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Lay out by: Andi Sandhi

Epistema Institute

Jalan Jati Mulya IV No.23

Jakarta 12540

Telepon : 021-78832167

Faksimile : 021-7823957

E-mail : epistema@epistema.or.id

Website : www.epistema.or.id

FOREST TENURE SECURITY AND ITS DYNAMICS

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK¹

Myrna A. Safitri

I. INTRODUCTION

Secure forest tenure of local communities may contribute to several development goals. Some scholars have argued that it can induce higher investment in forests, which in turn may lead to economic growth and poverty reduction (Demsetz, 1967; de Soto, 2000; Deininger, 2003; Hobley, 2007). Others state that tenure security will contribute to stability as it limits local conflicts, and that it can enhance both environmental protection and democratic governance through community involvement in forest preservation (Lynch, Harwell, 2002; FAO, 2007). Meanwhile, for some researchers, tenure security is a matter of social justice, of human rights protection in forest tenure systems, and derives its importance from its contribution to the rule of law (Ellsworth, White, 2004; Cass, 2006; Wily, 2006).

Academics have presented data concerning forest tenure (White, Martin, 2002; Sunderlin, Hatcher, Liddle, 2008) and analysed legal and social to security of community forest tenure (Forest Trends, 2000; Lynch, Harwell, 2002; Contreras-Hermosilla, Fay, 2005). Yet, few have adequately defined what community forest tenure is, how we can conceptualize the security of such tenure, taking into account different perspectives—norms, actual practices, and community perceptions—, which are the main elements by which we can define and assess tenure security, and which (f)actors may determine security or insecurity of tenure.

This paper aims to contribute to a socio-legal study of forest tenure. It will share us an understanding how to analyse the interplay between norms laid down in state legislation, social norms, actual practices, and perceptions concerning forest tenure as conducted at community level. Then, it seeks to understand how this interplay has evolved in different periods and developed into certain social and ecological situations.

¹ This paper will be further elaborated in my PhD thesis titled *Forest Tenure in Indonesia: the socio-legal challenges of securing communities' rights*, Leiden University (published December 2010). Comments can be sent to myrna_safitri@yahoo.com.

This paper elaborates key concepts of community forest tenure and its security. This conceptualisation will also serve as a point of reference for assessing forest tenure security for communities, both in legislation and social practice. In this part, we will find a definition of forest tenure; in what sense it relates to property rights and access to forest; how we should understand tensions and conformity between state and community tenure systems.

Then, there will be a section that discusses what security of community forest tenure means; which domains and elements we need to distinguish in order to assess such security in credible ways. The last section elaborates how security of community forest tenure may change in different socio-legal settings.

II. FOREST TENURE, PROPERTY RIGHTS, ACCESS

Forest tenure systems and arrangement

By adopting the broad definition of forest tenure of the FAO (2002:7), I define forest tenure as a legally and/or socially defined relationship among individuals or groups of people with respect to forest land and resources in general or to the land that has been classified by the government as 'forest' and all resources therein. The term 'legally defined' means here deriving from a state legal framework, whereas 'socially defined' refers to relations emanating from a community with its normative system.

The term tenure implies that those involved in tenure relations (tenure actors) hold property rights to land and resources. A tenure actor can either be an individual or a group of people, including the state and its bodies or the local authorities of the community. Forest tenure constitutes a system in which forest tenure relations are regulated, recognized and protected by specific norms deriving from the state or community which are to be enforced through state or community institutions. Following this definition we can distinguish state forest tenure systems and community forest tenure systems.

A state forest tenure system consists of the legal framework that determines legal relations among people or between people and state bodies concerning land and forest resources, and the state institutions that produce, implement and enforce the law. In contrast, a community forest tenure system is a system of social norms and institutions. Such systems can develop in various ways, through consensus or domination, and are protected by local institutions and authorities in the community. A community forest tenure system thus determines the tenure relations between the individual members of such community or between those individuals and its collective authorities.

Both state tenure systems and community tenure systems do seldom reflect a single, monolithic entity. They can consist of several forest tenure subsystems, as sets of norms related to forest tenure that are applied by distinct sub-groups within the state or the community.

The abovementioned definitions may seem to suggest that state and communities have separate tenure systems each of which may apply in full in different locations. In fact, state and community forest tenure systems often operate and in the same Forest Areas and apply

to the same communities or dwellers. Incompatibilities of the two tenure systems and the disrespect of each system to the other will raise tensions. Likewise, between the various subsystems of forest tenure within the state and within community systems harmony does not always prevail. Different norms used by various tenure (sub)systems often result in forest tenure conflicts, either between state and community, or inter-community and inter-state agencies.

The tensions between different forest tenure (sub)systems have called for endeavours to harmonize, in order to work out practical arrangements. We regard forest tenure arrangements as particular sets of practices of tenure actors in using, adapting and harmonizing different norms to regulate their tenure relations. The state, as one of the tenure actors, can design such arrangements in different ways. Firstly, it can legalize community forest tenure systems in the ways as will be described below. Secondly, the state can establish consensus among its agencies, both sectoral and regional, to harmonize the policy and legislation which is to be applied in a particular forest areas. Meanwhile, a community, can attempt to make a forest tenure arrangement by voluntarily acceptance of state legalisation. Another type of arrangement can be developed by adopting other non-state norms of tenure to their own system. The adoption of religious norms or other social norms are a common example.

I understand 'recognition, integration or incorporation' as different models of the state's legalization of community forest tenure (cf. Ubink, 2009:12). By recognition the state accepts the existence of a community forest tenure system and provides its community institutions with full autonomy to apply their system. Integration means that the community forest tenure system fully merges into a state tenure system, losing its particular non-state identity. In this model the rights of the community are regulated in accordance with the rights as laid down in the state legal framework. In the incorporation model the state grants a collective right to a forest community according to state tenure system, but the subsystems of forest tenure are still regulated by the community itself.

Property rights

A major function of forest tenure systems is the construction of property rights. Some authors believe that forest tenure is identical with property rights.² However, I prefer to keep them conceptually separate. As mentioned above, forest tenure refers to actors' relationship with respect to land and forest resources. Such a relation enables tenure actors—individually or collectively—to make justifiable and enforceable claims (i.e. to hold property rights) to own, utilize, benefit, transfer land and forest resources in certain period or use them as credit collateral. The transfer of property rights can be temporarily or permanently and may apply to internal group members and/or outsiders. All actors are dependent upon a tenure system that determines who can hold rights and use land and resources in Forest Areas, to which land and resources, for how long and under what conditions (FAO, 2002: 7; Van Dijk, 1996:18).

Community property rights refer to the rights held by a community, its sub-groups or members. They may consist of 'communal rights' a community exercises over its common property or its whole territory, 'collective rights' of sub-groups, and 'individual rights' of community members. According to their normative sources, community property rights can be created by state legislation and enforced by state institution; or, they may develop on the basis of customary norms enforced by local communities' institutions.³ Both types of community property rights can be found on state land or privately held land.

Concerning state land, property rights are mainly with the state, so the number of property right bundles belonging to non-state actors on these lands is limited, and many restrictions apply. There are no rights of individuals or groups to own or freely transfer the land and forest resources to others. In some cases, the right holders are also forbidden to use their right as credit collateral. In contrast, property rights found in private land (private property rights) bestow right holders with more extended bundles of rights, such as ownership, right of transfer and the right to use as credit collateral.

²Some authors use the same definition when they define tenure and when they use the notion of property rights. Property rights to those scholars reflect the relationships between society's members regarding valuable things (Bruce, 1998; Bromley, 1989; Ellsworth, White, 2004; F. And K. Benda-Beckmann, Wiber, 2006).

³ This section adopts Lynch and Harwell's definition of community-based property rights (Lynch, Harwell, 2002:3). I agree with their definition but, to my understanding their term, community-based property rights, does not clearly represent its content. As Lynch and Harwell add, the state sometimes recognizes community-based property rights. In this case, should we still use the term community-based?

As in our discussion of forest tenure systems, here we also distinguish 'property arrangements' when different normative sources of property rights apply on the same land, to the same resources or actors. In this study the notion of property arrangement refers to a part of a forest tenure arrangement in which tenure actors have adjusted and harmonised different types of rights deriving from different forest tenure systems. A common type of such arrangement occurs when the state legalises community property rights, through recognition, integration and incorporation of these rights.

In all their forms, property rights share their characteristic as a bundle of rights and obligations regarding land and forest resources. These rights and obligations may concern different actors, different resources, in different periods. In such bundle, a right may exist either as one single right, or together with a few other rights, or together with all different rights, such as the rights to own, utilize, benefit and transfer land and forest resources or to use them as credit collateral. Meanwhile, the obligations are prohibitions that have been set up by each normative tenure system for not using property rights in a way that is harmful to the interests of other actors (World Resources, 2005:56; Larson et al., 2008:viii) or to environmental sustainability.

We can study the bundle of rights from four different perspectives (F. and K. Benda-Beckmann, Wiber, 2006:15). The first and best known perspective is the existence of different types of property rights within a community. Secondly, we can observe a bundle of rights merged into in one comprehensive property right, particularly ownership, which combines rights to utilize, to transfer and the like. From a third perspective we can observe how on one object of property is subject to different types of property rights and right holders. Fourthly, we can focus on situations of an exchange between two or more property right holders who have different property relations regarding different objects.

In the course of this study we have observed all kinds of property rights with different degrees of security. We can distinguish well or ill-defined rights, short or long term rights, extended or limited rights, and strongest or weaker rights. The well/ill-defined property rights refer to how precise the forest tenure system has defined the terms and conditions of the rights (cf. Ubink, 2009:11); and to how the subject, object, and duration of rights, and the conditions related to the application of rights and obligations, are formulated by the

norms. The short or long term rights definitely refer to the duration of the rights.

How extended or limited rights are, can be measured by observing the number and breadth of rights held by tenure actors. Once a tenure actor holds all types of rights - from ownership to right of transfer - on one parcel of land or to one specific forest resource, (s)he obtains the most extended right. However, in many cases the norms of a tenure system only allow tenure actors to hold one or a few type(s) of rights. For example, some tenure systems do not permit the transfer of the right of land utilization to outsiders, neither temporarily nor permanently; in other systems the right is transferable to outsiders only temporarily.

To know how strong or weak property rights are, we can observe to which degree such rights are actually enforceable. The strongest property rights exists when these rights are recognized by and authoritative state or local institution and enforced against challenges from other individuals, groups, or state agencies.

Access to forest, rights and power

Property rights do not guarantee that the right holders can actually use and reap benefits from forest land and resources. Therefore it is useful to introduce another notion, namely access to forest. As Ribot and Peluso defined it, the concept of access refers to how tenure actors are actually able to use and benefit from land and forest resources (Ribbot, Peluso, 2003:1). Thus the notion of access differs significantly from property rights as justifiable claims based on normative systems. As such, the study of property rights focuses mostly on the normative domain, whereas access relates rather to the empirical domain. Access is about how actions and interactions among tenure actors actually take place, influenced by social, political, legal, economic and physical-environmental factors.

Although we distinguish conceptually between property rights and access, they are of course connected. Property rights are generally a foundational factor of access to forest. The notion of access refers to practical implications of property rights, notably how right holders actually use and benefit from land and forest resources.

Ribot and Peluso have coined the term right-based access to denote a situation in which access derives from property rights (Ribbot, Peluso, 2003:13-5). But according to Ribbot and Peluso access can also exist without property rights of the tenure actors. For example, forest

dwellers who cultivate state forests without holding any rights, neither derived from state law nor from the community, may obtain access by bribing the street-level officials who are responsible for controlling the forest.

Ribbot and Peluso have used the notion of power-based access for access that is based on the decisions of local powerholders rather than on any property rights. We can observe the power-based access under three, enabling, conditions : (i) if those who hold property rights on land and resources explicitly or not allow other to use and benefit from the land and resources; (ii) if those who do not hold property rights employ their power to use or benefit from other's land and resources without prior consent from the right holders; and (iii) if those who do not hold property rights assist and protect someone to use or benefit from other's land and resources (cf. Ribbot, Peluso, 2003:8-11). As such, power-based access to forest could be regarded as the manifestation of a bundle of powers of tenure actors.

Under which conditions does power-based access rise to prominence at the cost of rights-based access? To what extent does power-based access lead to social & environmental injustice? How can those conditions possibly be changed? Such questions are to be answered by empirical investigation. My hypothesis would be that (i) ineffectiveness of state or community forest tenure systems and (ii) the absence of forest tenure arrangements that are accepted by all tenure actors contribute to (iii) the use of sheer power for access to Forest Areas. The extent to which this situation will lead to injustice depends on the balance and fair power relations among the tenure actors.

III. THE SECURITY OF COMMUNITY FOREST TENURE

My conceptualization of forest tenure security is threefold, in that it covers normative systems, actual practices, and personal perception of tenure actors.⁴ Consequently, I defined for the purpose of this particular study ‘security of community forest tenure’ as: (a) a situation in which a state legal system or community normative system regulates, recognizes and protects community property rights to forest land and resources, for a continuous period, and against challenge from other individuals or groups and the state; (b) such regulation, recognition and protection are consistently manifested in the actual practices of state officials and/or local community authorities, which in turn result in the ability of tenure actors to obtain access to forest; (c) both the property rights and their actual protection are perceived as such by the majority of community members. This definition points to the three domains of our analysis of the security of community forest tenure – the normative tenure security, the actual tenure security, and the perceived tenure security. Let us now turn to these domains.

Normative tenure security

The normative tenure security refers to security as guaranteed by the norms of state or community forest tenure systems. It requires clear and applicable state laws and social norms of property rights and strong norms to protect such rights. This book uses the term legal security of community forest tenure to reflect the normative domain of the state forest tenure system. For security of forest tenure based on social norms, it uses the term ‘tenure security based on local community norms’.

Legal security of tenure refers to the existence of legal rules and state institutions that allow community members to hold robust property rights over forest land and resources on appropriate duration and to have protection on their rights. Place, Roth and Hazell (1994:20) and Lindsay (1998) have developed three elements of legal tenure security which are useful to observe the degree of legal security in a given situation. For the purpose of this study, with its focus on property rights of forest communities, I have used those three elements and defined the elements of legal forest tenure security as follows:

⁴ For a similar analysis see Reerink forthcoming.

- i) *the robustness of community property rights*, meaning that the rights should have a clear and strong legal basis and been granted by lawful authorities (*the principle of legality*); the rights must be clearly formulated in terms of the criteria and legal status of right holders, the scope of rights and obligations, the types and boundaries of the rights' object as well as the ways in which rights holders are able to exclude or control outsiders to their land and forest resources (*the principle of clarity*). Then, the rights must be granted in their most extended bundles combining all forms of rights, from ownership, use, transfer to the ability to use land and resources as credit collateral (*the principle of most extended right*);
- ii) *the appropriate duration of rights* meaning that the community right holders have rights to the land and forest resources for a long enough time to have an incentive to invest in the land and forest resources, so that they will be able to reap benefit from them;
- iii) *the legal protection of the community's property rights*, referring to a mechanism which can provide effective remedies in response to appeals by community members whose property rights are (in danger of) being overridden by other individuals or the state in an unjust way. To achieve legal protection there should be three cumulative conditions:
- legislation that contains provisions of communities' participation in government's decision-making about their property rights, whether to sustain or restrain such rights;
 - accessible and effective complaint mechanisms at state institutions to handle people's grievances regarding unfair treatment by government officials and/or other people concerning their rights;
 - accessible, affordable and fair mechanisms of conflict resolution, including judicial process.⁵

⁵ The element of right's protection as used in this book shares some similarities with the notion and scheme of access to justice as Bedner and Vel (2010) have developed, particularly concerning one of the elements of their proposed definition of access to justice, namely the proper treatment of people's grievances.

By reading conflict as a process, as Nader and Todd (1978:14) have conceptualized it, we should be aware of possibilities to protect rights in early stages. It is, for example, not necessary to wait until a community goes to court, if state officials can provide the protection after a community has expressed its grievances to them. Thus we can use 'early warning' mechanisms to prevent the growth and escalation of conflicts.

The normative security embedded in the forest tenure system of a community, can be understood and investigated by looking at the extent to which such tenure system recognizes and protects the members' property rights to land and forest resources. Unlike legal security which is based on standardized rules at national or regional levels, tenure security which is based on local community norms is locally specific. Nevertheless, to some extent, the three above-mentioned elements of legal tenure security are applicable *mutatis mutandum*.

Actual tenure security

Actual security of community forest tenure refers to an empirical situation where individuals or groups are able to realize their property rights and to use land and forest resources and reap their benefits for an uninterrupted period and free from challenges from other individuals or groups and the state. Actual tenure security may happen because state officials or local community authorities consistently apply and enforce the norms of their forest tenure systems. Focusing on how actual practices of community forest tenure contribute to security, we can identify who benefits or not from legislation, licenses or from social norms, which supposedly bestow forest communities with tenure security. Actual tenure security can also be used as an indicator of obtaining livelihood from forest tenure. An empirical research into actual tenure security can also help to see how these actual factors enable and constrain the resolution of forest conflicts and encourage forest communities to preserve the forest.

Perceived tenure security

The last domain of forest tenure security relates to the perceptions of tenure actors regarding their security of tenure. The FAO in a study of land tenure and rural development has stated that security of tenure is to a large extent what people perceive it to be (FAO 2002:18). Inspired by a definition of tenure security of Place, Roth and Hazell (1994:19), this

book defines perceived tenure security as a prevailing perception—or strong conviction—among community members that they have property rights or can obtain access to forest land and resources on a continuous basis, free from physical imposition or interference from others; as a result, they get benefits from labour and capital invested in that land, either in use or upon transfer to another holder.

When actors perceive tenure security this is the result of their personal knowledge and experience with norms and practices of state or community authorities with regard to the Forest Areas. The key factors in constructing their perception of forest tenure security are (i) the actual implementation of legal rules and social norms, (ii) the use of state or community authorities' power in recognizing and protecting the actors' property rights and their access to land and forest resources, and (iii) the economic values of forest land and resources.

In conclusion, forest tenure security results from an interplay of normative systems, actual practicing of the norms, and individual perceptions of tenure actors which influence one another continuously. Complete forest tenure security is achieved in a given case if security is optimal in all three domains. This study assumes that to achieve the goals of forest preservation, poverty alleviation and conflict resolution complete tenure security is required, rather than partial security.

A study of forest tenure security could also choose to focus either on the normative dimension of community forest tenure, or on practices, or perceptions. They can all be separately studied. Yet, nothing is more interesting than studying forest tenure security in all its domains. By portraying all of them one can see how gaps or overlapping between each of them have developed, why, and how each interacts and influences one another. How, for instance the change of legislation and government's actions affect people's perception of forest tenure security; how community perceptions impact upon actual social practices of forest management. All such questions are raised when doing socio-legal research into the relationship between the normative, practical and perceived tenure security in particular cases. By studying all the domains I intend to understand the extent to which policies, laws and social norms can contribute to community forest tenure security to enhance the wider objective of social & environmental justice.

IV. THE DYNAMICS OF COMMUNITY FOREST TENURE SECURITY

The definitions of security of community forest tenure discussed in the previous section refer to fixed situations of optimal security. In real-life situations forest tenure has varying degrees of security, which are subject to change. Community forest tenure is indeed a dynamic phenomenon, with its degree security changing as a consequence of alterations in one or more tenure security domains. The paragraphs below will present the main actors and factors which will figure in the narrations of 'tenure dynamics' in Lampung in the following chapters of this study.

Policy, legislation and projects

As my research findings have confirmed, government policy, legislation, and development projects are usually prominent factors for the dynamics of tenure security. In certain periods national and regional land and forestry policy and legislation have undermined community property rights and restricted the access of community members to Forest Areas. In other periods, they have recognized community's rights and opened their access to forest.

State officials

In certain cases state officials play an important role in directing the change of community forest tenure security. Both higher and lower officials may have significant effects on these changes. The high-level officials either in national or regional state institutions perform roles in policy and law-making and exercise discretionary powers that can either strengthen or weaken community property rights. The lowest level ones—Lipsky (1980:3) called them street-level bureaucrats—are in direct contact with communities, and through them policy and legislation may impact on every day live of the community members.

Local institutions and authorities

As for forest tenure systems which emanates from communities and their normative system, we must pay attention to the role of local institutions and authorities, who may also strengthen or weaken the rights of communities as well as restrict or enable their access to the forest. This book regards a local institution as any social organization found in a community which functions to produce socially accepted norms.⁶ Local institutions can naturally emerge from within a community. However in certain cases they can also be

⁶ Other scholars defined institution more broadly, for example as the rules of social relationships (Klooster, 2000:3), or the rules actually used in governing access to resources (McCarthy, 2006:10).

formed or transplanted by outsiders—including by the state. Embedded in the local institutions are local authorities, i.e. those who have the social power to make and enforce social norms in a community.

The local institutions and authorities are central to community forest tenure systems as they define, regulate, allocate community property rights and protect them against other community members or outsiders. The local institution and authorities are also determining actors in the social acceptance of the state forest tenure system in their community.

Nevertheless, local institutions and authorities do not always stand for securing community property rights and access. Discrimination of the poor and other disadvantaged groups such as women, children and minorities can take place when these institutions and authorities apply norms. Power abuse of local authorities may lead to injustice in forest tenure practices, and thus lessen the degree of tenure security as perceived by the community members.

Social, political and economic forces and actors

State officials and community institutions may be major tenure actors; however, tenure dynamics are also determined by other actors in a wider context. Civil society actors and their movements can influence policies, legislation and government practices related to community forest tenure. Non-Governmental Organizations, academics and journalists working in favour of forest communities' may undertake a wide range of actions, such as lobbying the government officials or legislatures, undertaking policy advocacy, influencing public opinion or doing legal and social empowerment of forest communities. Since most civil society movements are dedicated to strengthening the communities, they will seldom be a source of tenure insecurity. Yet, there may be problems with civil society movements as for their ability to be effective on the short term.

Political actors in political parties and legislative bodies may also act as protectors and allies of forest communities to maintain or strengthening their property rights and access to the forest. They may exert political pressure on government officials to recognize or grant communities' rights or access to the forest. The political arena, however, is a double-edged sword. It can also be harmful for community forest tenure security when the main political actors direct the political and legislative in ways that conflict with the interests of forest

communities.

Access to forest land and resources and the ensuring tenure security matter to people because they are able to use and transform land and resources to become a source of livelihood. This may lead to competition and contestation, but also to cooperation among actors. In the case of conflicting economic interests we may see contestation of claims and access to forest land and resources, whilst similarity of economic interests may encourage cooperation. Private companies and forest communities usually stand for opposite economic interests; but under certain conditions, both may develop a mutual economic cooperation. Thus, in an economic sense, private companies may be the either enemies or providers of tenure security. Within the community, local entrepreneurs as brokers of marketing forest products may play similar roles.

Physical and social conditions regarding forest utilization

The importance attached to community forest tenure varies according to the condition of the forest land and resources to which the state or community forest tenure system is applied. Obviously, forest communities will reap more benefit from Forest Areas if they have rights to high quality forest land and resources. A FAO study of forest tenure in South and Southeast Asia shows that many governments handed over degraded forests or forests with little valuable resources to communities (FAO, 2007:9). Legalising community forest tenure systems in this kind of forest means burden sharing—the burden of rehabilitating the forest—rather than profit sharing. Such a situation may not enhance forest communities' interests in preserving the forests, and not contribute to poverty eradication as one of the objectives of securing community forest tenure.

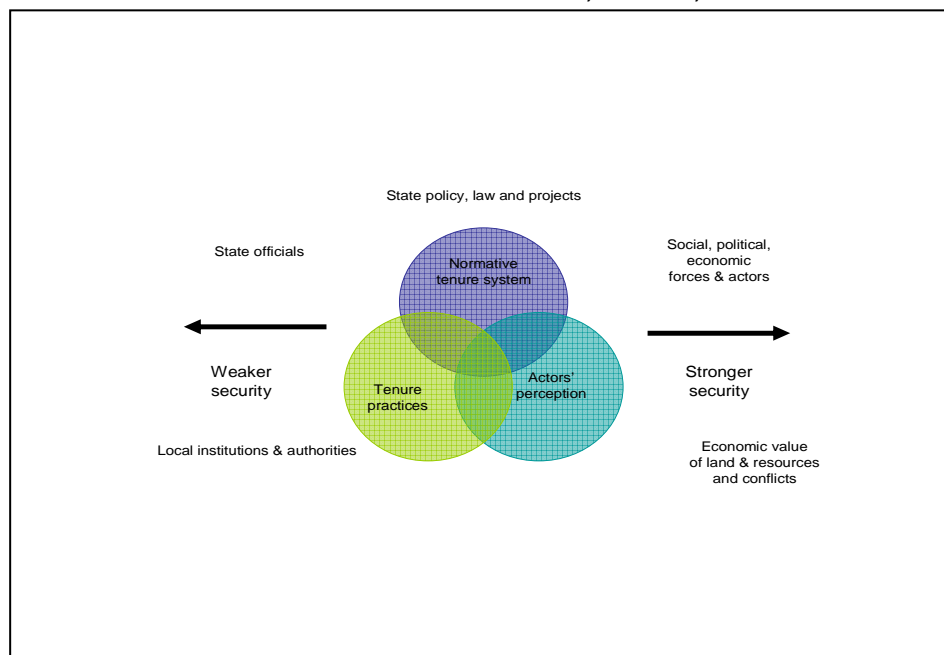
Conflicts-ridden areas of forest may present another obstacle to forest tenure security. Clashes between state and community forest tenure system have often led to conflicts. Where no effective forest tenure arrangements are made, such conflicts may grow and escalate. However, if tenure actors succeed in conflict-resolution by appropriate forest tenure arrangement, this may strengthen security of community forest tenure.

V. CONCLUSION

An analysis of forest tenure needs a set of conceptual tools to explain how forest tenure and its security result from a complex interplay of norms, social practices and relations, and perceptions. Forest tenure and tenure security cannot be simplified to a normative phenomenon; this would not be sufficient to explain the real, dynamic situation of tenure. I have tried in this paper to construct a broad definition of forest tenure and to explain the linkages between forest tenure, property rights and access to land and forest resources, using the notion of bundles of rights, obligations and powers.

In addition, this paper has explained the concept tenure security. First it has elaborated tenure security as a three-dimensional, ideal situation, in which (a) rights and access are recognized and respected by the state legal system or by a local normative system, (b) consistently implemented through actual practices of state officials and community functionaries, and (c) perceived by the community members as effectively protecting their rights against internal and external threats. Secondly, it has addressed the social reality of tenure dynamics, and presented actors and factors who may influence forest tenure security in particular localities which serve as arenas of social and political activity (see figure 1).

Figure1
TENURE SECURITY AND DYNAMICS: DOMAINS, FACTORS, ACTORS



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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Myrna A. Safitri is a PhD researcher of Van Vollenhoven Institute, Leiden University, the Netherlands. Since the 1990s, she has been involving in several research projects on land and forest tenure in Indonesia and in Indonesian civil society movements of the policy and legal reform on land and natural resources. She is the member of working group on agrarian reform and natural resource management and of Indonesian CSO's coalition of forestry policy reform. She is also the member of the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) working group on the national strategy on access to justice.

She is one the founders of HuMa (the Association of community and ecologically-based law reform) where she had been a secretary of board (2001-2007); then became an executive coordinator of HuMa Learning Centre (2009-2010). Currently, she is the executive director of Epistema Institute. Her related publications are:

- 'The mystery of formalising informal land tenure in the forest frontier: the case of Langkawana, Lampung, Indonesia', in: Ubink, J.M, A.J. Hoekema, W.J.Assies (eds.), 2009, *Legalising land rights: Local practices, state responses and tenure security in Africa, Asia and Latin America*. Pp. 549-573. Leiden: Leiden University Press.
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Faksimile : 021-7823957

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