

## Adaptation and Social Resilience in Forest Resources

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### Abstract

*Purpose of this study is to map the adaptability of local communities in the face of pressure when they experience conflicts over forest resources with the government. The study took place in the Gunung Halimun Salak National Park (GHSNP), West Java and Sungai Utik Forest, West Kalimantan, Indonesia. The GHSNP area is a conservation forest whose habitat inside is protected by the Government. This area is adjacent to the Kasepuhan community. Meanwhile, Sungai Utik forest is a production forest whose utilization permit is controlled by a private company. This area is also claimed to be the customary forest of the Dayak Iban community. This study used qualitative methods by taking data through in-depth interviews and participant observation. Then the data were analyzed by qualitative analysis. The findings of this study are theories of social resilience in the struggle for natural resources. This theory proved that the adaptability of local community will emerge when they face a problem or conflict. The same experiences of adverse events that were very stressful with high-stress levels gave rise to different adaptation reactions in the two communities. It was due to different supporting factors. In the Dayak Iban community, the ability of adaptation comes from the support of other parties, while Kasepuhan community adaptation comes from the ability of individuals to maintain relationships with other parties. The assumptions and facts found in this study gave birth to new findings of the theory of social resilience in the struggle for forest resources.*

**Keywords:** *adaptation ability, resilience, supporting factors, stress, and pressure*

### 1. Introduction

Forest resources are an essential factor in human life, their existence is sometimes not realized, but their absence will raise significant problems for humans. The function of forests as the world's lungs, energy sources, and even food sources for people who live around the forest. Therefore, many parties have an interest in the forest. At least there are communities, countries, and entrepreneurs. Each party has the meaning and concept of governance of the forest. In Indonesia, there are times when there are differences in the meaning and overlapping of forest governance. For example, there is an overlapping of governance, according to local institutions and state institutions. When the state issues a policy regarding the management and use of forests, of course, it will be very dilemmatic, because the policy may be beneficial to one party and detrimental to the other party. The Government established areas conservation on the one hand, on the other hand, forests are also a source of livelihood for local communities [1]. Many indigenous peoples depend their livelihoods on forests with the concept of forest management according to local institutions, including Dayak people living in the interior of Kalimantan and depend their lives on forests [2], [3].

The existence of other institutions besides state institutions that regulate the management of forest resources causes conflicts in governance forest. In such a position, local institutions and their communities are always the negated party. Even so, local institutions with local knowledge about forest governance still survive. For example, the Kasepuhan people in the Gunung Halimun Salak National Park in West Java and Banten and the Dayak Iban Sungai Utik Community in West Kalimantan are two communities who live around the forest [1].

Forest resource conflicts occur because there are differences in the meaning of the forest by each party. Government, Entrepreneurs, and Local Communities. Governments and entrepreneurs are mighty parties so that forestry conflicts eventually always weaken and paralyze local communities, who they are the real owners of forests because they are domiciled, settled and their lives depend on forest resources for a long time before there were a State and the State's policy on forests [1]. Forests and local communities are one entity; their existence cannot be separated. Aside from being a source of livelihood, the community's relation to the forest is legitimized by legislation [4], [1].

Conflict on forest resources not only puts the parties in a conflict condition, but it can make one party (subordinate) negated by the other party (superordinate) and lose their rights over the forest resources and or lose their livelihood. In these circumstances, what is needed by the individual or group is not just the ability to adapt to the new environment but requires the ability to get out of the situation and return to overcome the conditions of life that had collapsed, in other words, called resilience.

This article tries to analyze adaptation strategies, and local community resilience is facing pressure over the struggle for access to forest rights by taking the case of the Kasepuhan Sinar officially community and the Dayak Iban community of Sungai Utik. A further aim of this paper is to critically analyze and identify the different actions and adaptation strategies of the two communities.

## **2. Conceptual Framework**

Forest resource conflict is unavoidable when there are two different interests in the forest. Both for the benefit of conservation and for the benefit of forest use. The existence of state policies on forests can also create conflicts of interest between the state on one side and local communities on the other, even though both parties have the same goal towards the forest, which is conservation. It happened because it turns out that the State policy ignores the existence of local communities with their interests in the forest.

Production forests also face the same challenges. The Government's policy on business licenses for the utilization of timber forest products (LFUTFP) in specific forest locations faces the interests of communities who claim the forest as their customary forest and source of livelihood.

Conflicts due to government policies both in conservation forests and production forests have made community access rights to forests limited or even lost. Conflict conditions put significant pressure on the parties to the conflict, especially local people who have a high dependence on forests. How to cope with the pressure from the shock that community has received due to loss of access, it is necessary to be able to adapt to challenging situations for their survival. The adaptability of these communities is part of efforts to create sustainable livelihood, where they must be able to demonstrate the ability, as follows: Adapt to shock and pressure; Maintain capabilities and assets owned; Guarantee life for generations next. The meaning of sustainability is not only economically but also ecologically and socially [5].

Adaptation interprets the ability to adapt to environmental conditions. These adjustments are personal, both to the environment, and adjustments in the form of

personal changes according to environmental conditions, and can also meaningfully change the environment to suit with personal desires [6].

In the context of conflict over forest resources, adaptation is a process of surviving in conflict conditions. Adaptation is essentially a process of fulfilling basic requirements for survival. The description is as follows: 1. Basic natural-biological requirements (in order to maintain stable body temperature, humans must eat and drink); 2. Primary mental conditions (the need for feelings of calm, no feelings of fear, anxiety or feeling alienated); 3. Primary social conditions (social development) harmonious social relations, can have offspring, not want, learn to know the culture [7].

The adaptation process considered successful when the individual or group can meet the natural-biological requirements for survival, meaning that it can meet the living needs of clothing, food and shelter, in other words, the source the livelihood is not disturbed, or even if it is disturbed, they have a way to overcome the difficulty of the livelihood. That way in his concept is called an ecological adaptation strategy model, which interpreted a form of ecological adaptation strategy of local communities that shows the characteristics of "steady, continuous progress in living conditions that contain elements of freedom, happiness, and security for all members of the community. The free elements include components: the quality of physical life; livelihood; individuality and freedom of choice; self-development; and socio-political developments. The results of previous studies indicate that several dominant factors influence adaptation models and community livelihood strategies, namely: ecological factors, social and institutional support, conflict resolution, and ecological politics decisions [4].

The successful adaptation of the community from pressure and conflict gives birth to new abilities among the local community, which are called resilience. The importance is a description of the process and results of successful community adaptations to severe circumstances or even challenging life experiences, with high levels of stress or traumatic events [8]-[10], [1]. Thus resilience can be said as one form of adaptation of local communities to conflict conditions, including conflicts over the struggle for forest resources.

Referring to the Oxford dictionary, Resilience is the ability of people to recover quickly from shock, injury, and many hard situations. Her natural resilience helped her to overcome the crisis). Resilience interprets an ability to accommodate pressures or disturbances that are sudden and extraordinary [1], [11]. Every community has different abilities to adapt and get out of conflict situations in how the adaptation and resilience strategies of each community influenced by the cultural values adopted by the community.

### **3. Methodology**

This research uses a qualitative research method with a hermeneutic approach. A hermeneutics approach is an approach that prioritizes the analysis and interpretation of texts [12]. This approach requires proficiency in understanding texts in the space of historical-cultural relativity of every human discourse, and this is related to the issue of time, place of the creator of the text, the subject of interpretation, and interpretation. The use of hermeneutics as an approach aims to interpret data by tracing information and explaining the meaning of each informant's utterance, revealing the meaning behind the text, discourse.

Literature study, in-depth interview, participant observation, FGD, and expert studies are data collection techniques selected in order to explain. Furthermore, the data obtained interpretation and constructed based on the subjective perspective of the Research Team. The emphasis is on portraying, understanding and interpreting various phenomena that

place local people in stressful and stressful conditions but can get out of these conditions and still survive and be able to adapt to stressful environments.

Gunung Halimun Salak National Park (GHSNP), West Java Indonesia and Sungai Utik Forest (SUF), West Kalimantan Province are two sites of research. GHSNP and SUF are two forest that have two different functions. GHSNP is a conservation area determined based on Minister of Forestry Decree Number 175/Kpts-II/2003. The decree had consequences for the expansion of the National Park area and the loss of community arable land in the area. It caused the community to lose their livelihoods, while the community's dependence on the forest is quite high.

The Sungai Utik area was chosen as a research location for several reasons, as follows: First, Sungai Utik is the location of cultural preservation on the one hand; on the other hand, it is an industrial forest with permits for the utilization of timber forest products granted to private company. Secondly, this area is inhabited by the Dayak Iban Sungai Utik community, whose have local cultural values about forest governance. They are already received an Ecolabelling certificate from The Institute Ecolabelling Indonesian (LEI). The two forests are currently in conflict situation. The conflict in GHSNP has triggered due to a change in forest status and forest expansion in 2003. The conflict in Sungai Utik forest occurred since government issued timber forest product permit (TFPP) to the Private Company, while the community considered the forest as a customary (*adat*) forest.

In the case of conflicts over forest resources in GHSNP and SUF was involving between local community and the Government (including private companies therein). In GHSNP, there is local community, namely Kasepuhan. While in SUF, there is Dayak Iban Sungai Utik community. The differences between the two locations illustrated as follows:

**Table 1. Differences in the Characteristics of the GHSNP and Sungai Utik Locations and the Work of Various Theoretical Phenomena [1]**

<b>Indicators</b>	<b>TNGHS</b>	<b>Utik River</b>
Forest type	Conservation of	Production
Actors	Kasepuhan Community	Dayak Iban Community
Actors	Local Community affiliated with the local government against the central Government	Local Community against the Central Government, Private companies and local governments
the supreme source of power	Supernatural (ancestral spirits/pioneers) manifested in the leadership of the <i>Abah</i> (Chieftain) as a supernatural supreme decision-maker	Supernatural (ancestral spirits/pioneers) manifested in customary deliberations as the highest decision-maker
Interest in forest	forests as a source of <i>livelihood</i> (economy <i>subsistence</i> ) against the Government with the ideology of preservation	forests as a source of <i>livelihood</i> community (economy <i>subsistence</i> ) against Government with capital economic interests Area
ownership is marked by	sacred tombs and former fields	<i>Tembawai</i> and <i>damun</i> ( <i>The type of land by local knowledge</i> )
community views on ownership rights	Access is more important than <i>right</i>	<i>Right</i> is very important to ensure continuity of access

## 4. Result and Discussion

### 4.1. Historical Review of Forest Governance in TNGHS and HSU

Gunung Haliun Salak Nasional Park (GHSNP) history starts from the Gunung Halimun as Nature Reserve since 1935. This area becomes national parks, following Minister of Forestry Decree No. 282/Kpts-II/ 1992 dated February 28, 1992, with an area of 40,000 ha under the temporary management of Gunung Gede Pangrango National Park. Changes in area and name to Gunung Halimun Salak National Park (GHSNP) have been carried out since 2003 with the issuance of Minister of Forestry Decree No.175/Kpts-II/2003 on June 10, 2003, concerning the Appointment of the Gunung Halimun National Park Area and Changing Function of Protected Forest Areas, Permanent Production Forests, Limited Production Forest become the Gunung Halimun-Salak National Park, with an 113,357 hectare.

As for the Sungai Utik Forest, there is a conflict between the central government and the local community. The central government in this context is the Ministry of Forestry, represented by the Directorate General of Forestry Production Development. The local community is the Dayak Iban Sungai Utik Community. In this conflict, involving holding company permits for the utilization of wood. Conflict in this area, confronts the Dayak Iban Sungai Utik community, with holding company (PT. BRW), central government and local government.

The root cause of the conflict is the difference in meaning over forests and overlapping claims over ownership of land rights and forest resources in the same area. The difference in meaning over forests is due to differences in knowledge about forest governance between conflicting actors. The basic of Indigenous peoples' knowledge comes from on historical aspects of cultural traditions handed down from generation to generation, while the land's knowledge based on laws and regulations. This knowledge also gives authority to each party to claim the area and manage the forest.

The Constitution also mentions the existence of recognition of indigenous peoples (local community) and recognizes the existence of the rights of indigenous peoples, as stated in Amendment II of 18 August 2000, the 1945 Constitution Article 18B paragraph (2).

Furthermore, an essential milestone in recognition of land and natural resources of the government and local community is in Law No. 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Regulations on Agrarian Principles (RAP). Under Article 16 of the RAP, land rights are distinguished as follows: ownership rights; Cultivation Rights; building rights; usage rights; rental rights; land clearing rights; the right to collect forest products; and other rights mentioned in article 53, temporary rights (liens, production sharing rights, the right to ride and the right to lease agricultural land). Based on these rights, when classified in land tenure, based on Indonesian legislation still inheriting Dutch legislation, it recognizes land tenure in Indonesia in two forms, namely state land and private land that are stated with certificates. Uncertified lands are state land.

The Agrarian Regulation also recognizes the existence of customary community rights and customary rights. However, in the "Explanation of the Agrarian Regulation," it also states that the implementation of customary rights and similar rights of indigenous and tribal peoples, as long as in reality they still exist, must be such that they are under national and state interests, which are based on national unity and must not conflict with higher laws and regulations. It means that even if there is recognition of the law when dealing with state interests/national interests or the public interest, the interests of the state must take precedence.

The problem is that indigenous peoples have long-lived and are dependent on forests. In the case of GHSNP, the Kasepuhan community claimed that they were remnants of the Pakuan Padjadjaran Kingdom that had lived in the area since 634 years ago. The existence of a sacred tomb marks proof of ownership of the area as a customary area. The history of customary land tenure in the Dayak Iban Community is still new since 1972. The customary territory inhabited by the Dayak Iban Community is now previously the territory of the Embaloh Dayak tribe and then handed over to the Dayak Iban with an agreement. Through this agreement, land ownership in the Sungai Utik area moved from the Dayak Embaloh tribe to the Dayak Iban Sungai Utik tribe. There is one eye sign from the Embaloh tribe has given to the Iban tribe, "Tembawang Embaloh." Tembawang/Tembawai is a former longhouse that marks control of an area.

Throughout history, land tenure by states and local community conflicts have arisen and subsided. The following illustrates essential events throughout the history of GHSNP land tenure by the Kasepuhan Community and the Government [1], [13].

In the conflict in GHSNP, marked by several milestones, including in 1957, the government issued Government Regulation No. 64/1957 which states that forest management activities and their exploitation, especially in Java and Madura, were handed over to the first level *Swatantra* Regional Government, except for nature reserves and nature reserves which remain the affairs of the central government. Article 11 PP No. 64 of 1957 states that the local government regulates the granting of licenses to residents who live around the forest in question to collect timber and other forest products for their intended use. At that time, local government officials permitted local people who had already worked on this forest area by requiring them to give a portion of their harvest (*kabubusuk*) to the local government.

Furthermore, the Indonesian Government established the Natural Resources Conservation Center (RCC) in 1976 and Perhutani Corporation Unit III West Java in 1978. RCC is responsible for managing conservation forests, while Perum Perhutani is responsible for managing protected forests and production forests. Furthermore, based on Minister of Agriculture Decree No. 40/Kpts/Um/1/1979, several areas around the national park, become Halimun Nature Reserves with an area of 40,000 ha under the management of RCC while the remaining forest in Halimun-Salak covering an area of 73,357 ha is under the management of Perhutani Corporation. Perhutani allowed the community to stay and work on their agricultural land. The Kasepuhan community utilized the land for non-commercial rice, vegetable, and timber trees. Meanwhile, Perhutani used the land to plant commercial timber trees. 15-25% of the community's agricultural output was going to Perhutani as a consequence of the agreement.

The local government took the attitude (1957-1978) and Perum Perhutani (1978-2003) which allowed people who had already lived and worked on the area as livelihood. It was recognition of community rights, by giving access to manage and utilize the forest. This fact provides evidence that even though indigenous peoples claim the area as a territory of customary ownership when the Government claims it is a right property state, the Kasepuhan community have no objection as long as they have access rights to manage and use the forest, based on their knowledge and cultural values. Hereditary. When the Kasepuhan community lost their authority over the forest, and even the right of access was limited, the conflict became inevitable. Lack of rights and authority also limited access. Access is closed because there is no right. Right is very important to guarantee access.

What happened with the Kasepuhan community was different from what happened with the Sungai Utik Iban Dayak community. Conflicts in SUF was

started since 1984, also mark the history of ownership of the Sungai Utik region. The following illustrates essential events throughout the history of the area's control by the Dayak Iban Sungai Utik Community and the Government. The critical moment that became a milestone in the conflict began from 1984 the first time the country issued an LFUTFP permit in the Sungai Utik area, then in 1997 and 2004 [1].

The different meaning of the forest is influenced by the knowledge that underlies each party in viewing the forest. Local knowledge derived the local community from cultural traditions and historical aspects handed down from generation to generation, while state knowledge based on laws and regulations. Knowledge and meaning of the forest give power to each party to claim the area as their property and cause forest resource conflicts.

The sharper conflict of natural resources (forests), the more visible there is a subordinate party and other parties who become superordinates. In the case of TNGHS, the Kasepuhan community is a subordinate party, while BTNGHS is the superordinate party. When the economic condition of the community is disturbed, the necessary thing that must be done by the community to survive is to get the means to survive, anything that can produce food, clothing, and shelter and fulfill their basic desires. This condition increases the ability of the Kasepuhan community. When they lose access to the forest, they begin to have new access to the political policy at the local (regional) level of government and political support from elites at the national level. The conflict has made the Kasepuhan community have an interest, one of which is the increased ability to seek the support of power from other parties (web of power). When the Kasepuhan community was in conflict with the central government and caused them to lose access rights to the forest, the community began to develop its web of power by embracing the local government. Through affiliation with the regional government (local state), the community is against the central government.

In the Sungai Utik case, the Sungai Utik Iban Dayak community as a subordinated party strengthened and formed a joint struggle to expel the state (including business people) from the Sungai Utik area. Case in point, in 1997, PT. BRU, which has expired its annual work plan, is still carrying out timber theft in the Sungai Utik area and outside the forest area. However, the conflict in the Sungai Utik region did not cause the community to lose access. The community still has all access to the area, so that both community welfare and forest preservation are relatively undisturbed.

The role of local government actors also enlivened the conflict in Sungai Utik. Through the authority obtained based on the legitimacy of Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning the Regional Government. Referring to the Act, the regional government considers that the region has the authority to manage the environment, including forest resources in it. On that basis, the Regional Government of Kapuas Hulu issued a plantation business permit (IUP) of PT. RU for rubber plantations by Regent Decree No. 283 of 2010 concerning Location Permits for Rubber Estates as Wide as 14,000 Ha in the Districts of Embaloh Hulu, Bunut Hilir and Embaloh Hilir, has been changed to be designated as palm oil with a Regent's Letter number 525/032 / DKH / BPT-A concerning IUP Approval on the Change from Rubber to Palm Oil, 10 January 2011. The existence of the government policy has put pressure (conflict) on the Dayak Iban Jalal Lintang and Embaloh Hulu Dayaks. The local government action also reflects how the regions introduce their power in the name of regional autonomy. The regional policy also loaded with capitalist interests. In

the economic context, the interests of local governments are economic motives, because the tip of political power is economic welfare.

#### 4.2. Adaptation, Resilience and Conflict

When forestry conflicts occurred in GHSNP and SUF, the responses of the two local communities in conflict locations differed. The Kasepuhan community (local people in GHSNP) have a softer attitude compared to the Dayak Iban community at Sungai Utik. The Dayak Iban community becomes a more repressive attitude than the Kasepuhan community because of the cultural value influencing.

Conflicts that occur in the Dayak Iban Sungai Utik Community are also conflicts of authority, which are conflicts over claims of control over forest resources that involve communities with their customary institutions and the state with their modern institutions. The forest utilization permit issued by the government has transferred the government's authority to the private sector. Unfortunately, this authority clashes with the power of indigenous peoples who claim that the area is a customary forest. At the level, grassroots conflict occurs between the private company and the Dayak Iban Community, but at the policy level that LFUTFP policies issued by the government are a source of conflict triggers.

Adaptation and resilience to the Kasepuhan community are demonstrated by the community's ability to avoid open conflict; they are secretly still cultivating the area leuweung arable while still fighting for the right of access to the forest; the ability to consolidate by forming alliances with Kasepuhan Community groups from other regions and forming the Banten Kidul Indigenous Community Unit (SABAKI), the ability to gain time by negotiating, the ability to re-dialogue about boundaries, access, and even zoning, and the ability to embrace other parties using develop its web of power by embracing not only with NGOs but with local governments and local and national political elites [1]. Support from the regional government and political elites helps the Kasepuhan community to negotiate with the government to resolve conflicts, at least buy time to continue working on their arable land while still trying to reach an agreement that allows the Kasepuhan community to obtain access rights to the forests.

The Dayak Iban community did not avoid attacks or direct contact with the Government or employers as opposed to the conflict. They fight, expel business people from customary forests, confiscate and damage their heavy equipment and take over the area and continue to maintain the area so that it is not taken over by private company. Conflicts between the Government and the Dayak Iban are also unavoidable. His struggle against the government was carried out by developing the ability to consolidate inwardly among the residents of the Dayak Iban Community and consolidate with other Dayak Iban Communities. They develop a web of power by collaborating with NGOs [1]. More clearly, the indicators of resilience to the Kasepuhan Community and the Dayak Iban Sungai Utik Community are as follows:

**Table 2. Resilience Indicators of the Kasepuhan and The Dayak Iban Sungai Utik Communities**

Indicator of Resilience	Kasepuhan Community	Dayak Iban Community
Survival Ability	Does not openly conflict. They prefer to struggle through negotiations to get access to rights. However, they continue to cultivate their agricultural land	Fighting and open conflict, maintaining access rights to the forest, and expelling opponents from the area.



Indicator of Resilience	Kasepuhan Community	Dayak Iban Community
	within the national park area clandestinely	
The capability of Consolidation	Building an alliance by forming the Banten Kidul Indigenous Community Unit (SABAKI), and also seeking help from other parties.	Increasing solidity with all members of the Dayak Iban Sungai Utik community and fellow Dayak Iban tribes
Ability to Buy Time	Negotiations were chosen as an effort to redialogue boundaries, access, and zoning.	By mapping, achieving ecolabelling certificates, propaganda about sustainable forest management based on indigenous peoples' knowledge
The ability to embrace other parties	Embracing NGOs and Local Governments	Embracing NGOs both nationally and internationally as an effort in developing their web of power

The phenomena that occur in the Kasepuhan and Dayak Iban Communities show that there are phenomena that support Foucault's theory about power of knowledge and the Dahrendorf phenomenon. Foucault's phenomenon is shown by the existence of the Kasepuhan Community and the Dayak Iban Community, who have local knowledge about forest governance. The local knowledge influences the community in giving meaning to the forest. Furthermore, local knowledge gives power to indigenous peoples to manage forests and claim that the forest area is theirs. The difference in meaning between the various parties is the reason for the conflict of meaning. This conflict became the trigger for tenure conflicts, authority conflicts, and livelihood conflicts.

The Dahrendorf phenomenon occurs in the Kasepuhan Community and the Dayak Iban Sungai Utik Community, shown by the phenomenon that supports the Dahrendorf proposition and opposes the Dahrendorf proposition. The first phenomenon shows that the lack of fulfilled social conditions does not cause conflicts to be more intense and brutal, instead of more intense communication and interaction between members of the Dayak Iban Community, conflicts are more intense and violent. Even though communication and interaction between members of the Kasepuhan Community are less, it does not encourage conflict in the Kasepuhan Community to become more intense and violent. This fact contradicts Dahrendorf's proportion. It happens because there are other factors, namely the state of belief of the two communities that affect social attitudes and actions of the community in conflict.

In the state of belief, the Kasepuhan community, namely *Sara Nagara Jeung Mokaha (Religion, State and Customary)*, teaches respect for the state. Every state policy must be followed. The state of belief influenced the Kasepuhan Community to relatively accept state policy in the expansion of the National Park. However, when the policy makes the people lose their livelihood, the community takes the fight, but not brutally. The resistance carried out by the Kasepuhan community was mostly carried out through dialogue.

The state of belief of the Iban Dayak Community is that "*tanah adalah darah ngau seput kitae* (Land is blood of our life)" has made the Dayak Iban Community standstill. The Community's state of belief influences people's social attitudes and actions in the conflict. The conflict found itself in a brutal condition (hard) in which

the people with their customary powers succeeded in driving the state and business people out of the area, confiscating heavy equipment owned by businessmen and even taking the Minister of Forestry hostage. When the Community succeeded in expelling business people from the region, the next conflict was in a stag position, meaning that the state was not able to defeat the indigenous people and take the region under state power. Even though the Community has succeeded in defending their customary area, it has not succeeded in forcing the state to issue recognition of the area as *adat* (customary) management rights.

#### 4.3. Discussion

Based on the above phenomena, a new thesis is produced in the conflict theory that the state of belief of the different groups influences the intensity and brutality of the conflict. The more the state of belief is centered into the conflict, the more violent and intense. Furthermore, it can be argued that the state of belief also influences people to develop their abilities in seeking conflict resolution. The Kasepuhan community had experienced a traumatic condition in which in 2003, a national park expansion policy was first issued, which had consequences for the prohibition of community activities on their arable land within the national park area. This situation caused the Community to lose their source of livelihood. The state proves the threat of violations of the prohibition by putting the violating Community in prison. These conditions make the Community worse off. However, in its downturn, the Kasepuhan community succeeded in overcoming the problem by increasing their ability to build their web of power with various parties, namely with local governments, NGOs, and local and national political elites. The Kasepuhan community is affiliated with the regional government against the government. Local government become friends, while central government become opponents. This fact showed that the state of belief of the Kasepuhan community encourages the Community to have resilience.

The Dayak Iban Community showed different conditions. However, the Dayak Iban Community succeeded in driving private company out of the forest area but did not make the community calm because the state never revoked their LFUTFP. History proved that after the conflict subsided, the government always issued a new LFUTFP and triggered new conflicts. Even though the Dayak Iban community has access rights in the control of Sungai Utik Forest resources, the rights are still held by the government. To overcome this condition, the Dayak Iban Community is assisted by external support from both National and International NGOs to develop the institutional capacity of the Dayak Iban Community in order to strengthen the position of the Community in conflict with the government. The institutional capacity development is in the form of increasing community skills in supporting family economic efforts, making participatory mapping, accounting of customary law, forming financial institutions, increasing community knowledge in the field of law and increasing community knowledge in the field of environmental management. It is including proving forest governance based on the Community by obtaining an ecolabelling certificate from the Indonesian Ecolabelling Institute (IEI) with Certificate Number 08/SCBFM/005 given for forest management by the Panjajene Muea Sungai Utik forest management unit, within the scope of "Sustainable Community-Based Forest Management Unit (SCBFMU) with an area of 9,453.40 hectares" accredited by IEI under Number 022/DE-LEI/XII/2006. This accreditation was issued on March 22, 2008, and ended on March 21, 2023.

Resilience is defined as a description of the process and results of successfully adapting to stressful circumstances or very challenging life experiences, especially conditions with high-stress levels, then what is reflected in the Kasepuhan

Community and Dayak Iban community is a different form of resilience [1]. Both communities experienced very challenging events with high-stress levels, threatening the loss of access to the control of the resources that were the source of their livelihood. Furthermore, the source of the resilience of the Iban Dayak community comes from the support of other parties (I Have or sources of external support or support obtained from around individuals), while the source of resilience from the Kasepuhan community comes from the ability of individuals to establish relationships with other parties (I Can or social and interpersonal abilities or the ability to seek outside support) [14].

## 5. Conclusion

Conflict conditions are difficult, stressful, and high stress able to increase the ability of local communities to adapt and enhance their institutional capabilities. Thus two theories of conflict are following the conflict conditions in the two locations. Conflicts that can cause institutional changes are in line with the Dahrendorf authority conflict theory, whereas conflicts that cause an increase in community adaptation according to Lewis Coser's conflict theory.

One form of change in local communities is the increased ability to adapt to new situations (stressful situations) due to conflict. It is in line with Lewis Coser's thought that the more intense the conflict, the more it encourages increased innovation and creativity of units of a social system.

Some adaptation actions shown by indigenous peoples in facing severe conditions are as follows: a. Relinquishing hostility, by considering the enemy, is not as an enemy. They must not fight openly. It happened to the Kasepuhan community; b. Encourage the emergence of normative rules in conflict relations. This condition occurs in both groups of people; c. Increased awareness of practical issues, where even though the conflict is not open, the community's struggle has not been completed before the Government revokes the LFUTFP permit from the Sungai Utik customary forest and the issuance of a Regional Regulation on the recognition of the communal rights of the Kasepuhan community. d. Increasing the number of associative coalitions between social units. It means that the higher the level of integration of the internal social system, the higher the ability to adapt to the external environment.

The situation in the two local communities showed a new preposition that conflict, if left unchecked, will increase the adaptability of marginalized parties, in this case, the local community. Conflict makes the resilience capacity of the community increased and varied.

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