

## COMMUNICATIVE ACTION IN MAINTAINING OF THE COMMUNAL RIGHTS (CASE STUDY IN ORANG RIMBA IN THE EASTERN REGION BUKIT DUABELAS NATIONAL PARK, JAMBI PROVINCE, INDONESIA)

<sup>1</sup> FUAD MUCHLIS, <sup>2</sup> DJUARA P LUBIS, <sup>3</sup> RILUS A KINSENG, <sup>4</sup> AULIA TASMAN

<sup>1</sup> Lecturer of Agribusiness Studies Program, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Jambi

<sup>2</sup> Lecturer of Communication Studies Program of Agriculture and Rural Development Graduate School of Bogor Agricultural University

<sup>3</sup> Lecturer of Rural Sociology Program Graduate School of Bogor Agricultural University

<sup>4</sup> Professor of the Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Jambi

E-mail: [fuadm@unj.ac.id](mailto:fuadm@unj.ac.id)

### ABSTRACT

*The state policy in the form of the concession to PT. Wana Perintis without considering aspects of environmental justice to make the living space of Orang Rimba in the eastern region Bukit Duabelas National Park getting narrower and makes them increasingly marginal. Discontent for this condition causes a conflict between Orang Rimba versus PT. Wana Perintis and delivery of communicative action to maintain their communal rights. Critical paradigm research by using case study method. The results of the study explained that the main cause of conflict comes from the dominance of a management system of forest resources of the country which unilaterally gives a very large portion to the corporation to expand its business in the forest area while their rights in forest management is neglected. Communicative action of them in maintaining communal rights demonstrated through consultation, both internally and externally as well as their resistance by land occupation movement in order to fight for the rights of indigenous people communal of Orang Rimba.*

**Keywords:** *Communicative action, deliberation, resistance, communal rights.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The history of forestry development in Indonesia noted that government policy by granting forest concessions, Industrial Plantation Forest and plantation companies as a marker of how the exploitation of natural tropical forests outside of Java, including in Jambi province so real happened. By 2000, the number of forest concessions in Indonesia reached 600 units, with a forest area production reached 64 million ha. As a result of exploitation by the concessionaire in 1985 the deforestation of 0.6 million hectares - 1.2 million hectares per year (World Bank, 1988a 1988b: Scott, 1985). According to data from the Department of Forestry, the national deforestation rate in the last 10 years has reached 1.6 million ha per year. Causes of deforestation apart from the continuing work of the exploitation concession as the New Order regime, also coupled with the rampant activities of illegal logging since 1999, land clearing for farming smallholder plantations and

private plantations, forest fires, and power struggles over forest land (political economy) between timber companies and indigenous peoples (Awang 2003; 2006; Wrangham 2003). Though the existence of forest resources has a variety of functions for communities in and around the forest, which is a source of food, home appliances, medicines, income (Nurrochmat et al 2012). Changes in forest portrait very quickly when external parties, such as timber harvesting or plantation companies entering the forest area inhabited by traditional communities will lead to a cultural shock (Nurrochmat and Hasan 2012).

Orientation of pro-market government policy and future investment of the New Order led to the erosion of the various sources of livelihood *Orang Rimba* indigenous communities in Bukit Duabelas National Park Jambi Province. Exploitation of natural resources left to invest monopoly and no respect for local knowledge and participation by indigenous people. Instead, it led to

the eviction of the rights of *Orang Rimba*, environmental degradation and ecological disasters. Some areas that have been the living room and the room of their roaming eroded by deforestation are not friendly with them (Aritonang and Firmansyah 2008). This exploitation practices which then destroy the socio-cultural fabric and marginalized their communities toward the wisdom that they possess (Muchlis et al 2016).

The indicator that shows the forest crisis phenomena can be seen from the quantity (extent) and quality (ecological cycle capability) of forests are declining. From the evidence of its customs and culture, *Orang Rimba* claim that territory inherited from their ancestors were taken unilaterally and vulnerable social conflicts spawned. Resource conflicts 'proprietary custom' from the past cannot be released because of economic problems and power. This conflict is always peppered with the approach of power and authority by the various parties claiming rights over those resources, both *Orang Rimba*, company or country.

In case of conflict between *Orang Rimba* and PT. Wana Perintis (PT. WP) in the eastern Bukit Duabelas National Park Jambi Province, this study sought to uncover how the state with the dominant "power" through the granting of concessions to corporate exploitation on lands that have been claimed as their property. Communicative action done by *Orang Rimba* present for their critical consciousness that result will threaten their livelihoods eroded in the future. The policy of giving concessions means that countries are more advanced aspects of the economy rather than pay attention to the culture of life of indigenous peoples in the conservation area and as a result of the policy has led to the loss of economic resources and livelihood of *Orang Rimba* and the right to run identity that is full of tradition and culture.

## 2. RESEARCH METHODS

This study is methodologically understood as a critical paradigm of qualitative research using the case study method. As a case study, it collects attention to the review of events surrounding the conflict in forest resource use between *Orang Rimba* and PT. WP with regard a boundedness and the patterns of behavior of the system (Denzin and Lincoln 2009) and explain how communicative action performed on *Orang Rimba* dominance they experienced. The research location is located in the eastern part Bukit Duabelas National Park which is administratively located in the District of Batin

XXIV Regency of Batang Hari Province of Jambi. The time of this study took place in June - December, 2015.

Collecting data in this study performed with some of the techniques in accordance with the qualitative research approach: indepth interviews with the *Temenggung* and prominent of *Orang Rimba*, NGO activists, the company and the observations of the field situation and communication behavior of them. Determination of informant's criteria are knowledgeable and actively involved in cases of conflict between *Orang Rimba* and PT. WP and have good communication skills. Determination of informants purposively in accordance with the needs of data relevant to the research topic. Interviews were conducted with reference to the central questions which then developed during the interview. Studies conducted by searching for journal articles, research, books, and scientific references related to the research topic. Triangulation of data is done with the process of re-check the data obtained with the encounter competent resource persons, the staff at the Department of Forestry Regency of Batang Hari, observers of *Orang Rimba* and citizens around Bukit Duabelas National Park.

Data were analyzed descriptively. Qualitative descriptive analysis, by providing reviews or interpretation of data obtained so that it becomes more clear and meaningful. The steps are data reduction, data presentation with charts and text, then drawing conclusions to establish the facts, circumstances, phenomena, variables and circumstances that occurred while running the study (Miles and Huberman 1994)

## 3. DISCUSSION

### Contestation of Utilization of Natural Resources: Corporate versus *Orang Rimba*

*Orang Rimba* in the eastern part Bukit Duabelas National Park are a group of *Orang Rimba* who live in the concessions PT. WP and at the Palm plantation concession of PT Era Mitra Agro Lestari (PT. EMAL) consisting of four groups. Before the determination becomes Bukit Duabelas National Park (2000), part of the area of their livelihood in the eastern part of timber estate plantation concessions have been granted permission to PT. WP by decree of the Ministry of Forestry Republic of Indonesia (Menhut) No. 781 / Kpts-II / 1996 Date December 18, 1996 covering an area of 6,900 ha located in two regencies namely

Sarolangun and Batang Hari. Within this area they live and their life mainly from member group of Marituha (now dead and replaced by Menyurau), Nyenong, Ngamal and Ngirang or also called the Group Terap and Serengam. Concession area of PT. WP was formerly a customary area that have historically been occupied by Orang Rimba. When permits issued in the region there is still a good land cover and still support the livelihoods of them to carry out daily activities. The company's presence when it has been made for their unrest. Fortunately, in that time, PT. WP does not do activities, so there are still opportunities for them to save forest for their home and no forced disappearance of forests in the region.

Region given to PT. WP is actually a forest blocks remaining in the region much earlier had a place to live for their community. In a study in Space Utilization Policy and Resources conducted NGO KKI-WARSI, University of Jambi and Development Planing Agency (BAPPEDA) Regency of Batang Hari in 2003 mentions that the remaining forest is given to PT. WP plays an important role for their survival also for the surrounding rural communities. In the northern part is the living area for them and in other parts of the region surrounding the village community governance that has lasted a long time in advance before the concession granted to PT. WP. To parse the issues and conflicts that will arise, this study recommends revocation PT. WP. Unfortunately, this recommendation was not acted upon by the parties concerned, especially the Ministry of forestry that time as the licensor. Of the company itself, as if suspended animation, not doing anything. So for a while they can still be comfortable living in this region (Sukmareni and Hermayulis 2013)

Contestation of utilization of forest resources as the beginning of the conflict began in 2010, when the issue of Government Regulation (PP) No. 11 of 2010 on regulating and utilization of wastelands. This regulation confirms that the region already has permission if it is not managed according to the work plan is considered as wastelands and should be returned to the state. The presence of this Government Regulation stir PT. WP immediately open land previously only opened 200 ha. Since then their lives have been disturbed. Forests that have been as a dependent of their lives, gradually lost due to forest clearing for planting superior rubber plantation owned by PT. WP. Forest clearance also causes the loss of some of the sacred sites such as tombs belonging to their

ancestors, a place of worship their gods and bebalai. This condition then forces them to shift residence to rubber plantations owned by the company, a rubber plantation in the village and palm plantation PT. EMAL. Most of them even begging to the company, as collectors fruit of oil palm company PT. EMAL or belonging to local residents.

Contestation over land between *Orang Rimba* and PT. WP is then triggered to social conflict that was born as a defensive reaction due to insecurity of their livelihoods. The existence of the ground for them in addition to economic value, also means magical-religious-cosmic and even ideological. The causes of conflicts come from the dominance of a management system of forest resources of the country which unilaterally gives the servings are so big to the owners of capital to expand its business in the forest area. While their rights that have lived and developed a separate system from the past in the utilization or forest management ignored.

Background conflict over land comes from a land dispute between the company of timber estate plantation (which facilitated the concession) and *Orang Rimba*. These trends have confirmed that faced by them not only the country, but also the strength of the market through the company of timber estate plantation. In addition to the struggle for rights issues (rights), the conflict in the region is also due to the issue of access (access). Ribot and Peluso (2003) defines access as "the ability to derive benefits from things' that indicates a person's ability to benefit from something. Something that *Orang Rimba* are goods (land / forest, forest products) and symbolic (culture) whereas the ability associated with power and authority (power). Clearing of land for timber estate plantation area of PT. WP which has been the life space for has led them undergoing a process of marginalization great natural resources of their own, so to fight right back, they act of communication and resistance to demands to restore rights, access and identity are lost to timber estate plantation PT.WP and maintain human dignity or self-esteem, physical and psychological integrity of the self and the group of them that have value, dignity and free from bondage, manipulation and exploitation.

#### **Communicative Action for Maintaining Communal Rights**

In the context of a land dispute between the state and corporations with *Orang Rimba*,

conflict management choice among conflicting parties to peace (including consultation) or by physical violence is highly dependent on the use of power. *Orang Rimba* communication action as a form of resistance against the strategy undertaken by corporations and countries are with their internal deliberations on and raising public pressure (through reports in the media) and the occupation of land. While government action to evict land of them is the formal legal approach through the concession, counterfeiting and discrimination through the use of stereotype or build a negative stigma for them.

### Deliberation as Public Sphere

Selection of the first communication actions undertaken by *Orang Rimba* is through their internal deliberations in, but still accompanied by the NGO as a facilitator and to give consideration to them. Deliberation in several stages of selection is a form of deliberative democracy as enunciated by Habermas (2007). The word 'deliberation' *deliberatio* comes from the Latin meaning 'consultation', 'weigh', 'or deliberation'. Democracy is the deliberative thus is, if the process of argumentation on a public opinion tested in advance through the public consultation, or in the language of theoretical Habermas called 'public discourse'. Arguments Habermas according to Feteris (2003) explore the relationship between the two sides of the rationality of legal discourse and the discourse of everyday rationality. The discourse in this context would like to increase the intensity of them to participate in the formation process aspirations and opinions, so that communicative action in the fight for rights is a purely communal interests of the community and not the majority of people and meet the expectations of all citizens in the community.

In the meeting between the *Temenggung* and members of the community, they open up a space for every citizen has equal access or opportunity to convey their opinion and they are free to speak and not limited issues that it faces. The same view on the issue, namely their living space as their primary food source that has been claimed by the company and planted with rubber trees. Through this public sphere, can be realized and mature society free from oppression and overcome the crisis they face (Hardiman 2009).

What's at issue deliberation as public sphere is the same issue of concern and could affect the fate of all members of the community. These include

policy issues, namely the problems that require various forms of government action or collective action problem that requires coordination. Thus the public sphere that is formed is emancipatory (frees) against the forces of ideology and vested interests, the interests of power and economy, so that the discourse will be determined by the strength of the best argument (ideal speech situation). In order to function properly the public sphere necessary continuous access to information about what actions should be done jointly. In this context it is necessary advocacy to build a rational-critical Deliberation in the formation of public opinion carried out by NGOs.

Discussions conducted by among of four the *Temenggung* namely Nyenong, Menyurau, Ngamal and Ngirang that become the fundamental to build solidarity in the community before they went to the Department of Forestry Regency of Batanghari and to protest the opening of their lands by PT. WP. Considering the protest done by them has not stopped the company's activities, they agreed occupied rubber plantations have been planted by the company. The pressure in the form of land occupation force governments and corporations hold a meeting facilitated by the Forestry Office Regency of Batang Hari to find common ground or a solution acceptable to all parties. Continued deliberations also made to articulate land area offered by the company, including technical and location of the land in question. Debate and disagreement with government and corporations in every meeting also awaken critical awareness of *Orang Rimba* so the significance of land for every citizen.

As a means of struggle, internally (horizontal) deliberations can be used as a means of consolidation (relationship formed between residents of *Orang Rimba*) which identify issues or problems and formulate strategies of social movements. Externally (vertical), consensus is a form of political communication to outsiders group or super ordinate (state or private, support, networking movement citizenship) to defend their interests associated with social processes that occur (conflict or cooperation) between the parties.

As a means of struggle, the ideology of social movements steers the consultation process including rationalization (arguments) in the deliberations. Type ideology will affect the participants' arguments and subjectively they will rationalize the ideology of "land" which has in the cultural context of them. The ideology of this land

means land ideological meaning. Therefore, *Orang Rimba* will retain the land is not only economic value, but also the terms with the values that shape the ideology of cultural rituals such as the location and so on.

In the meeting, both internally and externally, a group of them are always accompanied by a NGO that KKI-WARSI. The roles of KKI-WARSI in politics of *Orang Rimba* are (1) to advocate and be a source of learning for them in terms of experience and knowledge relating to deliberation and political communication (communication competence in deliberation) (2) organizing and strengthening the capacity of them compiled as a power (3) to facilitate and assist them in negotiations or negotiations with relevant stakeholders to produce agreement or agreement between the two parties problematic (*Orang Rimba* and PT. WP). Negotiation requires tricks and strategies for basically everyone not to be outdone, everyone does not want to be forced and suppressed. In weak position of dwellers, there are many aspects compared to the company, the NGO is the clarification and defense of *Orang Rimba* so that negotiations can be achieved. (4) As a means of political communication, so that opinions, desires, complaints and demands of them up to the government as a center of agrarian policy making. To the *Orang Rimba* always campaigned how the strategy and how to restore their livelihoods in the form of rubber plantations due to the partial loss of their livelihoods in timber estate plantation concession area of PT. WP.

### Resistance of Orang Rimba and Communication Power

Resistance of *Orang Rimba* against PT. WP in fighting communal rights embodied in the form of protest. Dimensions protest by Lofland (2003) are as follows: (1) rejection or objection; (2) on something that is the opposite; (3) which is not to be tolerated; (4) addressed to personal or ruling; (5) in a group and official; (6) is carried out openly; (7) and constituted by a feeling of injustice. Struggle through protests are always faced with the choice between mannered struggle and struggle with violence as a type of 'power mid / middle force'. Protests on the one hand trying to avoid excessive physical damage to property and death that occur when using struggles with violence and rejecting the political struggle mannered on the other side. That protest is a form of struggle 'middle position', ie between polite and impolite. There are some patterns are made by *Orang Rimba* in the protest

against the PT. WP, namely opposition daily, blockade, namely they to temporarily inhibit the movement of the person or property of the party that is opposed (the company), and occupation / occupation of land, which is done by 'entering or refusing to leave the places unwanted or from where prohibited 'by regulation.

Everyday form of Resistance is the term used by James F. Scott, a researcher whose writings much to discuss problems of resistance that carried out by the farming community in order to address the injustice they receive, especially regarding the economic system. Scott (2000) mentions that the opposition daily by the farmers is a struggle mediocre, but occurs continuously between the peasantry and those who seek to take advantage of them. Most of this kind of resistance does not reach the collective defiance and open. In the era of HPH (new order), they do daily resistance by showing displeasure to the company, by way of burning after it was run or step aside, and break or damage the bridge commonly traversed by the vehicle company. So it does not directly deal with the company. Usually the company's response to facing such opposition is seeking chiefs (known as *Tumenggung*) then negotiations begin. After conferring companies usually fined about hundreds of pieces of cloth, or at most 1000 pieces of fabric. On the other hand, to tame of *Orang Rimba*, the company gives a monthly salary of nearly all the Chief or headman so that they feel safe.

In the context of *Orang Rimba* of Terab Group, everyday resistance carried out as part of the resistance against the oppression of receipt. These forms of resistance in the form of planting potatoes and vegetables in the concession area. WP, cursing the company, to sabotage such as blocking of the heavy equipment that will go to the location of the garden and so on. This resistance does not require a planning and coordination of institutional and usually spontaneous. It is individual and tend to avoid direct confrontation with the ruling norms. Scott called it as a smart action due to avoid the legitimacy of the authorities to crackdown-crushing. Furthermore, said various forms of everyday resistance was at once as their weapon that were generally weak.

Individual resistance in the form of everyday resistance and evolved into a collective movement. Terab group of *Orang Rimba* do collective movement shaped open resistance to the PT. WP. Political strategy to fight their communal rights that carried out by NGOs KKI-WARSI preceded by

advocating (consciousness raising) to the group's next appearance of dwellers and then protests conducted formally, and resistance is customary. In this resistance, the role of NGOs is very urgent especially build character of them, mobilize, networks, and assistance in any resistance movement. Starting from the micro level, they arouse critical awareness of them to protest against the company. Resistance of *Orang Rimba* then realized through the occupation of land in areas of plantation owned by PT. WP. It starts with their action of doing the slashing of forests for cultivation land. Action continued with the occupation of land. This action then got a serious response from the company. The company then calls into four terab groups of chiefs. From the results of the negotiations are not obtained an agreement, so *Orang Rimba* still occupied and claimed that the rubber plantation owned by PT. WP is theirs. Advocacy is also directed at influencing policy at the government level, both at the district, provincial and national levels. Discontent at a meeting with the company, including temper tantrums *Orang Rimba* who feel victimized by injustice and it has always been a subject of discussion in the group's internal of them continued to be voiced and materials delivered every time there meeting with the company.

In the context of the communication, the role of actors in social change is strongly influenced by what is called Castell as power and must be supported by the ability to control communication and information. In the case of terab groups of *Orang Rimba*, NGOs KKI-WARSI is the actor to lead the protest conducted by them. NGO that opens all access to communications and information, and connect the minds of his opponents (PT. WP) which considered taking the communal rights of forest dweller to the mindset of the public. Such efforts or manned accompanied by awareness-raising activities as critical education or awareness activities (consciousness raising) through advocacy and discussions or sharing, especially on issues of common interest future of *Orang Rimba*.

For the same reason, resistance to authority (counter power) or government (District and Provincial Forestry Office) is directed towards the removal of government control over defense of the PT. WP with legal reasons (licensing). This case reminds that the main issues "communication power", is about why, how and by whom power relations are built and tested by setting the communication process, and how those

relationships can be modified by social actors for the purpose of social change by influencing the mindset of *Orang Rimba*, Castells mentions that in general, who is constructing a collective identity, and for what, broadly demonstrate the symbolic meaning of this identity. The social construction of identity always in a context characterized by relations of power, and that occurred in this context is what is called Castells "resistance identity", produced by actors who are in positions / conditions devalued and / or stigmatized by the logic of domination, so build resistance and defense on the basis of the principle of different forms, or resistance.

Resistance of *Orang Rimba* is also applied through strategies developed and interaction with regard to the problems that oppress to them, both on the issue of forest conservation and social and cultural life. Socio-cultural terms, for example, an effort to build independence of *Orang Rimba* is done by removing the hegemony of any country or deconstructed to reveal the jargons about the relationship between the state and the people. So far, no statements "Companies providing assistance". This Statement trick thought the community of *Orang Rimba* as if the company has kindly and so forth. In order advocates also accompany legal approach, KKI-Warsi use public pressure by sending a delegation of *Orang Rimba* and complained to government agencies, namely the Forest Service Batang Hari and Jambi. The purpose of this approach is to raise the public opinion of *Orang Rimba* agrarian issues under discussion and need to be the focus of attention of the government as it relates to the future life of *Orang Rimba*.

Hypothesis Castells said that the most fundamental form of strength, is the ability to form a human mindset. How we think determines how we act, both individually and collectively. Communication power is relational capacity that enables a social actor in this NGO as a companion KKI-Warsi influence decisions *Orang Rimba* asymmetrically to follow the will, interests and values they have. Relational capacity meant that the power is not an attribute of a social actor, but are in relationships / linkages between actors, the NGO KKI- WARSI and *Orang Rimba*. Asymmetrical means that when the influence of a social relationship is always reciprocal (mutual influence), then the power relationship there is always a degree of influence that is greater than an actor to another actor. It also confirms the thesis of Castell, that there are three sources of power, namely violence,

money and confidence, and so great was the power over the mind can change the trust.

Reclaiming action in this case means the takeover back land that has historically believed to belong to indigenous peoples. This term is used by NGOs and indigenous peoples. While the government uses looting stigma for those who take action reclaiming. As a means of struggle, internally, deliberation can be used as a means of consolidation that is used to identify issues or problems, identify strategies movement and others. Externally, deliberation is a form of political communication to outsiders or superordinate (state or corporate) in championing the interests of *Orang Rimba* associated with social processes that occur (conflict or cooperation) between the parties. While the action of protest with the occupation of the land, carried by the them as a suppressor to immediately get a serious response from the company to realize agreement between each party in the deliberations.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Contestation of forest resources among the Orang Rimba versus PT. WP sourced from the domination of a management system of forest resources of the country which unilaterally gives so much to the corporate portion (capitalist) to expand its business in the forest area while the rights of Orang Rimba in forest management is neglected. Injustice in the recognition of land rights and access to forest resources is then led to conflict between these ones.

Communicative action of Orang Rimba in maintaining communal rights demonstrated through consultation, both internally and externally as well as resistance to social movements through occupation of the land on the concession of PT. WP

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