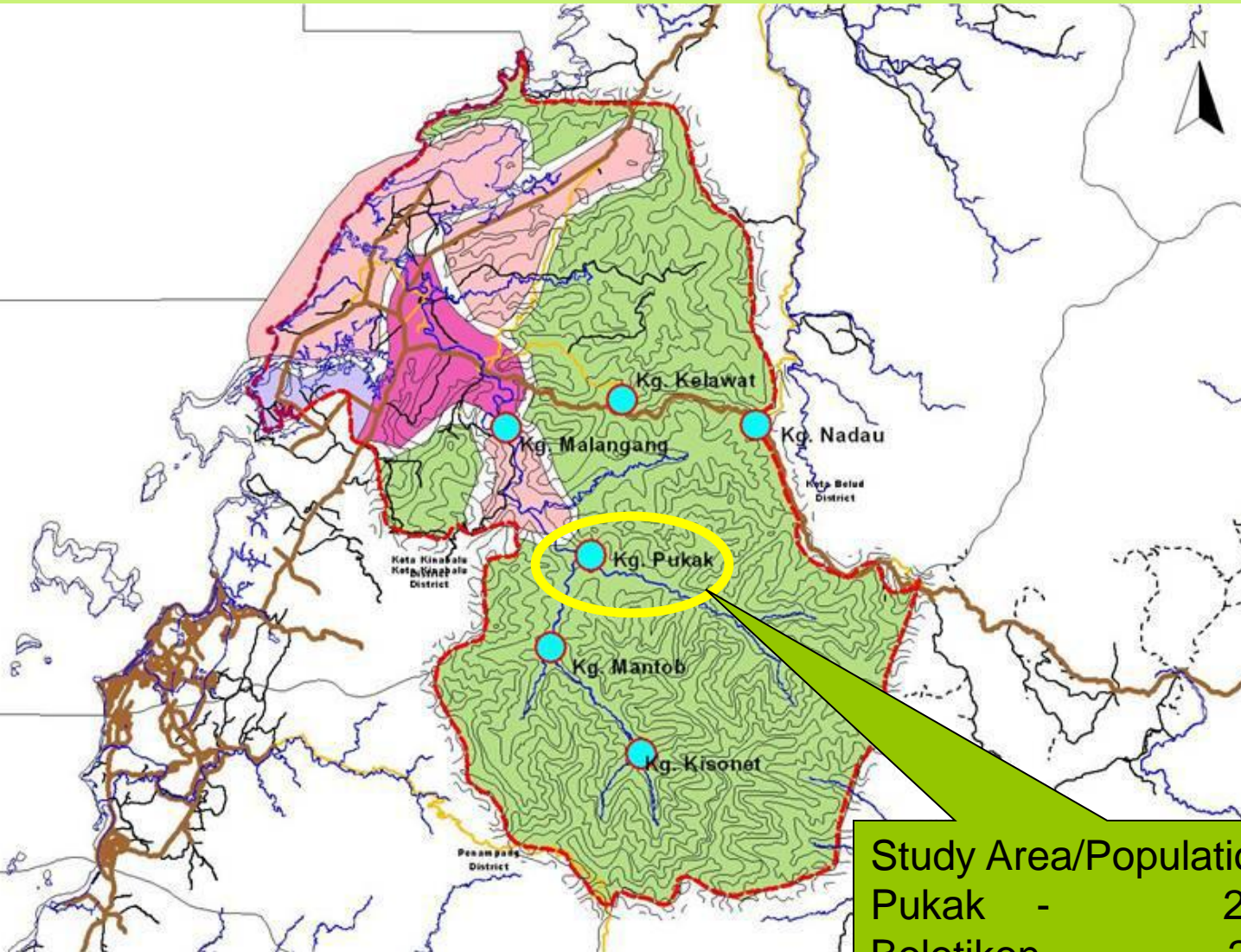
**4 Kiulu villages –
Pukak, Weg Weg, Lubok
& Bolotikon – Tuaran
District, Sabah**



**Rugged hills, above 250
slope in parts**



Tuaran District and the Study Area



Study Area/Population	
Pukak	- 248
Bolotikon	- 210
Lubok	- 175
Weg Weg	- 205



Wet rice in the valleys + hill rice, in 2008 produced sufficient for 2 -3 years supply

Hill rice plot in preparation, 10 to 15 year cycle



Fruit orchard, langsat, individual family owned

Agro-forestry system



Rubber trees owned by individual families

Hill rice requires a rotation system of fallow lands and rules of access

In Kiulu in 2008, the fallows were left for 10 to 15 years, before replanting, to rejuvenate the soil.

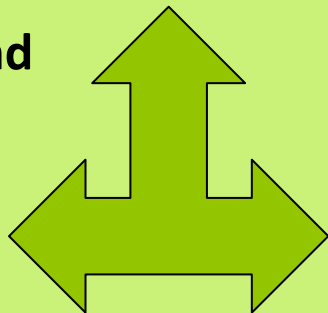
This family was growing rice on their own AND borrowed land, rent paid in kind (i.e. *flexible but there are rules of access*);

Fallows vary -> ecology, population or market pressure

e.g. much rice land were being converted to rubber Reasons:

e.g. 10 yr. old Fallow land

scrubland



Idle land, dangerous, so convert



Ripened rice – golden husk





Bananas, yam, corn and vegetables

Wet rice and village drainage system – adapted knowledge



bamboo carefully nurtured



bananas

4 9 2005



3 8 2005

3 8 2005

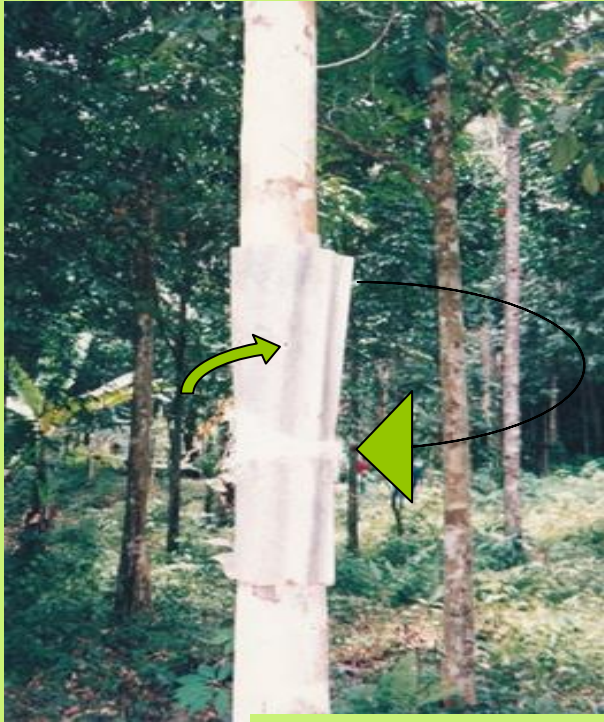


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Fruit Orchard, langsung

The langsung zinc wrap has 2 meanings: tree has an owner and is off limits to others without permission

Owner collectors, baskets allowed



villager who has rights to fruit through marriage with dealer/buyer



Local /Traditional Knowledge (old_new combination)

Smallholders learn to grow and tap rubber in nearby rubber estates, but prefer to keep the undergrowth in their own gardens to maintain the TEMPERATURE at a level that ENCOURAGES LATEX FLOW.

Coolness before dawn also promotes latex flow, much rubber tapping is done in darkness before dawn.

A metal press - technology borrowed from outside the village (used throughout Sabah) , easily maintained , can be considered appropriate technology (Schumacher, F.)





**Community grazing field
with steps for use by village
livestock**



**Rubber sheets being
pressed**

Kiulu villages socio-ecological system: How resilient is it?

- 1) TEK has adapted and it explains why some have survived, but many others have not. Those that survived as in Kiulu in adapted form are sometimes referred to as Hybrid knowledge
- A resilient ecosystem is one that benefits from disturbance by operating quickly, adopting new operative conditions, whether or not they are similar to pre-disturbance condition.

Policy implications

- **Recognising the creative role of farmers (their agency) critiques the view in much of southeast Asia that farmers are ‘traditional’ resisting change or are forest destroyers --→ against shifting cultivation.**

Lessons learnt from 4 Kiulu villages,

- That the history of local knowledge is one of incorporation and appropriation from the outside (of rubber plantation technology) adapted to local use.
- traditional system of access to the means of livelihood (in this instance, land) is governed by flexibility, with the idea that no one should 'go without' (equity, through land borrowing, exchange/payment in kind);
- **rules of access and entitlements not only refer to land but also to trees, fruits and other products e.g. branches for firewood, through inheritance, marriage, friendships etc..**
- Nancy Peluso has asked the question whether claims of indigenous peoples to territory as encouraged by law through rights (e.g. land titling) makes us see the forest but not trees, the fruits and the complex mix of bundles of entitlements . In sum, by looking at territory we tend to overlook that entitlements are about the relationship among people, not the relationship between people and things

How have indigenous communities responded to conservation practices on the ground?

- The reality of many indigenous groups in Southeast Asia: A history of displacement and insecurity of tenure to the means livelihood and entitlements;
- Displacement From dam construction, from mining, from large scale plantation (oil palm or rubber), and from 'fortress conservation', prime examples, Yellowstone National Park, Kruger national Park. CHECK
- Often occur in the name of development or national interest or both .
- New conservation interest in social justice and sustainable livelihood provides them with leverage hence we see alliances being formed for supporting indigenous claims to territory ;
- Free Prior and Informed Consent Principles in the CBD, in UNDRIP (article 8j), and included as one of the principles in the Roundtable for Sustainable Oil Palm (RSPO).
- Community use zones in national or state parks, many others

Challenges and Conclusion

- **1) New conservation cannot be Politically naive about power**
 - (-Elite capture e.g. NTFP in Indonesia – meant for the poor hijacked by elites precisely because NTFP has started to earn favourable market value –) Michael Dove)
- **2) Cannot afford to have a view of traditional knowledge as an ‘ancient’ unchanging way of doing things (traditional wisdom) ---- > may in fact be a fossilised view of individual lifestyles (see Ramachandra Guha).**
- **Younger generation may not be interested in traditional knowledge ----→ new conservation should address the root cause of this new phenomenon, is it alienation from nature AND culture?**
- **3) Because of the history of colonisation, centralised state control, and the historical fracturing of cultures -→ communities have to adapt, in order to ‘hang on to what resources are left’; At Kiulu, to avoid land being labelled ‘idle’ – potential of land being taken away, fallow lands are slowly being converted to cash crops especially rubber, affecting future rice production?**
- **4) Participation of ‘stakeholders’ has had a mixed results; assumes equal capacity of stakeholders to participate.** It is difficult in situations where the state is everywhere, so dialogue with the state takes on different shapes under different conditions.
- **-→ In Malaysia, civil society actors accommodate the state but at a ‘cautious distance’ (Majid Cooke and Hezri), ---→ Thailand, civil society acts in opposition to the state, Although capacity building is of interest in some NGOs , donor and government agencies, the process takes time and outcome not easily measured.**

• THE END

• THANK YOU