# MULTISTAKEHOLDER FORESTRY

**Steps for Change** 



#### **Editors**

ELIZABETH LINDA YULIANI • DJUHENDI TADJUDIN • YAYAN INDRIATMOKO DANI W. MUNGGORO • FARID GABAN • FIRKAN MAULANA • HASANTOHA ADNAN

#### **Authors**

AGUNG WIYONO • EDDY HARFIA SURMA • EFFI PERMATASARI • FREDY WAHON HELMI • JULMANSYAH • MARZONI • MELKY KOLI BARAN • MUSTAFAL HADI • TOMMY ERWINSYAH

# MULTISTAKEHOLDER FORESTRY

**Steps for Change** 

### **Editors**

ELIZABETH LINDA YULIANI • DJUHENDI TADJUDIN • YAYAN INDRIATMOKO DANI W. MUNGGORO • FARID GABAN • FIRKAN MAULANA • HASANTOHA ADNAN

#### **Authors**

AGUNG WIYONO • EDDY HARFIA SURMA • EFFI PERMATASARI • FREDY WAHON HELMI • JULMANSYAH • MARZONI • MELKY KOLI BARAN • MUSTAFAL HADI • TOMMY ERWINSYAH

## MULTISTAKEHOLDER FORESTRY

## Steps for Change

#### Front cover photography by

Zul MS, Yayan Indriatmoko, Carol J. P. Colfer and Budi Prasetyo

#### Back cover photography by

Yayan Indriatmoko, Douglas Sheil and anonymous

#### Graphic design and layout by

Eko Prianto and Catur Wahyu

#### **Translation by**

Mark Havard

#### **Editorial support by**

Henning Pape-Santos

#### Indonesian National Library, Catalogue in Publication (KDT)

Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change/edited by Yuliani, E. L. *et al.* Bogor, Indonesia: Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), 2006.

130 pages + xvi pages; 176 cm x 250 cm

ISBN-13: 978-979-24-4679-1 ISBN-10: 979-24-4679-6

1. forest management 2. multistakeholder 3. change 4. natural resources

 $5.\ participatory\ 6.\ negotiation\ 7.\ communication\ 8.\ facilitation\ 9.\ conflict\ 10.\ decision\ making$ 

11. Indonesia I. Yuliani, E.L. (ed.)

© 2007 All rights reserved Printed by SUBUR Printing, Jakarta First printing, October 2006

Published by

Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR)

Mailing address: P.O. Box 6596 JKPWB, Jakarta 10065, Indonesia

Office address: Jalan CIFOR, Situ Gede, Sindang Barang,

Bogor Barat 16880, Indonesia

Tel.: +62 (0251) 622622. Fax: +62 (0251) 622100

E-mail: cifor@cgiar.org

Website: http://www.cifor.cgiar.org

THIS BOOK IS NOT FOR SALE

This book was published by CIFOR, Inspirit, Inc. and MFP in collaboration with the institutions listed below. All authors, editors and institutions involved in the making of this book hold shared intellectual property rights over the writing contained herein.



Center for International Forestry Research



Inspirit Innovation Circles



Multistakeholder Forestry Programme



Bungo District Forestry and Estate Crops Office



Sumbawa District Forestry and Estate Crops Office



Advocacy and Research Institute (LAP) Timoris



Institute for Coastal and Hinterland Community Development (LePMIL)



Regional Autonomy Law and Policy Study Centre (PSHK – ODA)



Gita Buana Foundation



Kelopak Foundation



Social Development Study Foundation

# **CONTENTS**

AUTHOR PROFILES ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS FOREWORD LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	vii x xii xiv
INTRODUCTION FACILITATING CHANGE ELIZABETH LINDA YULIANI and DJUHENDI TADJUDIN	1
chapter 1 nipa-nipa and nanga-nanga forests - southeast sulawesi SITTING TOGETHER TO WARD OFF CONFLICT agung wiyono	9
CHAPTER 2 BARU PELEPAT VILLAGE, JAMBI OIL PALM: LOVED AND LOATHED EDDY HARFIA SURMA	23
Chapter 3 Baru pelepat village, Jambi LUBUK LARANGAN AND WOMEN Effi permatasari	35

CHAPTER 4 KUPANG, EAST NUSA TENGGARA FROM A CONFRONTATIONAL TO A MULTISTAKEHOLDER APPROACH FREDY WAHON	45
CHAPTER 5 BARU PELEPAT VILLAGE, JAMBI FROM TRADITION TO DISTRICT REGULATION HELMI	57
CHAPTER 6 SUMBAWA, WEST NUSA TENGGARA INSTITUTIONALISING MULTISTAKEHOLDER FORESTRY JULMANSYAH	69
CHAPTER 7 BARU PELEPAT VILLAGE, JAMBI VILLAGE BORDER NEGOTIATIONS MARZONI	81
CHAPTER 8 EAST FLORES, EAST NUSA TENGGARA A LONG AND WINDING ROAD MELKY KOLI BARAN	91
CHAPTER 9 BUNGO DISTRICT, JAMBI OPENING GOVERNMENT DOORS MUSTAFAL HADI	105
CHAPTER 10 SUKU SEMBILAN, BENGKULU A FIGHT FOR RIGHTS TOMMY ERWINSYAH	111
IN CLOSING INSTITUTIONALISING CHANGE DILHENDI TADILIDIN and ELIZABETH LINDA YULIANI	123

# **AUTHOR PROFILES**

#### **AGUNG WIYONO**

Born in Sragen, Central Java, on 6 July 1972, Agung is now the director of the Institute for Coastal and Hinterland Community Development (LePMIL). He is currently studying for a postgraduate master's degree in Sustainable Development at the School for International Training, Brattleboro, Vermont, USA.

#### **EDDY HARFIA SURMA**

Born in Jambi on 11 October 1969, Eddy is a graduate from the Faculty of Agriculture in Jambi University. In 1991 he joined the Gita Buana Club, a nature-lovers' group, and from 1998 to 2002 worked in community facilitation and a migratory bird conservation area development programme in Berbak National Park. From 2000 to 2002 he was director of the Gita Buana Foundation, and then in 2003 he began working as field coordinator for the Jambi Adaptive Collaborative Management (ACM) programme - a partnership of three organisations (the Gita Buana Foundation, the Regional Autonomy Law and Policy Study Centre, and CIFOR) located in Bungo District.

#### **EFFI PERMATASARI**

Born in Padang on 19 January 1976, Effi is also a graduate from the Faculty of Agriculture in Jambi University. In June 2001 she joined the Gita Buana Foundation in Jambi as gender facilitator for the ACM program.

#### **FREDY WAHON**

Fredy Wahon was born in East Flores on 18 January 1970. After completing his studies at Nusa Cendana (Undana) University in Kupang in 1994, he began a career in journalism and has worked with the daily newspapers *Nusa Tenggara*, *Novas* in Dili, East Timor, *Surya Timur* in Kupang, *Siwalima* in Ambon, *Radar Timor*, the tabloid SAKSI in Kupang, and the *Kupang News*. Now this father of two is manager of the Multistakeholder Forestry Programme in the Research and Advocacy Institute (LAP) Timoris, which he established in 1999. He is also publishing coordinator of the tabloid *Lembata Pos*.

#### HELMI

Helmi was born on 6 June 1971 in Campang Tiga, Cempaka Subdistrict, Ogan Komering Ulu District in South Sumatra. After completing his primary schooling in his home village, he moved to Jambi where he lives today. He is secretary of the Jambi Regional Autonomy Law and Policy Study Centre (PSHK-ODA). This law undergraduate has been dean of the Jambi University Faculty of Law since 1998. He has gained invaluable experience in forestry policy since becoming active in PSHK-ODA. In 2005 he was one of the civil society organisation representatives entrusted with visiting a number of countries in Europe to talk about the eradication of illegal logging in Indonesia.

### **JULMANSYAH**

Born on 1 July 1974 in Empang, Sumbawa, Julmansyah received a degree in forestry from the Yogyakarta Agricultural Institute Forestry Faculty in 1998. He is actively involved in the Sumbawa Multistakeholder Forestry Team, and since 2003 has been a member of the Programme Planning staff with the Sumbawa District Forestry and Estate Crops Office. He has also worked in the Economic and Social Research, Education and Information Institute (LP3ES) in Mataram and Konsepsi Mataram.

#### **MARZONI**

Born in Jambi on 21 March 1973, Marzoni, a graduate from the Jambi University Faculty of Agriculture, worked in the Jambi Agricultural Technology Research and Investigation Office between 1998 and 1999. He then joined the Gita Buana Foundation where he is now working on the foundation's Building Collaboration

and Joint Learning for Fair and Sustainable Forest Management project. He has been living in Muara Bungo, Jambi, since 2000.

#### **MELKY KOLI BARAN**

Melky Koli Baran was born on 9 December 1961 in Posiwatu, Lembata. After completing his education at the St. Paulus Catholic Teacher Training School in Ruteng, Flores, in 1989, he worked in the secretariat of the Larantuka diocese in East Flores, East Nusa Tenggara. Since 1995 he has been actively involved with a number of nongovernmental organisations. In 1999 he became director of the Social Development Study Foundation (YPPS) and two years later became executive director of Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (WALHI), NTT. He has worked as a correspondent for the weekly papers HIDUP, Ozon and Dian. He often writes for Pos Kupang and is still a correspondent for the Union of Catholic Asian News. Two of his books, Membentur Tembok Kekuasaan and Bongkar! Mitos-Mitos Pengelolaan Hutan, have been published by the Social Development Study Foundation.

#### **MUSTAFAL HADI**

Born in Jambi on 1 January 1958, Mustafal graduated from Andalas University in 1983 with a degree in education. In 2000 he received a master's degree in agriculture from the same university. Since 2003 he has been working as head of Forest Protection and Land Rehabilitation in the Bungo District Forestry and Estate Crops Office. Before that he worked as a teacher in the Padang State Agricultural Development School between 1985 and 2000, as Development Section head in the West Sumatra Food Crops and Plantations Office from 2001 to 2002, and as head of Development Research and Management in the Bungo District Development Planning Agency from 2002 to 2003.

#### **TOMMY ERWINSYAH**

Born in Bengkulu on 12 September 1980, Tommy has a state administration political science degree from the Bengkulu University Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, where he worked from 2000 in the Development Administration Laboratory. In 2001 he became actively involved in the Bengkulu Kelopak Foundation and in March 2006 became executive director of Spora, a group involved in media information and campaigning for environmental and natural resources management.

# **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Every author expresses detailed acknowledgements at the end of each chapter. Nevertheless, we wish to express our deepest gratitude to the Multistakeholder Forestry Programme (MFP) – a collaborative programme between the Indonesian Ministry of Forestry and the United Kingdom Department for International Development – for funding the whole process of writing the book from its inception to publication through partner capacity building in its Adaptive Collaborative Management Project in Jambi. This book contributes to the work of the International Union of Forestry Research Organization (IUFRO) Task Force on Improving the Lives of People in Forest.

All the contributors and editors would like to thank our respective institutions for their suggestions, guidance and operational support. All the papers in this book are the views of individual authors and do not necessarily represent the views or policies of donors or institutions involved.

Our special thanks go to Rahayu Koesnadi, Mohammad Agus Salim, Novasyurahati, Atie Puntodewo, Melling Situmorang and Gideon Suharyanto from CIFOR, and Tri Nugroho and Hasbi Berliani from MFP for all their help during the publishing process, from preparation of the writing workshop to the printing of this book.

We would also like to express our gratitude to Agus Mulyana, Ahmad Dermawan, Carol J. Pierce Colfer, Herlina Hartanto, Herry Purnomo, Moira Moeliono and Yurdi Yasmi from CIFOR, Sonya Dewi from ICRAF, Budhita Kismadi from Inspirit, Ilya Moeliono from Studio Driya Media and Prof. M. Agung Sarjono from the Mulawarman University Centre for Social Forestry for their invaluable support and assistance, and for making time to review the text and provide the authors with feedback, either in making corrections or by providing a deeper understanding of multistakeholder processes.

We realise many shortcomings remain, both in terms of analysis and writing techniques, so we would gratefully accept any comments or suggestions as input for any future publications.

#### **Editorial Team**

# **FOREWORD**

This book means to show that diversity and differences do exist. Beginning with the title 'Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change', diversity can directly be seen from the word 'multistakeholder'. Assembled by many compilers, edited by seven 'stakeholder' editors, and published by a *multistakeholder* combination of publishers, this book owes much to the term 'stakeholder'. It seems the authors, editors and publishers want to accentuate 'togetherness', and the different thoughts of these stakeholders have been successfully synthesised in this fascinating book.

The word *multistakeholder* has become popular among foresters in the last three years. Having been made popular in Indonesian forestry circles at the beginning of 2004 by the Multistakeholder Forestry Programme (MFP) Redesign Team – a combined team from the Department of Forestry and the Department for International Development (DFID), Jakarta – it seems to have been adopted by many parties. In discussions and meetings in forestry seminars or workshops, bureaucrats, researchers and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) frequently, and with utmost confidence, present their ideas or opinions using the word *multistakeholder*. If I may say so this is now the 'multistakeholder era'. It is another form of the word democracy, containing meanings of difference, of the need for communication and of equality — though some urge caution in interpreting democracy in poor societies.

I greatly appreciate the authors' efforts, as this book documents a process of change in forestry through multistakeholder dialogues. The cases highlighted are interesting because apart from coming from a grassroots level in a number of places in Sumatra and Nusa Tenggara, their successes in illustrating 'client and patron' relationships between local communities and the government make interesting reading. The book's concise stories and variety of pictures will make the reader want to read it from cover to cover.

In all honesty though, there is a question troubling me; should all forestry affairs in Indonesia these days be solved using the multistakeholder format? Of course not, for it depends on the situation and conditions where the issue is taking place. Sometimes people say 'too multistakeholder' in explaining why matters sometimes become drawn out and inefficient. Another question is, what is better, the multistakeholder 'recipe' or the opposite of multistakeholder - monostakeholder? It sounds strange, but that is the consequence of translating multistakeholder as *multipihak*. I leave readers to answer these questions for themselves.

Finally, in my opinion this book is suitable for foresters, academics, NGOs and students interested in sociocultural aspects of forestry.

Bogor, 13 October 2006

Dr. Adjat Sudradjat Senior Forester

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Acronym/abbreviation Full explanation

ACM adaptive collaborative management

AMAN Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago

AMDAL environmental impact analysis document

Bapedalda Regional (Province or District) Environmental Impact Management

Agency

Bappeda Regional (Province or District) Development Planning Agency

BPD Village Legislative Assembly
BPN National Land Agency

CIFOR Center for International Forestry Research

CPO crude palm oil

DFID Department for International Development

Dishutbun Forestry and Estate Crops Office

DPRD Regional (Province or District) Legislative Assembly
FSSM Community Self-Sufficiency Solidarity Forum

FWI Forest Watch Indonesia
GPS global positioning system

HMN state control rights

HPH commercial forestry concession

ICDP Integrated Conservation and Development Project

Acronym/abbreviation Full explanation

ICRAFWorld Agroforestry CentreKKDVillage Conservation AgreementKoremSubregional Military Command

LAP Research and Advocacy Institute

LePMIL Institute for Coastal and Hinterland Community Development

LOH Olah Hidup Institute

LP2LSEM Community Socio-Economic Environment Research and

**Development Institute** 

LP3ES Economic and Social Research, Education and Information Institute

MFP Multistakeholder Forestry Programme

NGO nongovernmental organisation

NTB West Nusa Tenggara
NTT East Nusa Tenggara

P3AE-UI University of Indonesia Ecology Anthropology Research and

**Development Centre** 

PAD regional (province or district) locally generated revenue

PAR participatory action research

Pemda regional (province or district) government
Perda regional (province or district) regulation

PRA participatory rural appraisal

PSHK-ODA Regional Autonomy Law and Policy Study Centre

PT. limited liability company
RRA rapid rural appraisal

SK decree

WALHI Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (Friends of the Earth

Indonesia)

YBS Bina Sejahtera (Welfare Improvement) Foundation

YPPS Social Development Study Foundation



INTRODUCTION

# **FACILITATING CHANGE**

ELIZABETH LINDA YULIANI and DJUHENDI TADJUDIN

Change is a dream for Indonesian people whose livelihoods depend so much on its forests. Now, 48.8 million people live in Indonesia's state-owned forests, 10.2 million of them in poverty. When forests are cut down, these people are not only helpless, but immediately labelled forest encroachers or destroyers of the environment; they are considered intruders, no different from agricultural pests.

The fact that they were there long before Indonesia even existed as a country seems to be immaterial. Such people are not in the forests by coincidence; they have been there for a very long time. Their interaction with the forests around them has shaped their identities, their cultures and habits; their values have stood firm and been respected within their communities for generations.<sup>2</sup>

Some people live in forests because the state once permitted them to do so. It was Haji Konbar, with the help of the Semendau and Ogan people, who pioneered land clearance in the Sumberjaya region of Lampung, in the aim of providing logistical support to the fight for independence. By 1950, the area had become a hamlet led by a village head named Abu Bakar Shidiq who was Haji Konbar's son in law. In 1969 the village was officially recognised by gubernatorial decree by the name Dwikora. Its status was later relinquished, however, with the onset of the protection forest programme.<sup>3</sup> In 1994, villagers' homes in Dwikora were forcibly demolished as the government said the village was located in a protection forest area.

Sometimes distressed people are unwilling to remain silent; once in a while they resist. It is then that conflicts break out, caused by different perceptions, understandings, values, interests or ownership claims.<sup>4</sup>

The state is then accused of being the real cause of conflict, as it has the power to resolve the matter gracefully, but fails to do so. Others say the state possesses misguided views by, for instance, (a) treating forests as if they were uninhabited, (b) taking unilateral action in the name of 'public interest', (c) labelling forest-dwelling communities encroachers, (d) showing no appreciation for local wisdom and (e) simplifying issues by providing communities with material 'solutions' to the losses they have suffered.<sup>5</sup> These misguided views have indirectly placed communities in diametrical opposition as government adversaries.

Indeed, without meaning to hone the potential for conflict, it is not easy to comprehend the logic of the state. If we look at the content of Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution, the state or anyone given the authority to harvest forest resources, should channel the benefits 'as extensively as possible for the prosperity



of the people'. For that reason it is hard to comprehend when, in the name of making the people more prosperous, the government distances them from the source of their livelihood.

In the midst of this forest management conflict came the reform movement followed by the birth of new policies, one of which was decentralisation. The transfer of authority and the changing political map in the absence of adequate control mechanisms gave birth to new corruption, collusion and nepotism practices at various levels of government and in numerous fields, including forestry. At the same time, however, the reform movement did open doors for the press and the general public to voice their opinions more freely.

Many stakeholders, including those in the forestry sector, saw this new openness as an important opportunity for change. Suggestions offered were just as varied. One was bilateral cooperation between Indonesia and the United Kingdom through the Multistakeholder Forestry Programme (MFP), a bilateral programme aimed at encouraging change through multistakeholder dialogues involving







communities and governments.7 Another idea was CIFOR's adaptive collaborative management (ACM) approach, aimed at increasing stakeholder capacity to adapt and collaborate, through participatory action research (PAR), continuous social learning, communication, negotiation and conflict management.8

Results have been quite astonishing.<sup>9</sup> First, a better understanding of the existence of stakeholders has emerged. The management of Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga state forests in Southeast Sulawesi, for instance, has nurtured an understanding of the existence and interests of the different stakeholders: communities living in and around stateowned forests. fishing communities, government, private companies and port management authorities. In the past, people would probably have asked: What do fishing

communities and port authorities have to do with state-owned forests? But now, people can easily understand that degraded forests lead to erosion and sedimentation, which in turn damage beach ecosystems and silt up ports. So, fishers and port authorities do indeed have dealings with forests.

Second, a new value has grown: no stakeholders involved in any of the disagreements have insisted on a priori defence of their interests and positions, which means that stakeholders are always open to change. Suddenly, the government, which would commonly position itself as the giver of orders and the maker of policies, is willing to sit down with other stakeholders, especially local communities, which it has always considered 'receivers' or 'executors' of its policies, to accommodate their hopes. Men, who have dominated village decision-making processes, suddenly have to accept women's views and recognise their quite expansive knowledge. NGOs, formerly self-appointed advocacy institutions siding with communities and opposing the government, suddenly have to learn to be neutral, unbiased facilitators, and even collaborate with the government. The formal order and customary systems, often at odds with each other, can in fact work together and be mutually complementary.

Nowadays, even women, marginalised in the past, can criticise customary institutions formerly considered sacrosanct. Limbago values, which embrace respect for kinship, have been wrongly interpreted. When violating customary rules, some are not reprimanded as they ought to be just because they happen to be related to customary leaders. A woman in one village protested saying: 'Customary figures take wood from our customary forest and sell it to sawmills, but are never punished. 10 If the community refuses to criticise these violations, then customary wisdom will become no more than adages of the elders.' This kind of critical attitude towards things considered sacrosanct was almost unheard of in the past, let alone from a woman.

Change can start with any stakeholder, either independently or encouraged by others. The triggers for change, however, can stem from changes in the abundance of resources, individual motives and value systems, rules of play, organisational structure or work mechanisms.

- Changes in resources. Baru Pelepat villagers lost most of their rubber plantations, because they were used for transmigration settlements. The community lost part of its income source, so it looked to substitute this loss by cutting down trees in the forest it had never previously touched.
- Changes in individual motives. Only economic motives pushed Baru Pelepat villagers to log their forest. When timber resources and forest quality dropped, however, the community became anxious, going back to their local values such as 'thin out when dense, plant when sparse', which means that people could cut down trees when the potential was good and stands remained dense, but had to replant to maintain that density. From this anxiety came the motive to preserve the forest and make it a customary forest.
- Changes in values. Women in rural communities, including Baru Pelepat, are commonly marginalised. Seen only as doers of household chores, their voices never heard in village meetings. ACM began to build women's confidence and abilities, while simultaneously helping men to understand that women too have the right to voice their opinions. When attitudes towards women changed, trust in them grew and they were trusted to manage lubuk larangan (protected fish spawning areas). As things turned out, the women managed them more effectively than the men had previously done. 11
- Changes in rules of play. Participatory mapping of village borders, initially very centralistic, has changed community attitudes. The demarcation of village borders in Baru Pelepat<sup>12</sup> or boundaries for larger areas like Suku Sembilan in Bengkulu<sup>13</sup> has forced communities to show greater respect for other communities living around them. Community knowledge of customary

boundaries, it seems, can reduce the potential for conflict with neighbouring communities if accompanied by negotiation techniques and a willingness to respect others.

- Changes in organisational structure. Multistakeholder practices introduced in places such as Kendari by the Institute for Coastal and Hinterland Community (LePMIL), in Lembata by Research and Advocacy Institute (LAP) Timoris, in Sumbawa by a combined team made up of local government (Pemda) officials, NGOs and academics, and in East Flores by the Social Development Study Foundation (YPPS) indirectly illustrate changes in governance structures in outlying areas. Regional governments placed nongovernmental stakeholders in multistakeholder forums, thereby giving academics, traditional community figures, and NGO activists a voice previously ignored in regional decision-making processes.
- Changes in work mechanisms. Multistakeholder processes have basically offered a new work mechanism introducing stakeholder understanding and encouraging stakeholders to have more respect for others. Differences, arising from different interests, can become reasons for negotiation, not for hostility as was often the case in the past.

In short, multistakeholder approaches, including ACM, were offered so these changes could move in the right direction, in ways acceptable to all stakeholders, who learn to understand their own aspirations and the aspirations of others, and then examine them in mutually respectful negotiation processes.

These processes lead to the 'discovery' of models for the efficient and location-specific use of resources, models able to accommodate stakeholders' economic interests, whilst maintaining sustainability. The benefits from these resources too are distributed more equitably, and those previously marginalised, such as women and the less well off, are encouraged to speak up and obtain proper access to resources.

The papers in this book describe the experiences of facilitators from a number of institutions in Indonesia taking multistakeholder approaches to forest and natural resources management. The papers are more like recording processes explaining 'how' or 'what' rather than analyses answering the question 'why'. Nevertheless, they still offer a number of lessons, if sometimes only implicitly.



The authors aim to describe processes for change. Readers can learn lessons from their experiences, willingness to change, and ability to adapt to such rapidly occurring changes. Collaborative multistakeholder processes should not be seen as the final destination, but a means for mutual learning for change; for understanding, not judging each other; for appreciating differences, not demanding uniformity. The authors have taken the first steps: facilitating change.

#### **ENDNOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> Brown, T. 2004. *Analysis of population and poverty in Indonesia's forests*. Draft report. Natural Resources Management Programme, Jakarta, Indonesia.
- <sup>2</sup> Jessup, T.C. and Peluso, N.L. 1990. Minor forest products as common property resources in East Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Proceedings of the Conference on Common Property Resources*. National Academy Press, Washington, D.C., USA.

- <sup>3</sup> Lampung Province Regional Department of Forestry Office. 1993. Rancangan Tanaman Kegiatan Rehabilitasi Hutan Lindung Bantuan OECF (Register 34 Tangkit Tebak). Final Report. Bandar Lampung, Indonesia.
- <sup>4</sup> Tadjudin, D. 1999. Pengelolaan Hutan Masa Depan dan Implikasinya Terhadap Strategi Pelatihan. Paper presented at the national workshop *Reposisi Pendidikan dan Pelatihan Mendukung Implementasi Desentralisasi Menuju Pengelolaan Hutan yang Lestari*. DFID Department of Forestry Education and Training Centre, Jakarta, 22-23 September 1999.
- <sup>5</sup> Tadjudin, D. 2000. *Manajemen Kolaborasi*. Pustaka Latin, Bogor, Indonesia.
- <sup>6</sup> Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution states that natural resources are controlled by the state and utilised as extensively as possible for the prosperity of the people.
- MFP. 2005. National strategy: multistakeholder forestry programme (Indonesia). UK Department for International Development and the Indonesian Department of Forestry. http://www.mfp.or.id/v3/ images/uploads/e01-natstrat-be.pdf.
- <sup>8</sup> By including only two example programmes or approaches, the authors do not intend to disregard other similar programmes or activities. These two examples were included because they form a backdrop to the ten papers in this book.
- <sup>9</sup> The 'results' explained here mean the results of implementing multistakeholder processes.
- <sup>10</sup> See Chapter 5.
- <sup>11</sup> See Chapter 3.
- <sup>12</sup> See Chapter 7.
- <sup>13</sup> See Chapter 10.

## **Photographs**

Carol J.P. Colfer, Charlie Pye-Smith, Christian Cossalter, Douglas Sheil, Linda Yuliani, Yayan Indriatmoko and Zul MS.

## Reference to this paper

Yuliani, E.L. and Tadjudin Dj. 2007. Facilitating change. In: Yuliani, E.L., Tadjudin, Dj., Indriatmoko, Y., Munggoro, D.W., Gaban, F. and Maulana, F. (eds.) *Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change*. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.



CHAPTER 1 NIPA-NIPA AND NANGA-NANGA FORESTS - SOUTHEAST SULAWESI

# SITTING TOGETHER TO WARD OFF CONFLICT

**AGUNG WIYONO** 

Conflict between the communities living around Nipa-Nipa state forest<sup>1</sup> and the government began in 1974. At the time, the Southeast Sulawesi provincial government was implementing the forest regreening policy in this as well as other regions. Regreening was aimed at reforesting relatively bare areas of forest, but in its implementation the government paid no heed to community objections. The government considered community settlements and farming lands to be parts of the forest. As a result the communities were evicted; hundreds of families from Bengga E'la and Lahundape' villages were relocated to the Sambuli and Andounohu regions of Poasia Subdistrict. The villagers did not resist as they were afraid of being arrested and accused of being members of the Indonesian Communist Party.

Several years after their forced relocation, conflicts between the communities and the government worsened. Villagers evicted from their homes quietly returned to farm the lands the government had reforested. By their own admission, their reasons for returning were: newcomers clearing the forest for farming land in the places where they had once lived, their dissatisfaction with the locations the government had provided for them, and their desire to return to and farm their own lands. Apparently the villagers still had emotional bonds with the place that had once been their home.<sup>2</sup>

Numerous efforts to resolve the conflict were made on the initiative of villagers and the government. Government initiated dialogues failed to bring about any agreement. The government wanted the villagers to leave the forest, while the villagers felt they had the right to return and farm their lands.

Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga forests became increasingly degraded and changed into farming land. Conflict between villagers and government became more tortuous with no clear course for resolution. For that reason, at the end of 2001, LePMIL<sup>3</sup> began facilitating stakeholders to help them seek a solution to the conflict. This paper explains the multistakeholder collaboration processes involved in resolving the conflict.<sup>4</sup>

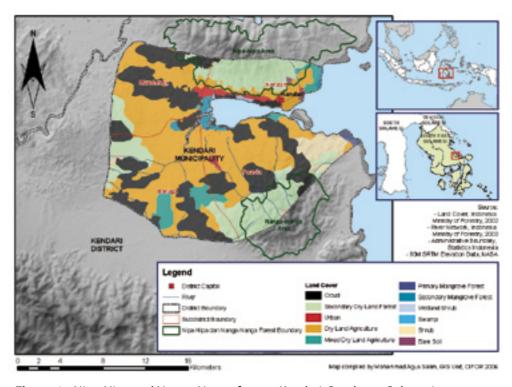


Figure 1. Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga forests, Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi.

#### **START OF THE JOURNEY**

LePMIL was initially hesitant to commence facilitation<sup>5</sup> of a conflict resolution process that involves a number of stakeholders, as it had previously worked more with poor communities in their villages. It held a number of discussions to think about how it was going to facilitate the process, and after several discussions, agreed upon the following nine steps:

- 1. Increase facilitators' capacity for understanding and managing conflict.
- 2. Seek potential strategic partners from regional government and communities.
- 3. Gain a more in-depth understanding of the root causes of the conflict and their connection with forest degradation.
- 4. Build a shared understanding among stakeholders as to the findings, and map organisations and stakeholder perceptions.

- 5. Increase community and regional government understanding and capacity.
- 6. Bring stakeholders together to hold dialogues and build consensus.
- 7. Encourage stakeholders to make joint follow-up plans.
- 8. Maintain the multistakeholder process and ensure that plans are implemented.
- 9. Ensure that any agreements are included in regional policies in the form of decrees or regional regulations.

#### **FACILITATING STAKEHOLDERS**

As a first step, LePMIL held a series of separate discussions with government officials and communities to look at possible new paths for resolving the conflict and so that LePMIL could put forward its ideas for seeking a resolution. Challenges soon appeared during communications with government officials responsible for Nanga-Nanga and Nipa-Nipa forests whose responses were less than positive. At the time one official said:

Let me explain. I know exactly who's been clearing the forest on the mountain up there, so I'm not sure they can do what you're suggesting – manage the forest well if they are trained and given understanding. I think they should be removed from the area. The hydrological functions of those two regions are vital to Kendari.

Nevertheless, LePMIL continued to communicate its ideas, hold discussions with other government agencies including the Kendari District Forestry Office (now Konawe District), the Kendari Municipal Development Planning Agency, the Kendari Municipal Legislative Assembly, the Southeast Sulawesi Provincial Development Agency and the Southeast Sulawesi Environmental Impact Management Agency. LePMIL met not only with office heads, but with suboffice heads (echelon III officials), and also with forestry extension field officers and the forestry police.

Their responses were much more positive, and in their opinions, efforts towards conflict resolution and saving the two forest regions should begin again. They suggested carrying out research on the conflicts as the situation had gone unchecked for too long.

Discussions were also held with the communities involved. Influential people in the communities were invited to discuss their dispute with the government. The communities were positive and enthusiastic in every discussion, and were in



favour of taking a new direction in resolving their conflict with the government, by sitting down together to seek the best solution.

The discussion processes continued intensively in order to maintain good relations, exchange information and build stakeholder trust. All information was conveyed in its entirety to the other party, in the hope that all stakeholders would have the same information.

## A DEEPER UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONFLICTS

A multistakeholder approach was used to gain a more in-depth understanding of the conflicts. Research was carried out into their origins, earlier policies for their resolution, their links to forest degradation, and into the history of the forests and forest communities. LePMIL conducted rapid rural appraisals (RRAs) in order to decide on locations for facilitation.

Of the 20 locations studied, 16 were selected for further research. Choices were made based on conflict situations, forest degradation and how supportive the

people were in each of the locations. Next, a participatory rural appraisal (PRA) approach was used to research the 16 locations, to map village conditions and the lives of the villagers there.

The information gained was taken to multistakeholder consultation forums, where structured communications were held, starting with community, village, subdistrict and interregions. In every forum, all issues were looked at — those specific to certain locations as well as those common to almost all of them. The aim of the consultations was to enable stakeholders to understand problems and to formulate choices for their resolution. Information successfully gleaned from the RRAs and PRAs was as follows.

## 1. Factors contributing to conflicts

The first factor contributing to the conflicts was the 1974 forced relocation of forest communities in Nipa-Nipa forest in the name of reforestation. The Bengga E'la and Lahundape' forest communities were moved to the Sambuli coastal area and to Andounohu in Poasia Subdistrict, near the Nanga-Nanga state forest<sup>6</sup> in Kendari District. Both locations are about 5 km from villagers' original homes. The same thing happened to other village communities living in or around Nipa-Nipa forest.

The second factor was the government's unilateral demarcation of state forest boundaries. In 1979-1980, several years after the community relocations, the Ujung Pandang Region V Forestry Planning Agency mapped the boundaries of state-owned forests. The government deemed community farming lands to be within state-owned forests. Despite two boundary reconstructions in 1983–85 and 1997–98 by the Kendari Forest Mapping and Inventorisation Subagency, the result remained the same; community farming lands were on state-owned forest land.

The third contributory factor was corrupt government officials distributing land in the Nanga-Nanga forest region in return for communities voting for a certain political party in the 1999 general election. Also, from the 1990s until 2003 the government turned a blind eye to outsiders coming in and clearing areas of forest for farming. This of course angered the indigenous communities forced to relocate during the 1974 reforestation programme.



## 2. Causes of forest degradation

Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga regions are becoming increasingly degraded, with communities clearing the forests for farming and settlements. They commonly plant seasonal crops such as maize, beans and sweet potato even on fields with gradients of over 45%. PRAs conducted in 2002 revealed at least 600 hectares had been cleared in these forests, with more than 1,700 households clearing land for farming and/or dwellings.

Forest degradation has increased erosion. Although the majority of stakeholders believe the Wangu River - the largest river with most of its catchment areas in forests in Konawe and South Konawe districts - is the main source of sediment silting up the bay, the tributaries springing from Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga forests still contribute to erosion. Cases of flooding in Salo and Benu-Benua hamlets probably resulted from deforestation in these forests.

#### 3. Stakeholders

At least five stakeholders in the Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga state forests were identified: communities living in or around the forests, fishing communities, the government, private businesses and the port management authorities.

The interests of communities living in or around the forests lie in farming land, settlements and drinking water from sources in the forest. Fishing communities' interests are in the control and prevention of further siltation, which has already damaged the bay and beach ecosystems, where they catch fish and moor

their boats. The government's interests are in ensuring the forests function in compliance with Law No. 41/99 and Government Regulation No. 34/2002, and in obtaining regional locally generated revenues (PAD) from private businesses whose interests lie in mining sand and stones in and around the forest regions. The port authorities' interests are in protecting the port from threats caused by silting.

#### STAKEHOLDER PREPARATION

Capacity building took place to prepare the stakeholders for dialogue. This covered capacity to understand the issues and to communicate them and ideas for their resolution. On the community side LePMIL facilitated group discussions,





distributed bulletins and brochures on forestry, provided information on rules and regulations and invited community representatives to take part in provincial, regional and national level forestry discussions aimed at rebuilding shared understanding and agreement alternative solutions to present during the conflict resolution dialogue. To support these activities, forest farmer groups were developed in order to nurture a shared awareness and promote joint supervision over the utilisation of forest land, and also so the government could see communities making concerted efforts to improve their management of the forests.

On the government side, internal and interagency discussions were developed with the forestry office. Coordination meetings also took place involving the Kendari municipal government, the Kendari district government (now South Konawe District) and the Southeast Sulawesi provincial government. The aim was to build a shared understanding



in regional government circles in the hope that these governments could work together in formulating solutions for presentation during the conflict resolution dialogue.

#### STAKEHOLDER INTRODUCTIONS

The next stage was holding the conflict resolution dialogue. More than 30 community representatives from 16 locations attended. They were chosen when consultations of PRA outcomes were held in each location. Also in attendance were high-level officials from the Forestry, Estate Crops, Agriculture and Fisheries offices as well as members of the Kendari municipal legislative assembly, academe and NGOs.

At the outset the dialogue was tense and awkward with participants blaming each other. When all stakeholders had been given a chance to speak, however, the atmosphere became more conducive though occasionally emotionally charged. Finally, following two days of discussions, seven points of agreement were signed by the heads of the Southeast Sulawesi Forestry Office, the Kendari

Municipal Forestry Suboffice, community representatives and LePMIL as the facilitator. These seven points would later become bridges for further discussions and activities, and were as follows:

- 1. Nanga-Nanga and Nipa-Nipa state forests are strategic regions that must be preserved and enjoyed by future generations; therefore their utilisation must meet with principles of conservation and sustainability.
- 2. A multistakeholder team made up of community, regional government and LePMIL representatives will be set up to handle border conflicts.
- 3. The multistakeholder team will undertake identification, clarification and verification of border markers and disputed land, and utilisation blocks will be determined.
- 4. In the short term, output from the multistakeholder team will be used for guiding communities living or farming in the forests.
- 5. In the long term, the multistakeholder team must accommodate community aspirations to evaluate borders and determine utilisation blocks to be submitted to the authorities for approval.
- 6. In the meantime communities are obliged to prevent irresponsible parties from damaging the environment in their areas.
- 7. In carrying out its work, the multistakeholder team must apply the principle of participation and its output must be agreed upon by conflicting parties.

#### **FOLLOWING UP ON AGREEMENTS**

LePMIL facilitated stakeholders in making follow-up plans for the agreements they had reached. Facilitating the community involved encouraging farmer groups to agree on rules of play in decision-making and management practices on their farm land. It also encouraged farmers to change their cultivation methods, develop annual crops and ensure they had control over the security of their own fields.

Facilitating the government involved holding discussions to ensure the multistakeholder team was formed. Established by Southeast Sulawesi Gubernatorial Decree, the team was divided into two groups: an institutional study group, and a field and farmer study group. The team then worked in accordance with agreements made during the conflict resolution dialogue.

Multistakeholder facilitation was carried out by setting up talks to discuss community-level developments and outcomes of multistakeholder team activities at the government level, and to invite stakeholders to contribute thoughts on the conflict resolution process.

Changes began to show. Villagers, who used to work by themselves, were now beginning to work together in securing the forests and planting. Forest farmer groups held weekly discussions, developed annual crop nurseries, began to develop a farmer network and discussed the management rights organisation models they would offer to the government.

On the other side, the government began providing support in seed bed training, conducting security patrols with farmer groups and forestry police, and providing crop seedlings. To study community forest management, the government even took the initiative to invite regional legislative assembly (DPRD) members,

academics, community members and a number of NGOs on comparative study visits to Lampung and Wonosobo. Now government and DPRD are more enthusiastic in encouraging conflict resolution in Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga, and some officials are even happy to go from one location to another to hold discussions with communities in the field. Stakeholders now have plans to continue working together on problem-solving processes and to improve the management of Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga forests.

The multistakeholder team is still working on identifying and verifying the community lands recognised by the state. At the same time, efforts to strengthen stakeholder capacity continue through occasional discussions. Various farmer group activities are ongoing, and community assistance models are being formulated with forestry extension officers, forestry



police and field facilitator teams. The forestry office has also chosen farmer groups as partners in its National Land and Forest Rehabilitation Movement programme for Nipa-Nipa, Nanga-Nanga and Papalia forests.

#### INSTITUTIONALISING AGREEMENTS

At the beginning of 2004 efforts were made to institutionalise the agreements. Organisation of the state forests and community management rights were formulated for inclusion in a draft regional policy. An interim work team was formed to draft the policy, and charged with compiling outcomes from farmer group and government discussions, and studying the legal foundations for drafting regional regulations.

The Southeast Sulawesi Forestry Office and Regional Environmental Impact Management Agency (Bapedalda) took the initiative of encouraging the process to institutionalise the agreements. At the end of 2004, a draft multistakeholder policy was produced in the hope it could become an umbrella for efforts towards more participatory management of the forests. The process of developing the concept is continuing through a series of public consultations.

## **LESSONS LEARNED**

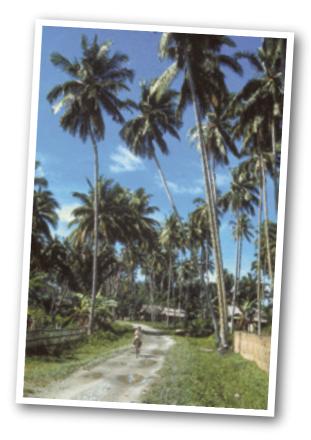
Throughout its facilitation of the stakeholder conflict resolution process, LePMIL encountered various problems in community and government circles, and with the facilitator team leading the process. One was different understandings of how to manage conflict and of government and community roles in forest management. Others were the lack of capacity to communicate ideas, differences of authority in every government office, government reliance on technical implementation instructions and lack of initiative, and the lack of coordination between government offices. The government needs to understand communities' emotional ties to their environments and give them serious consideration in every development plan and spatial plan<sup>7</sup>.

The heads of government offices involved in forest resources management are transferred quite regularly, which complicates conflict resolution processes. The

government remains suspicious of NGOs, feeling they provoke communities into opposition. Communities still lack the capacity to air their opinions to others, and facilitators still lack experience in handling conflict issues. LePMIL treated these problems as opportunities for learning and self-improvement.

## CONCLUSIONS

It is not easy to initiate and manage multistakeholder conflict resolution processes. It requires preparation, such as sounding out ways to promote new ideas or directions in conflict resolution, and in building trust between the stakeholders involved. Furthermore, it requires tenacity and patience in ensuring things agreed upon actually happen, because sometimes they do just remain agreements.



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author and his colleagues at LePMIL would like to thank everyone involved in the conflict and management of Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga forests facilitation programme: the Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga forest communities, the Kendari municipal government, the Konawe district government, the South Konawe district government and the Southeast Sulawesi provincial government. We would also like to thank MFP for supporting the programme, and Anas Nikoyan (MFP-DFID Regional Facilitator for Sulawesi) for critique and input during the multistakeholder-based conflict facilitation shared learning process in Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga forests.

## **ENDNOTES**

- Nipa-Nipa is a Grand Forest Park and covers an area of 7,877.5 ha. Although under the authority of the provincial government, it is within the Kendari Municipality and Konawe District administrative regions. This sometimes leads to intergovernmental conflict. Like Nanga-Nanga, this state-owned forest is a watershed for Kendari and the surrounding area.
- <sup>2</sup> Mitchell, M.Y., Force, J.E., Carroll, M.S. and McLaughlin, W.J. 1993. Forest places of the heart: incorporating special places into public management. *Journal of Forestry* 91(4):32-37.
- <sup>3</sup> LePMIL is a nongovernmental organisation based in Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi. Since 2001, LePMIL has tried to facilitate processes in a framework of conflict resolution and community-based forest management in Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga forests.
- <sup>4</sup> Multistakeholder here means individuals or organisations with direct economic, social, cultural or political interests in the forest resources in Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga.
- <sup>5</sup> In the manual *The Art of Building Facilitation Capacity* written by Lidya Braakman and Karen Edwards in 2002, meanings of facilitation are 'to enable' or 'to make easy'; to help people help themselves by simply 'being there', listening and responding to the people's needs; to support individuals, groups and organisations during participatory processes.
- <sup>6</sup> Nanga-Nanga, a protection forest and a production forest, covers an area of 8,701 ha. Nanga-Nanga Papalia covers 4,075 ha of protection forest and 2,695 ha of production forest. These state-owned forests come under the administration of the South Konawe district government and Kendari municipal government and are watersheds for the city of Kendari and the surrounding area.
- <sup>7</sup> Mitchell, M.Y., Force, J.E., Carroll, M.S. and McLaughlin, W.J. 1993. Forest places of the heart: incorporating special places into public management. *Journal of Forestry* 91(4):32-37.

## **Photographs**

Agung Wiyono/LePMIL documentation and Christian Cossalter.

## Reference to this paper

Wiyono, A. 2007. Sitting together to ward off conflict. In: Yuliani, E.L., Tadjudin, Dj., Indriatmoko, Y., Munggoro, D.W., Gaban, F. and Maulana, F. (eds.) *Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change*. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.



CHAPTER 2 BARU PELEPAT VILLAGE, JAMBI

**OIL PALM: LOVED AND LOATHED** 

**EDDY HARFIA SURMA** 

Almost all of the old rubber plantations in Baru Pelepat Village were made into transmigrant settlements,<sup>1</sup> so nearly 95% of villagers in Baru Pelepat began to rely on extracting timber from the forest near their village for their livelihoods. It was as if the community was 'rocked to sleep' because logging generated money more quickly. Yet, slowly but surely the wood began to run out. Whatever timber remained was found ever deeper in the forest causing ever higher operations and transportation costs. By the end of 2003, the average income of a timber worker in the community was IDR 300,000 a week at most, with three weeks of work per month.

The villagers could no longer rely on timber for their livelihoods, so they began seeking alternative sources of income, one of which was oil palm. Both government and villagers saw oil palm as a promising alternative income source and began looking into establishing oil palm estates. Some villagers began to develop oil palm nurseries, planting in their fields and houselots, and they also hoped investors would come and set up oil palm estates in their village.

Yet, not everyone in the community agreed with the oil palm idea; some worried it would damage the sustainability of forest resources. The villagers in Baru Pelepat had for generations relied heavily on forest resources, timber and nontimber, as well as rubber plantations, for their livelihoods.

## **BARU PELEPAT VILLAGE**

Baru Pelepat is located to the west of Jambi, the provincial capital, 64 km from the capital of Bungo District and 26 km from the subdistrict town. The approximate population of the village is 650 people in 230 households.<sup>2</sup> It has a diverse ethnic mix of Javanese, Minang, Kerinci and Jambi Malays descended from Minang, due to the influx of outsiders through the local transmigration programme in 1998.

Between 1980 and 2000, almost 95% of the populace lived from cutting and selling timber from the forest around the village. The rest lived from tapping latex, clearing fields or working as farm labourers, traders or civil servants.

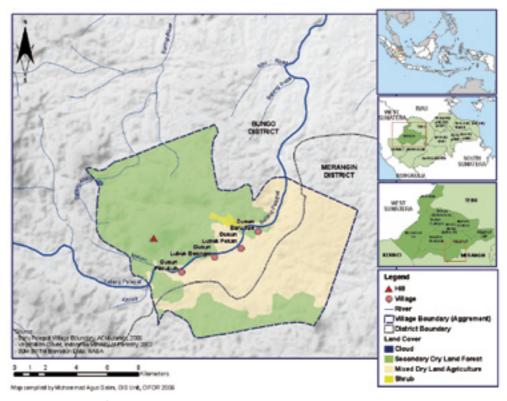


Figure 2. Map of Baru Pelepat

## **CURRENT STATUS OF BUNGO FOREST**

The quality of timber and nontimber forest resources in Bungo District has continued to decline.<sup>3</sup> Analysis of satellite imagery by a team from Indonesian Conservation Community – Conservation Information Centre, ACM Jambi and the World Agroforestry Centre (ICRAF) in 2005 showed that forest cover in Bungo District was only 30.63% in 2002 compared to 42.78% in 1990.<sup>4</sup>

The shrinking of the forest cover was due primarily to logging by local communities and timber companies who involved many others in their trading and giving permits.<sup>5</sup> This was worsened by forest clearance permits for large-scale oil palm estates being issued as covers for timber exploitation. Businessmen profited from the timber, but neglected to develop the oil palm estates.

Government supervision was ineffective because many people, including forest communities, businesspeople, regional governments and security personnel, profited from the timber enterprises. Their involvement made a vicious circle difficult to break, and frequently frustrated those trying to preserve the remaining forest resources.<sup>6</sup>

## THE OIL PALM CRAZE

Oil palm estates have spread across Indonesia since the 1980s, when the government first announced its ambition to make oil palm an economic mainstay and overtake Malaysia as the world's largest producer of crude palm oil (CPO). This ambition provided great opportunities to investors wishing to invest in oil palm estates in Indonesia. In Jambi Province the governor and the Jambi Provincial Estate Crops Office announced a one-million-hectare oil palm estate programme. Since the 1990s, with similar ambitions of its own, the Bungo district government has tried to increase community livelihoods and its district locally generated revenue.

In the Baru Pelepat region oil palm estates first became an issue in 1998, when the transmigration programme came into the area offering the chance to develop oil palm estates on land with *Lahan Usaha II* status<sup>7</sup> (land for estate crops). To begin with, most of the local people rejected the offer and continued with their rubber plantations as they were used to doing.

Some though, particularly transmigrants, were indeed interested, and using small sums of capital and low-quality seedlings, they began to try planting oil palm. The important thing to them was the survival of their oil palms; the possibility that productivity might be low did not occur to them. To overcome a lack of capital, they borrowed in groups from the village development fund.

## **LARGE COMPANY STRATAGEMS**

Several companies were going to open large-scale oil palm estates in the Baru Pelepat region, but never got past the community discussion and field survey stages. In 2001 for instance, PT. Aman Pratama secured a permit to clear land for a 10,600 ha oil palm estate in Baru Pelepat and the surrounding area. The company





even secured an environmental impact analysis document (AMDAL), approved by the Jambi Bapedalda.

After securing its permit, the company cut down all the trees on the land. But no oil palms were ever planted and the oil palm estate never materialised. The reason cited was lack of capital. The real reason, however, was that the company had profited so enormously from timber extracted from the land it owned that it no longer had any need to establish an oil palm estate.

Some time later, the company returned to Baru Pelepat explaining its plan to form partnerships to open a 1,100 ha oil palm estate on community fields in the Baru Pelepat and

Lubuk Telau Hamlet regions in the village of Rantel. They offered to share the net profits (after deduction of production costs) from every oil palm, with 20% going to the community and 80% to the company. The company would not own the land, but would lease it for 30 years, then return it to its owners. On approval of the district government, these discussions were followed up with field surveys, conducted jointly by company employees and community members, to install boundary markers.

The company used a number of methods in approaching villagers. On 19 June 2004, the Pelepat Subdistrict head at the time, saying he was only a representative of the Bungo District head, held a meeting announcing that a company was planning to clear land and establish an oil palm estate. He did not mention the company's name, but did say it could be trusted and had already negotiated with the district head. The proposed area for conversion covered rubber plantations

and forests surrounding villages, including Baru Pelepat. The share of profits was the same as the 20:80 share of net profits<sup>9</sup> offered by the previous company, as was the 30-year lease on the land.

The difference was the company would also clear the village forest that neither had individual ownership nor had been cleared by the community. Profits from oil palms on village land would be shared evenly between all the households. During the meeting, he relayed the message that those rejecting the oil palm estate should not obstruct plans for its development as in doing so they would encumber those who wanted to better their lives.

## **PRO AND CONTRA**

The planned oil palm estate in the village split the community into two large groups, one in favour and the other opposing the plan. Most of those in favour were newcomers, who either had experienced planting or were familiar with oil palm and were convinced the estate would become a source of income for the future. They considered oil palm easier to grow than rubber as it required harvesting only once a week, as opposed to rubber, which had to be tapped every day or at the very least once every two days.

Despite being more familiar with rubber, due to pressing economic needs some of







the indigenous people did become interested. They were enticed by outside information saying oil palms had been successful in other regions and did not require excessive amounts of time, capital or labour; that oil palms started yielding fruit after three years, were not too difficult to tend, and only needed harvesting once a week. They compared this with their rubber trees, which could only be tapped after 8 to 10 years, required careful attention and had to be tapped once every 1 or 2 days, thus requiring much more work.

Those opposing the plan felt comfortable with their rubber plantations. They were unsure the oil palm estate would succeed, and they were concerned with their lack of capital, knowledge and experience, as well as transportation to a processing site, low oil palm fruit prices and increases in rubber prices. They were afraid they would end up worse off if the enterprise failed. Other concerns were the monocultural nature of oil palm estates and their intolerance of other crops, meaning oil palms could not be intercropped with other secondary crops or fruits, while villagers also relied on their fields for their vegetable and fruit needs. All these considerations made them decide to stick with their rubber crops.

They also worried about losing their local wisdom. The wholesale clearance of land for an oil palm estate could spell the end for long-standing customary rules and traditions, 10 such as the local farming practice called 'turun betaun', or the important local ritual known as 'kompak, setumpak, serempak' where once a year all the members of the community work together to clear an area of land. They were worried these traditions would disappear, and with them the spirit of togetherness and harmony they foster.

## MANAGING DIFFERENCES

With the conflicting reactions of stakeholders to the planned oil palm estate in Baru Pelepat, a middle ground had to be found to solve the problem, or at least a compromise so the community could prosper and their natural resources could be preserved.

On seeing the situation, the Jambi ACM team, made up of three organisations — the Gita Buana Foundation, the Regional Autonomy Law and Policy Study Centre (PSHK-ODA) and CIFOR — took on the role of neutral facilitator. ACM facilitation methods involve encouraging all stakeholders to make their own decisions based on comprehensive information and knowledge. So, in the middle of the community dispute over the proposed oil palm estate, the ACM team tried to provide as much comprehensive information as possible by:

- looking at the pros and cons of oil palm seen from experiences in a number of locations and presented in village meetings;
- providing reports on study visits made by communities in Malinau District to Pasir District;<sup>11</sup>
- holding open discussions with the village head and the village assembly (BPD);
- approaching the Bungo District Environment Office to locate the environmental impact analysis data and report it had approved for PT. Aman Pratama, then surrendering it to the community.



All this information became topics for discussions between villagers and village government. As a result, the community agreed that in order to prevent any losses, the village government would propose the following conditions to the company:

- 1. The share of net profits would be 30% for the community and 70% for the company or a 20% share of gross profits (before deduction of production costs) for the community and 80% for the company, so the community would receive a larger amount of money.
- 2. The oil palm estate would not be located in, but adjacent to, the customary forest<sup>12</sup> in order to ensure its conservation.
- 3. An oil palm nursery for Baru Pelepat, Batu Kerbau, Sungai Beringin, Balai Jaya and Rantel would be located in the Baru Pelepat region and would employ Baru Pelepat villagers.

As the company was prepared to consider only the first condition on the share of profits, saying it could not meet the other two conditions as it had already made

other plans, the community rejected the oil palm estate proposal. The rejection was also based on information that PT. Aman Pratama was acting as intermediary and would sell its permit to another company. A formal letter of rejection was signed by the village head and the chair of the village assembly, and addressed directly to PT. Aman Pratama, with copies sent to the district head, Bappeda and the Manpower and Transmigration Office.

The community's critical stance was not limited to its dealings with the company, but extended to the government, which it felt should have supported community rather than company interests. It felt the government had sided with the company by concealing its identity.



## **CHALLENGES AND LESSONS LEARNED**

A number of important aspects helped the community overcome its differences and in fact encouraged community accord:

- The community received sufficient and balanced information on the pros and cons of oil palm estates based on real experiences in other places.
- The community used the information to negotiate with the company.
- All processes were conducted in an open and participatory manner involving all members of the community so that no suspicions arose among villagers.

This experience demonstrates that information, communication, negotiation and conflict management are essential factors in building collaboration.<sup>13</sup> Open

communication and information sharing among community members also encouraged a learning process that was key to stakeholders' becoming adept in the face of a complex situation.

The biggest challenge was corrupt individuals, siding with the company and acting on behalf of high-level government officials tasked with persuading the community. The Baru Pelepat community overcame this challenge with its critical attitude and its courage in demanding the government be more sympathetic towards its interests. Another challenge was helping the community to get support so the natural resources in Baru Pelepat could become a reliable and sustainably managed source of income.

#### CONCLUSION

Development of oil palm estates is not the solution to increasing the prosperity of forest-dwelling communities; they lack the knowledge and experience to sustain oil palm enterprises. Converting forests to oil palm estates also changes communities' relationships with the forests around them, when those communities are trying hard to revive their local wisdom and protect their forests.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author would like to thank the villagers of Baru Pelepat, Pelepat Subdistrict, Bungo District in Jambi who have been the inspiration for this paper. Also to all my colleagues in the Jambi ACM team: Marzoni, Effi, Best, Par, Anto, Muri and Enno, all of whom were involved in collecting data in the field, and Mustafal Hadi from the Bungo District Forestry and Estate Crops Office for his willingness to provide data on forest conditions in Bungo District. The author also wishes to thank MFP for its support in funding our activity, which constitutes part of the Jambi ACM programme.

#### **ENDNOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> Every transmigrant is given a house lot (to build a house and plant mixed crops), Lahan Usaha I (for growing annual crops) and Lahan Usaha II (for growing perennial crops).
- <sup>2</sup> Hidianto, A. 2004. *Laporan Sensus Pertanian Desa Baru Pelepat, Kecamatan Pelepat, Kabupaten Bungo, Propinsi Jambi tahun 2004*. Baru Pelepat Village Office, Jambi, Indonesia.
- <sup>3</sup> Hadi, M. 2005. *Illegal Logging dan Penanganannya di Kabupaten Bungo*. Bungo District Forestry and Estate Crops Office, Bungo, Indonesia.
- <sup>4</sup> KKI WARSI, ACM-Jambi, ICRAF 2005 *Usulan untuk Revisi RTRW-K Bungo: Penentuan WP I dan WP II Kabupaten Bungo berdasarkan Gabungan Pendekatan DAS dan Growth Pole.* Bungo, Indonesia.
- <sup>5</sup> See Chapter 5.
- <sup>6</sup> This paragraph describes conditions in the district as well as other parts of Indonesia, in particular until 2005. In Bungo District and Baru Pelepat the situation has now changed. See chapters 5 and 7.
- <sup>7</sup> Transmigration land allocation issued by the Manpower and Transmigration Office.
- <sup>8</sup> The Pelepat subdistrict head was replaced in February 2006.
- <sup>9</sup> Twenty percent for the community and 80% for the company.
- <sup>10</sup> Surma, E.H. 2002. *Dari Buah Pahit Sawit, PAD sampai ke Masyarakat Adat*. Gita Buana Foundation, Jambi, Indonesia.
- <sup>11</sup> Upper Malinau River Village Participatory Mapping Facilitation Team. 2000. *Dampak Perkebunan Kelapa Sawit: Wakil Masyarakat Hulu Sungai Malinau Belajar di Kabupaten Pasir, Kalimantan Timur.* CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.
- <sup>12</sup> A customary forest is a village forest area protected by local customary law. In Baru Pelepat, the customary forest is located in Bukit Siketan. See chapters 5 and 7.
- <sup>13</sup> Colfer, C.J.P. 2005. *The Complex Forest: Communities, Uncertainty and Adaptive Collaborative Management*. Resources for the Future and Center for International Forestry Research, Washington, D.C., USA.

## **Photographs**

Budi Prasetyo, Carol J.P. Colfer, Hasantoha Adnan and Manuel Ruiz Perez.

## Reference to this paper

Surma, E.H. 2007. Oil palm: loved and loathed. In: Yuliani, E.L., Tadjudin, Dj., Indriatmoko, Y., Munggoro, D.W., Gaban, F. and Maulana, F. (eds.) *Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change*. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.



CHAPTER 3 BARU PELEPAT VILLAGE, JAMBI

## **LUBUK LARANGAN AND WOMEN**

**EFFI PERMATASARI** 

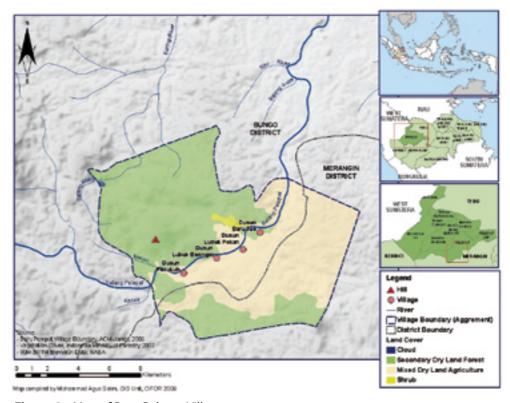


Figure 3. Map of Baru Pelepat Village

Baru Pelepat is located in Pelepat Subdistrict, Bungo District in Jambi. It is relatively isolated because the dirt road is often impassable in the rainy season. The village is situated on the banks of the Pelepat River, the largest river in the region, which until 1997 was the main transport corridor, and which remains a source of fish for the community.

In this village, as in most others in Indonesia, women are rarely included in household or village decision-making processes. Only men attend village meetings, and decision-making processes are dominated by their opinions. Women may only do jobs considered appropriate for them, but they too must bear the consequences of any decisions made. This disregard for women's opinions in Baru Pelepat is illustrated by Silasmi's¹ comment on an incident when a *turun betaun*² was going to take place:

We received ingredients bought by the men for turun betaun. It turned out there were not enough, so we – the women – were madly trying to meet the shortfall. This was because they – the men – had not involved us in the meeting.



Local culture tends to allow Baru Pelepat women involvement only in household affairs such as cooking, looking after children, washing and the like. Zainab³ complained about this, saying she once attended a meeting in the hamlet and when she voiced her opinion, one man said, 'Women know nothing. This is not women's business. Women's business is in the kitchen.' Another example occurred in a discussion when a man said it was sufficient for women's votes in decision-making processes to be represented by their husbands. In his opinion, women had trouble talking and were always noisy so concentration in meetings would be lost. 'And we [men] will ask for women's opinions if an issue really has anything to do with them,' he said.

This disregard for women's rights was apparent from incidents involving men borrowing money from women's groups. Every woman in a group would surrender the same amount of money to its treasurer and the sum would be shared among the members in the run-up to the Moslem fasting month. Women's groups were helpless, however, when men borrowed this money, promising to return it, but usually failing to do so. This often led to problems as other members accused treasurers of misappropriating the money. But a treasurer was not in a position to refuse when the man borrowing the money was closely related to her.

The marginalisation of women and their restriction to household affairs is not unique to Baru Pelepat, but common throughout Jambi<sup>4</sup> and society in general.<sup>5</sup>

In development processes, women tend to be only objects; yet decisions made without their participation are biased and do not fulfil their wishes.

This paper discusses the experiences of women in Baru Pelepat, who tried to become actively involved in the village decision-making concerning the management of *lubuk larangan*, a local term for protected fish spawning areas.<sup>6</sup> The process constituted part of a natural resources management facilitation programme known as ACM.<sup>7</sup>

## WOMEN BECOME INVOLVED

Started in 2001, facilitation of women's groups in Baru Pelepat was aimed to enhance women's roles in village decision-making processes, including decisions relating to natural resources management. One such decision involved the management of *lubuk larangan*.

In order to avoid any disturbance to daily activities, this facilitation took place with existing women's groups, called *Kelompok Yasinan*. The groups developed in the village for *silaturahmi*, a social forum for maintaining relationships and communication. Every hamlet had a *Kelompok Yasinan* group and these became forums for women to discuss developments in the village. With fixed memberships, they met every Friday. Further informal facilitation involved approaching individual group members personally and occasionally participating in members' daily activities.

There were women's groups other than *Kelompok Yasinan* i.e. farming groups, gold-panning groups and *gotong-royong* groups,<sup>9</sup> but all were more difficult to facilitate because they formed only temporarily for specific tasks and had no regular meeting schedules.

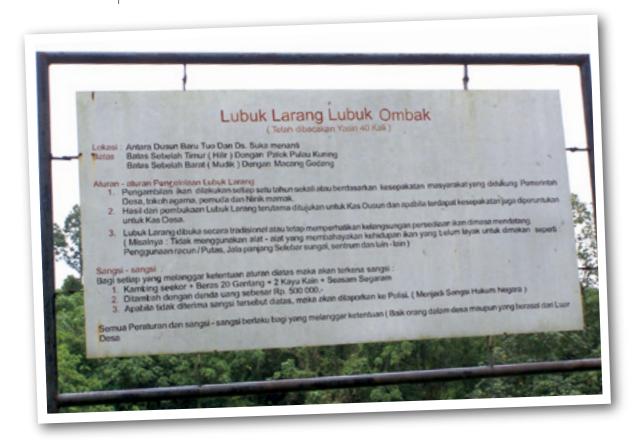
In facilitating the women's groups, it was necessary to nurture women's self confidence and discussion skills, which the women in Baru Pelepat tended to lack, as the social order expected them to be concerned only with household affairs. They were afraid to voice their own opinions in formal village activities and embarrassed to speak up in village meetings. Accordingly, the women were trained how to speak in public, lead discussions, and voice their opinions within the group with an emphasis on the fact that differences of opinion are perfectly normal in discussions.



The women were trained to follow discussions, and were also encouraged to make rules governing the organisation of group finances. Each deposit, use and lending of money to a treasurer had to be recorded clearly by a secretary in a group ledger. Money could not be lent out without some form of guarantee.

Apart from increasing self-confidence and capacity, women's group meetings were used as arenas for discussion and exchanging information on issues such as village head elections, duties and functions of the village assembly and village government as well as customary forest management practices. This was important because women had rarely received comprehensive information on occurrences inside or outside the village. In order to achieve this, the facilitator had to earn the trust of the women's groups, so she involved herself in all of their activities from farming the fields to social events.

A motivating factor for the groups to remain involved in the activities was the existence of a shared issue in *lubuk larangan*. The importance of managing *lubuk larangan* became apparent from the shrinking fish stocks, and an awareness of the limited funds available for women's group activities.



## **REVIVING LUBUK LARANGAN**

Far from new to Baru Pelepat, *lubuk larangan* was a traditional, but forgotten form of natural resources management. The tradition of establishing *lubuk larangan* was revived in Baru Pelepat in 2001 with the Integrated Conservation and Development Project (ICDP).

Through deliberations, the community determined locations for *lubuk* where fishing would be prohibited for certain periods of time during which no villagers could catch fish in them using either rods or nets. Boundaries between *lubuk* were marked by natural boundaries agreed upon by consensus. When they were closed, the *Surah Yaasin* verse from the Koran was recited 40 times as the community believed this would protect the *lubuk*, and misfortune would befall anyone fishing there.

## **LUBUK LARANGAN IN WOMEN'S HANDS**

At first, the women were limited to determining locations for *lubuk* and to closing them. Taking the produce and using the proceeds were entirely in the hands of men. Women were not asked for their opinions. From 2003 until now, the right and responsibility for managing lubuk larangan have been in the hands of women's groups whose authority has been recognised by the village government.

The women deliberated on the establishment of lubuk larangan in their group meetings. They discussed the locations and their boundaries, when the lubuk would be closed, and whose job it would be to supervise them. To conserve fish stocks, fish could only be caught using nets of a certain size, while using poison or electric shocks was strictly forbidden.

If buyers from outside the village want to buy fish from the lubuk larangan, the village government suggests they meet directly with the women's groups. Decisions on whether or not to sell fish and to whom they should be sold are completely



up to the women's groups. Usually half the catch is used to fulfil the needs of the hamlet, while the rest is sold. Proceeds from fish sales are a source of income for women's groups. Even though *lubuk* come under the women's authority, roles and responsibilities are still shared; supervision and harvesting of a *lubuk*, for example, is still carried out by men and women.

These changes have helped the women gain confidence and courage. Now they are prepared to voice their opinions, and to negotiate with others when haggling over fish sales and sharing produce from *lubuk*. Women are now more forceful in managing women's group finances, refusing to lend money if group rules are not complied with. Without collateral there is no loan, even if the person asking to borrow money is a village community figure. One woman said women used to have trouble making money, and it was the men who had enjoyed it more.

#### **FUTURE CHALLENGES**

Despite some change in women's roles in village decision-making processes in Baru Pelepat, prevailing community systems still prevent them from being equal to men. In one women's group meeting, they complained about village meetings or deliberations often being held at night. Hamlets are quite a distance apart, and there is no transport or electric lighting, making it difficult for women to attend and participate in meetings and decision-making processes.

Another complaint is the small numbers of women invited to village meetings. Of 50 invitations, only six to eight are extended to women, and sometimes as few as four. Their small representation makes it hard for them to participate in decision-making processes.

## CONCLUSION

It takes time and energy to change community social order and to enhance women's roles in decision-making processes. Nonetheless, the men, who have always tended to underestimate the women, have recognised the hard work of women's groups in managing *lubuk larangan*. The lesson learned is that men, who used to feel they had sole responsibility for providing for their families, while forgetting the women's role in their fields, now acknowledge that women's involvement in managing *lubuk larangan* has helped increase their family incomes.

The nature of women and local customs greatly influences the process of involving women in public activities. The main aspect to change is women's low self-esteem and lack of confidence. For so long, the shackles of stereotypical views confining them to domestic and house-keeping roles have made women hesitant to take part in other affairs. The involvement of women in managing *lubuk larangan*, however, is proof that their roles in village community life cannot be ignored.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author would like to thank all the people in Baru Pelepat including, but not limited to, Ita, Rodiah, Silasmi, Zainab, Partinah, Koimah, Evi and Mirul. The author would also like to thank MFP for supporting our activities between 2003 and 2006 and Asian Development Bank for supporting preliminary studies from 1999 to 2002.

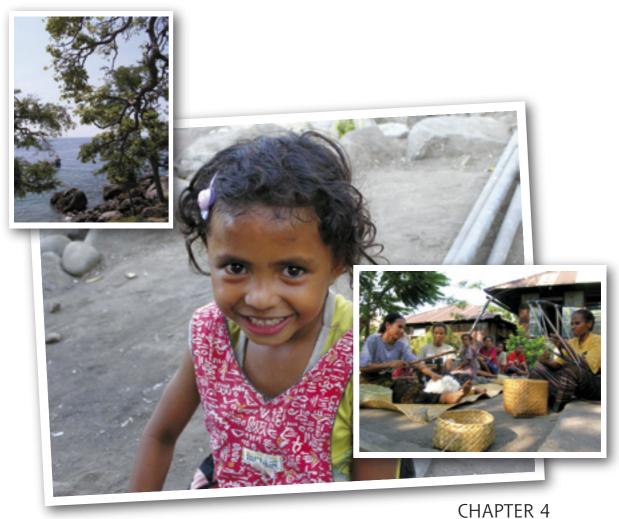
#### **ENDNOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> A Baru Pelepat villager.
- <sup>2</sup> *Turun betaun* is a customary ritual to determine the time and place for planting. *Turun* means working on (farming); *betaun* means annual. It is also a means for introducing customary laws to the younger generation.
- <sup>3</sup> A Baru Pelepat villager.
- <sup>4</sup> De Vries, D.W. and Sutarti, N. 2006 Gender equity: revealing the reality of Jambi's women. *Governance Brief 29b:1-7*. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.
- <sup>5</sup> Murniati, A. and Nunuk, P. 2004 *Getar Gender: Perempuan Indonesia dalam Perspektif Agama, Budaya, dan Keluarga*. Vol 2. Indonesia Tera Foundation, Magelang, Indonesia.
- <sup>6</sup> A *lubuk* is a relatively deep, sheltered part of a river where various species of fish congregate and breed. To allow the fish the chance to develop and breed naturally, Baru Pelepat villagers chose a tradition that prohibits fishing in certain *lubuks*, known as *lubuk larangan*.
- <sup>7</sup> Three organisations, the Gita Buana Foundation, PSHK-ODA and CIFOR, collaborated in facilitation using an ACM approach. ACM tries to encourage multistakeholder collaboration and adaptation to rapidly developing dynamics. Through collaboration and adaptation, it is hoped that learning processes will take place at individual, interindividual, group and intergroup levels.
- 8 Yasinan is an Islamic religious activity whereby participants recite Surah Yaasin from the Koran together.
- <sup>9</sup> Gotong-royong groups were formed to help group members find labour. When gotong-royong group members work within their group they are paid less in order to reduce costs, but when they work for outsiders they are paid the amount determined by ninik-mamak (customary leaders). Any money made by a gotong-royong group is kept by the group treasurer and usually distributed in the run-up to the fasting month.

## **Photographs**

Carol J.P. Colfer, Eddy Harfia Surma, Effi Permatasari and Hasantoha Adnan.

**Reference to this paper**Permatasari, E. 2007. Lubuk larangan and women. In: Yuliani, E.L., Tadjudin, Dj., Indriatmoko, Y., Munggoro, D.W., Gaban, F. and Maulana, F. (eds.) Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.



CHAPTER 4 KUPANG, EAST NUSA TENGGARA

# FROM A CONFRONTATIONAL TO A MULTISTAKEHOLDER APPROACH

**FREDY WAHON** 



Changing from a confrontational to a multistakeholder strategy is not an easy thing to do, but not impossible either, as proved by the LAP Timoris. They managed to work with all stakeholders including the government, even though its members had previously felt only one word applied when standing up to government policies detrimental to the people: Resist!

When three United Nations staff were killed in Atambua, Belu District, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), in September 2000, almost all national and international NGO staff working in West Timor left the region. Yet LAP Timoris staff continued their work; none of them left, though all were on higher alert.

At the time a news broadcast reported that the Indonesian Infantry planned to set up a Subregional Military Command (Korem) in Flores. The Flores Korem idea actually encouraged LAP Timoris activists to expand their network to the Flores region. Their target - to reject the Flores Korem. NGO activists and a number of community figures in Flores endorsed their position. All voiced their rejection of the Flores Korem, and the Indonesian Infantry cancelled its plan.

Afterwards a new challenge appeared; news spread that the Indonesian Air Force wanted to take over tens of hectares of farming land belonging to villagers from Buraen in Amarasi Subdistrict, Kupang District, to build a radar installation. LAP Timoris staff were sent to the field to find out more information, some going to meet with community figures in Buraen Village.

When it had sufficient information on the planned Air Force radar installation, LAP Timoris invited community figures to discuss the possible impact of its development. The community was in agreement; it would not sell its land to the Air Force. The military would not give in, however, and began a campaign of terror. LAP Timoris activists were accused of being provocateurs, and a war of words broke out in the media.

Local government and district legislative assembly (DPRD), which were expected to support the community, in fact ended up siding with the military. You could count the number of DPRD representatives supporting the community's struggle on the fingers of one hand, let alone the number of government officials. They even became the military's lobbyists for 'taming' the villagers. A number of community figures finally gave up, forced to sell parts of their land to build the radar



installation and a military barracks. Some community figures, previously adamant about rejecting the radar installation, even supported it once their land had been sold to Air Force officers.

This 'taming' was not limited to community members; Air Force officers also approached LAP Timoris activists in Kupang, but their efforts at negotiation always met with a brick wall. LAP Timoris continued to reject the building of the radar installation on farming land belonging to villagers in Buraen, suggesting it be built elsewhere on empty land, where no farming was taking place.

## THE MULTISTAKEHOLDER PROCESS

This story illustrates how tough intergroup relations were at the time. In the midst of this resistance to the military and regional government, University of Indonesia Ecology Anthropology Research and Development Centre (P3AE-UI) staff conveyed information about MFP, a collaborative programme between the Indonesian Department of Forestry and the UK DFID. Discussions about the programme began in the LAP Timoris office in 2000.

To a fledgling NGO barely two years old, of course an opportunity to work with a donor organisation was something quite momentous. Yet, one precondition for doing so did feel uncomfortable; the multistakeholder programme required collaboration with regional government, whereas LAP Timoris had always been in opposition to governments on Timor and was not sure they would be willing to work together.

So, the target area was moved to Lembata District, a district newly established in 1999, when it broke away from East Flores District, NTT. Prior to that Lembata had come under the administration of the East Flores district head. Lembata District is divided into the eight subdistricts of Buyasuri, Omesuri, Ile Ape, Lebatukan, Nubatukan, Atadei, Nagawutun and Wulandoni.

Lembata is the name of a small island in eastern Flores. On Indonesian maps it is listed as part of the Solor Archipelago. On official, internationally recognised maps, however, Lembata is called Lomblen. The name was changed from Lomblen to Lembata during the Lembata People's Grand Congress on 24 June 1967. The name Lembata comes from Lepan and Batan, two islands to the east of Lembata now under water. According to tales of their origins (*tutu maring usu asa*), ancestors of the people on Lembata came from these two islands.

According to Lembata District Forestry Office data, the island has an area of 1,288 km² and a population of 93,257 (1999), made up of 38,425 men and 54,832 women (not including an estimated 27,300 people working outside the region). The working-age population is about 70,150, 80% of whom work as farmers and the rest are employed as civil servants, traders, craftspeople, labourers, drivers, etc. The island has a population density of 80.57 and an agrarian density of 2.27 persons per square kilometre.

As is commonly the case with communities in the Eastern Indonesia Region, communities on Lembata are poor, in terms of both Sajogyo's rice equivalent earnings criterion and other criteria (nutrition, illiteracy, etc.). Approximately 80% of the populace are farmers, and almost all farm unirrigated fields as rainfall is extremely low with only 3 or 4 wet months according to both Mohr, et al. and Schmidt and Ferguson's scales.

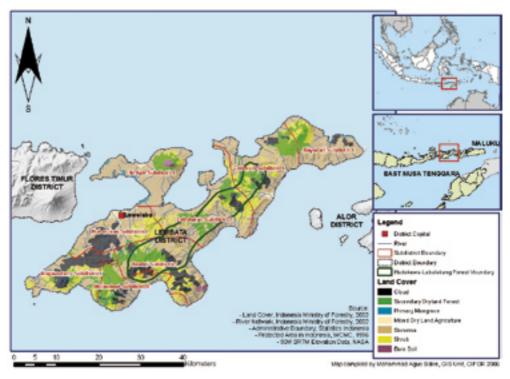


Figure 4. Map of Lembata Island

In 2004, forestland covered 48,627 ha or 38.3% of total area in Lembata District.<sup>4</sup> These included 40,003 ha of protection forest and 8,625 ha of production forest. Of these forest areas, 12% have a reasonable amount of vegetation; the rest is scrubland and swamp forest. More than half or 2,756 ha of state-owned forest in Lembata District is critical land, whereas critical land outside these state forest regions covers 35,560 ha.

Looking at these data, it seemed forest resource management on Lembata was problematic, so the choice to work in Lembata District was considered appropriate. Lobbying of Lembata District government officials began. They welcomed the multistakeholder process idea, and the Lembata District Forestry Office Head, Soa Ali, even said he was prepared to work together with NGOs.

LAP Timoris activists' poise and confidence began to grow; Iskandar<sup>5</sup> suggested the public forestry sector (Department of Forestry) begin building partnerships with all stakeholders, including NGOs, academic institutions, customary communities, government and donor organisations. Consequently, in 2001 LAP Timoris

began facilitating forest resources multistakeholder collaboration in Lembata District involving regional governments, DPRD, local communities, NGOs, academic institutions, businesspeople and donors. A workshop with the theme 'Synchronizing Visions for Community-Based Natural Resources Management' was held in Lewoleba, the district capital of Lembata. All the subdistrict heads, government office heads, the chair of Bappeda, DPRD members and a number of other officials attended, as did 20 community representatives from the eight subdistricts. All stakeholders relayed their experiences openly and expressed their ideas about forest resources management. What was interesting was that government officials and community representatives relayed their past mistakes, and expressed willingness to learn from their bad experiences to prevent similar things from happening in the future.

Following the workshop, village meetings were held in the eight subdistricts; a study visit took place to the Gunung Betung forest region in Bandar Lampung; a workshop was held on Strategic Planning, Vision, Mission and Forest Resource Management Principles; and Joint Multistakeholder Secretariats were formed at the district and subdistrict levels. All stakeholders participating in the workshop talked openly about their problems. Any criticisms from one party to another were treated as points for learning, and all workshop participants were able to sit together to discuss forest resource management problems, including regional governments and communities being considered responsible for the degradation of local forest resources.

This openness might have been a result of a continuous and intensive communication. Besides formal means of communication such as in workshops and village meetings, LAP Timoris activists also made informal, personal approaches to Lembata district government officials, DPRD representatives, local communities and other NGOs to discuss various issues. In all discussions they would stress the importance of building like-mindedness and learning from past experiences. Stakeholders were always invited to make sense of their own, or others', past mistakes as lessons for the future.

At first, not all stakeholders agreed, but those who did were asked to inform their contemporaries in government, DPRD, community or NGO circles. All stakeholders were invited to make things clear to each other. During informal meetings, facilitators always stressed that stakeholder meetings were not intended for pointing out others' mistakes, but for trying to learn from everyone's experiences.

'The process has made us all feel good. Those of us from the forestry office were not blamed all the time. This is the way to go, we sit down together and talk about problems affecting all of us,' said Martin Pabisanga, the head of the Forest and Land Rehabilitation Division in the NTT Provincial Forestry Office, after participating in the workshop in Lembata in 2001.

Villagers said the same thing. Silvester Gogok, the ex-village head of Imulolong in Nagawutung Subdistrict, put it this way:

We should have more dialogues like this. The government doesn't want the last word all the time, but listens to us too. Now we are open with each other. Of course we've made mistakes; we've cut down trees, cleared forests for farmland. But the government has made mistakes too. We've all confessed our sins. Now what do we want to do for the future?

This openness was not limited to the government and community members, but NGOs also came in for criticism. The Bina Sejahtera Foundation (YBS) rainwater collection tank development project, for example, was considered unfair as it provided water for only one group in the village. It led to conflict between those and other villagers over the water from the tank. Nelly Mataraw from YBS, however, stressed they had not intended to limit use of water from the tank to only one group. 'We may have made mistakes in our explanations to facilitation group members and villagers,' she admitted.

In the end, the atmosphere during the Strategic Planning, Vision, Mission and Forest Resource Management Principles workshop was very amicable. All stakeholders openly discussed forest resources issues in Lembata District and their ideas for managing them together. Bediona Felix, the ex-head of the Lembata Agricultural and Forestry Extensions Information Office explained during monitoring and evaluation:

The effort LAP Timoris made to discuss its programme with us [the Lembata district government] before beginning its activities was the right move, and the first time we have seen such a thing. In the past, NGOs have only reported to us when there's been a problem in the field. We do need to coordinate sooner, to anticipate possible occurrences, and to align our perceptions.

This view was seconded by Lembata Forestry Office Head, Soa Ali, by the ex-Nubatukan Subdistrict Head, Yosep Meran Lagaur,<sup>6</sup> and by Ile Ape Subdistrict Head, Rofinus Laba Lasar. However, follow-up on the Multistakeholder Joint Secretariat, which involved government, DPRD, community members and NGOs, is still a big question. The trouble is sectoral egotism still prevalent in a number of Lembata district government offices. 'It's the same old problem,' said Yosep Meran Lagaur.

In fact, the problem of intersectoral coordination in multistakeholder processes is not exclusive to outlying areas; it is equally problematic even in the central government. Executive Director of the Indonesian Biodiversity Foundation (KEHATI), Ismid Hadad, for one, still questions intersectoral collaboration in Jakarta. In his opinion, the government approach to sustainable development programmes is still sectoral, exploitative and even short term in nature, despite one of the most important outcomes of the World Summit on Sustainable Development being multistakeholder partnerships. Hadad, as quoted in *Kompas*, 30 July 2004, said:<sup>7</sup>

Don't expect the government or the private sector alone to bring about sustainable development. Others must take their share of responsibility. What is more important is the involvement of local communities. This sectoral approach is the reason that sustainable development's not working. If there's no intersectoral coordination, forget it, give the freedom to the outlying areas.

The government may still be struggling with intersectoral coordination problems, but NGOs in Lembata have displayed amazing enthusiasm towards multistakeholder processes. The Larantuka Socio-Economic Development Foundation representative in Lembata, for instance, began collaborating with the regional government in resolving Leragere community claims over the Hadakewa-Labalekang state forest region, after four years of working with the local community. The same goes for the Bina Sejahtera Foundation (YBS), the Sedon Senaren Lewotana Solidarity Foundation, the Kasih Alam Foundation, the Edlina Kedang Foundation and the Nurunua Foundation, all of which began collaborating with regional government, particularly the forestry office, in their activities. Before commencing work, these NGOs even coordinated with each other and with the forestry office to integrate their programmes in the field.

Communities too have begun to show a more genial attitude; villagers from Mahal I, Omesuri Subdistrict, living near Natu forest, for example, put back the forest boundary markers they themselves had removed after the government originally installed them. The customary figure holding communal rights over the Hutan Natu forest, Abubakar Abdullah, who is also chair of the Mahal I BPD in Omesuri Subdistrict, admitted that before he had no idea that *natu* was a rare, protected plant species. 'I only found out after taking part in the village meeting



and the study visit to Lampung. So I invited friends in the village to put back the boundary markers we had pulled up,' he explained during a meeting.

The same is true in Ile Ape Subdistrict. A number of community members collaborated with the Ile Ape Subdistrict government in replanting near a fresh water spring in Atadei Subdistrict, which is the water source for communities in Ile Ape. Explained Ile Ape Subdistrict Head, Rofinus Laba Lazar:

Only after participating in the workshop on forests did we realise that water sources depend so much on the forests around them. So we and the villagers, the youth mainly, agreed to regreen the area around the spring, which is the source of water for people in our area.

LAP Timoris activists have also tried to offer the multistakeholder concept to partners in Timor, to other NGOs and government offices. NTT Provincial Forestry Office Head, Soendoro, even invited all the district and municipal forestry office heads in the province along with Forestry Office partners, and asked LAP Timoris to explain the multistakeholder forestry programme in Lembata District. 'What LAP Timoris has done in Lembata is a valuable lesson for us in the forestry offices,' he said during a meeting in 2003.

## **CHALLENGES**

LAP Timoris encountered a variety of challenges in its multistakeholder programme, mainly in building the trust of some regional government officials. There were at least two major obstacles to convincing them; one was the view in some government circles that NGOs provoke communities into opposing the authorities, another was the project-minded mentality of some government officials. Explained Yosep Meran Lagaur:

Our friends in the bureaucracy should come and sit down together to discuss the issues with our friends in NGOs and communities. The more distant and closed-minded we are, the more difficult it will be to implement programmes in the field, and the more inappropriate our programme objectives will be to the communities we are aiming them at.

In addition to these two issues, the transfer of government officials to new posts repeatedly upset the multistakeholder process. 'If only those of us involved from the beginning could remain involved. But, what can we do, it's our new head's policy and we, as his subordinates, have to do what we're told,' said Jhon Oematan, an employee of the Lembata District Agricultural and Forestry Extension Information Office, whose opinion was seconded by Yohanes Dewa Karangora, an employee of the Lembata District Agriculture Office.

Dealing with NGOs and communities was not without challenges, as NGO activists and a number of community figures still hold the view that regional government officials are only project and target oriented. Funding is an equally important issue in multistakeholder processes. Stakeholders demand transparent management of funds, and without transparency multistakeholder processes will not run properly. 'This is a crucial issue and ought to receive serious attention,' said Lembata District Forestry Office Head, Soa Ali.

From its experiences facilitating multistakeholder processes in Lembata District, LAP Timoris has found fundamental differences between the confrontational and multistakeholder approaches. In multistakeholder processes, LAP Timoris remained neutral when introducing disputing parties and dealing with communities that it might consider victims of government policy. In contrast, the confrontational strategy, required LAP Timoris activists to identify friends and enemies before launching their opposition.

Something to remember is that multistakeholder processes forbid the dominance of any one party over another. If stakeholder interests, particularly increased community livelihoods and forest resources conservation, can be fulfilled, then multistakeholder processes will run smoothly. The aims of a confrontational approach are basically the same — to prevent the people from being harmed.

The experiences of LAP Timoris revealed that the biggest obstacles to multistakeholder processes in fact lie with the government, as mentioned in the first paragraph of this section. Communities are willing to collaborate with all stakeholders, as long as they are not adversely affected. So, community capacity building is a relevant pursuit in encouraging the continuation of multistakeholder processes.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author would like to thank the Lembata district government, the head of the Lembata District Forestry Office, NGO colleagues in Lembata, Iwan Tjitradjaja from P3AE-UI, Bediona Filipus, Bediona Felix, Yosep Meran Lagaur and Begu Ibrahim. Also, of course, thanks go to MFP for its funding support and Hasbi Berliani, Regional Facilitator for Nusa Tenggara, and many others too numerous to mention.

#### **ENDNOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> Sajogyo. 1975. Usaha Perbaikan Gizi Keluarga: ANP evaluation study, 1973. Rural Sociological Research Agency, Bogor Agricultural Institute, Bogor, Indonesia.
  - Sajogyo. 1977. Garis Kemiskinan dan Kebutuhan Minimum Pangan. Kompas 17 November.
  - Sajogyo. 1991. Sosiologi Pedesaan. Gajah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
- <sup>2</sup> Mohr, E.C.J., van Baren, F.A. and van Schuylenborgh, J. 1972. *Tropical soils: a comprehensive study of* their genesis, 3rd ed. Mouton, The Hague. 481p.
- <sup>3</sup> Schmidt, F.D. and Ferguson, J.H.A. 1951. Rainfall Types based on wet and dry period rations for Indonesia with Western New Guinea. Ministry of Transportation and Directorate General of Meteorology and Geophysics, Djakarta, Indonesia.
- <sup>4</sup> Data from the Lembata District Forestry Office, 2004.
- <sup>5</sup> Iskandar, U. 2001. Kehutanan Menapak Otonomi Daerah. Debut Press, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
- <sup>6</sup> Currently head of the Land and Sea Transport Division in the Lembata District Transport and Tourism Office.
- <sup>7</sup> Hadad, I. 2004. *Perlu Kerjasama Multipihak untuk Terapkan Hasil KTT Johannesburg*. Kompas, 30 July. http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0407/30/ln/1178567.htm.

### **Photographs**

Budhita Kismadi, Dani W. Munggoro and Rendra Almatsier.

#### Reference to this paper

Wahon, F. 2007. From a confrontational to a multistakeholder approach. In: Yuliani, E.L., Tadjudin, Dj., Indriatmoko, Y., Munggoro, D.W., Gaban, F. and Maulana, F. (eds.) *Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change*. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.



CHAPTER 5 BARU PELEPAT VILLAGE, JAMBI

# FROM TRADITION TO DISTRICT REGULATION

HELMI

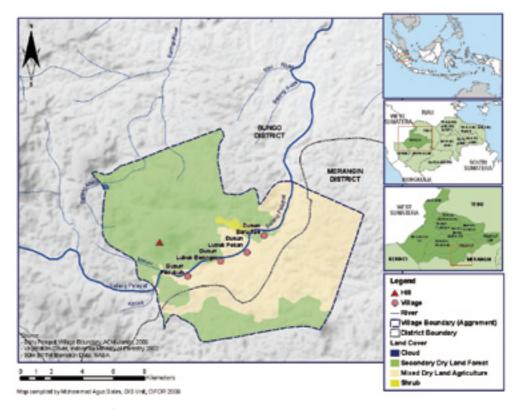


Figure 5. Map of Baru Pelepat

For generations the Baru Pelepat communities in Jambi handed down their local wisdom on forest resources management. They saw the forest as a source of food and shelter, and as a nesting place for wild animals and pests. So, the communities abided by principles governing the utilisation and conservation of forest resources. Every person cutting down a tree, for instance, had to have the approval of the local customary council and was obliged to pay a certain sum of money.

These traditions, however, are being lost because the communities cannot stem the tide of influence from the outside world. Although they do tend to adapt to change, the changes taking place have been so enormous that local value systems have been unable to adapt positively. Villagers copied the negative forest management practices of commercial forestry concession (HPH) companies, clearcutting forests using chainsaws, and in so doing abandoned their customary rules on timber extraction. Traditions were no longer adhered to; rules were violated with impunity, and slowly but surely they lost their legitimacy.

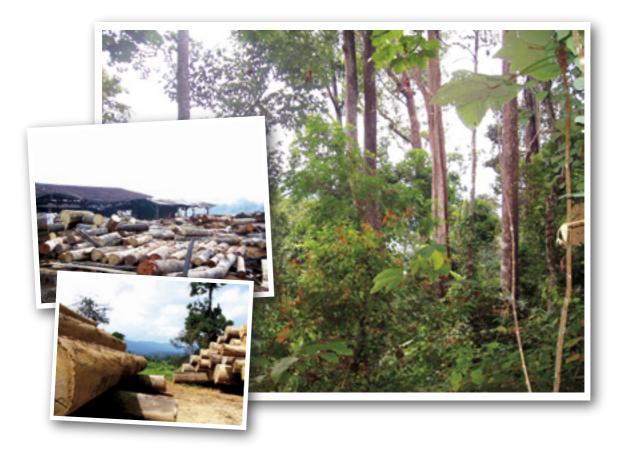
Ironically, repeated flaunting of local wisdom was triggered by another traditional system, a system of kinship known locally as limbago. This system was interpreted in such a way that those breaking customary rules were not punished if they were related to, or descendents of, the village elite. 'Customary leaders took wood from the customary forest and sold it to sawmills, but were never punished,' said a woman in the village. Finally, all that remained of local values was words, the proverbs of the elders.

#### THE IMPACT OF HPHS ON LOCAL VALUES

Living in the Kerinci Seblat National Park buffer zone in Jambi, the villagers of Baru Pelepat should be able to manage and enjoy the benefits of the forest, but are now having increasing trouble getting forest products.

HPH companies first arrived in the region at the beginning of 1970. The first one was PT. Gajah Mada in 1970, followed by PT. Alas in 1975, PT. Dalek Rimba Karya Indah in 1978, and PT. Mugi Triman in 1980. These companies turned the local people into low-paid labourers. More than that, the HPH companies left behind a terrible track record of forest exploitation; they exploited timber without replanting, something highly contradictory to local values. One traditional rule says: thin out when dense, plant when sparse, which means people may cut down trees in stands of dense forest, but must replant to ensure forest density is maintained.

In spite of this rule, the exploitative practices of HPHs changed community views. From the 780 ha area they recognise as customary forest, with a timber potential of 5-6 trees for every 10 m<sup>2</sup>, <sup>1</sup> at least three truckloads (12 m<sup>3</sup>) of timber a day were sold outside the village between 1997 and 2004. 'Hundreds of millions of rupiah were made from selling that timber,' said a local villager. This situation made the local community, NGO activists and some Bungo district government officials realise that timber management and utilisation systems had to change. A number of initiatives followed, including a Village Conservation Agreement (KKD) on establishing Rimbo Adat Datuk Rangkayo Mulio.<sup>2</sup> These initiatives were not without problems, however.



## PROBLEMS IMPLEMENTING THE VILLAGE CONSERVATION AGREEMENT

On 7 February 2002 a KKD was made as a part of the ICDP. Through this agreement, customary forest was divided into two separate areas, each with its own function: a customary area of 390 ha and a protection area of 390 ha. The rules agreed upon for each area were as follows:

#### 1. Customary area:

- a. No forest product may be extracted without the approval of an appointed management group.
- b. Forest products may only be extracted from *Rimbo Rakyat Datuk Rangkayo Mulio* in five years' time.
- c. For every cubic metre of wood extracted a cash donation of IDR 50,000 must be made to a village development fund.

d. Timber and nontimber forest products may only be extracted to fulfil the requirements of Baru Pelepat communities, and must not be sold.

#### 2. Protection area:

- a. Fruits may be collected as long as trees are not damaged.
- b. Medicinal plants can be utilised, but their sustainability must be maintained.
- c. Penalties for violators are one buffalo plus 100 gantang<sup>3</sup> of rice plus 8 bolts or rolls of clothing material plus selemak semanis/seasam segaram<sup>4</sup> plus timber confiscated plus a fine of IDR 100 million.
- d. If penalties are not paid, the case will be taken up with state legal institutions.

The KKD turned out to be difficult to implement. There were at least five major weaknesses in the agreement. First was the mechanism for approving customary forest utilisation; the agreement required every person planning to utilise the customary forest, either for timber or nontimber products, to secure approval of the management group. The procedures for doing so were unclear, however. What should the management group have done, for instance, when someone requested approval for felling a tree in the customary forest?

Second, the conditions one had to meet when planning to utilise forest products were unclear. As a result everyone extracted timber freely.

The third problem was the absence of a clear supervision mechanism. Ideally, those granting approval should also have been tasked with supervision. But in reality, organisers could not control any violations. Much of the timber extracted from the customary forest, which should only have been used for building homes, was in fact sold.

The fourth issue was the uncertain role of village government. Even though the agreement said the management group would handle supervision, the village government could not be sidelined as officially it had authority over development and governance in the village. It has the authority to develop and supervise the village's natural resources.

Finally, penalties were not discussed in terms of the severity of a violation. The multifaceted fine described above was applied across the board, for any kind of violation and for anyone committing it. Penalties should have been worked out to suit the severity of the violation.

#### DEPENDENCE ON THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF TIMBER

Since the 1950s, rubber and wetland rice have been the main sources of income for the local communities. Until now, besides crops, the forest is still an important livelihoods source for villagers in Baru Pelepat. It is where they hunt, where they get fruit, water, rattan and wood, and fill other needs. Community dependence on forest resources, both timber and nontimber, remains very high.

This dependence must be seen as a reciprocal relationship between community and forest. Sarjono stated: 'Local communities' dependence on forests must also be seen, at certain levels, in terms of benefits to the forest, the conservation of its structure and functions.' Sarjono underlined the 'interdependency' between communities and the forest resources around them.<sup>5</sup>

In the case of Baru Pelepat, communities' appreciation of their dependence on the forest and its products continued to diminish with thought given only to the high price of timber. With prices for *tembesu*, *kulim*, *keranji*, *kawang* and *meranti*<sup>6</sup> ranging from IDR 400,000 to IDR 2,000,000 per cubic metre, they saw the forest merely in terms of timber they could sell to make a quick profit. The effort the communities put into extracting timber far outweighed their efforts at conservation, when they should have kept the forest's economic and ecological functions in balance.

#### INITIATIVES FOR CHANGE

The failure of local values to cope with change, and community dependence on the economic value of timber, encouraged initiatives to improve forest management patterns. A number of these were facilitated by the Jambi ACM team using ACM methods developed by CIFOR:<sup>7</sup> First, formulate a village regulation (*Perdes*) on management and utilisation of customary forest, and second, encourage district government to incorporate the village regulation into higher-level district legislation.

A village regulation was chosen as the means for organising forest management, because Law No. 32/2004 on regional government and Bungo District Regulation No. 22/2000 on village regulations gave it the legal foundations for doing so. The first step was to hold village deliberations in June 2004 to get suggestions from the community on what should be organised, what utilisation mechanisms should be

like, and to define rights and responsibilities of stakeholders as well as penalties for violations. The Village Legislative Assembly (BPD) then compiled the output from the deliberations for the first draft of a village regulation on the management and utilisation of the customary forest.

According to the draft, community members could utilise resources in the customary forest for their own domestic requirements upon approval by a management group. These domestic requirements included the renovation or construction of homes, mosque, school, village hall and village office. They could also use nontimber products such as traditional medicines, fruits and materials for handicrafts.

The management group would give more concrete limitations when granting its approval. Any permit would only be valid for 5 m<sup>3</sup> of wood. and in one year not more than 50 m<sup>3</sup> of timber could be extracted. An agreement was reached on the obligations of community members after utilising the customary forest; they were obliged to plant five trees of the same species to replace any tree cut down, and to pay IDR 50,000 for every cubic metre of wood extracted. The use of wood for building or renovating public facilities such as the mosque, school, or town hall must be discussed beforehand, and customary leaders (ninik-mamak), the management group, women's groups, village government and members of the BPD must be in attendance.

The first draft was compiled by the ACM team involving two main stakeholders, the BPD and the Baru Pelepat village government, which held a meeting together to discuss output from the deliberation. The drafting process was not







only discussed at formal village meetings, but also in informal discussions with community members facilitated by the ACM team and workshops in every hamlet.

During these meetings and deliberations the objectives of the regulations were discussed, namely to utilise and preserve the forest in the interests of future generations, and to protect community livelihoods. Bearing in mind that old customary institutions were not functioning, the community was encouraged to form a new customary forest management institution during the deliberations in June 2004.

The drafting process did not have to adhere to processes used in drafting other forms of legislation, such as district, central government or presidential regulations. Nevertheless, one principle stood firm: the village regulation had to accommodate local values and current developments in order to work.

Unlike the earlier KKD, the new village regulation included stipulations on the responsibilities of the management group. They were tasked with receiving and inspecting every customary forest utilisation proposal, with overseeing permit use utilisation and with reporting to the community, either by making public announcements or submitting reports to the head of the village assembly.

Management group members were entitled to honoraria determined in accordance with village finances. A positive effect of the village regulation was that it stopped trees from being cut down in the customary forest as trees could only be cut down in five years' time. Nevertheless, this did not guarantee its success forever. The village regulation had to be reinforced by the district head. This was necessary in order for the community to obtain legal certainty over their customary forest.

The first step towards formal recognition of the customary forest was to meet with the Bungo district government to discuss forest management in Baru Pelepat and legal options available for affirmation of the customary forest. A policy dialogue jointly facilitated by the ACM team and the Bungo District Bappeda Legal Division involved the District Forestry Office Village Governance Division, and the Bungo District DPRD. There were differences of opinion among district policy makers as to the best legal option to take. Two choices developed, district head decree (SK) or district regulation (*Perda*).

Participants in the dialogue agreed that legislation on the village customary and protected forests was necessary and proposed a special district regulation for the customary forest in Baru Pelepat. NGOs and forestry researchers, however, questioned the decision saying a special Perda for the customary forest was irregular and appeared exclusive, as it only governed the customary forest in the one village. Previous legislation on the affirmation of customary forests was by SK, as was the case with customary forests in Batu Kerbau and Guguk (two villages in the same district), and community forests in Wonosobo District. This meant the affirmation of a customary forest in Baru Pelepat through a Perda would set a new precedent.

Nevertheless, the participants in the dialogue remained in favour of the district regulation option with a number of considerations: a Perda<sup>8</sup> on the affirmation of Baru Pelepat's customary forest would be stronger politically than a district head decree9 or district head regulation,10 because Perda are formed not only by the executive, but must also have the approval of the DPRD. This is to prevent them being revoked unilaterally by an executive body. Any annulment or revision of a *Perda* must have the prior approval of the DPRD.

According to the head of the Bungo District Legal Division the special Perda option was also possible because special regulations were not unknown in Indonesian legislative history, as laws on the establishment and fragmentation of districts and *Perda* on the establishment of villages and subdistricts reveal. Under Law No. 10/2004 on Passing Legislation, the stages involved in passing district regulations are (1) preparation of an academic manuscript, (2) designing of draft regulations by an initiator and (3) deliberation by the DPRD. If approved by the DPRD, then the *Perda* must be promulgated by the district government and ratified by the district head.

In line with these procedures and as follow-up to the policy dialogue, an academic manuscript was prepared for a *Perda* on the customary forest in Baru Pelepat. Preparation of the manuscript involved dividing tasks between the Forestry Office Legal Division, the ACM team and community representatives. The Forestry Office and the ACM team prepared a draft academic manuscript in cooperation with the applicable government offices. The Legal Division would help with legal norms. The Forestry Office was chosen as coordinator in preparing the academic manuscript considering that it had direct authority over forestry issues. As the Perda was considered an executive initiative, the Bungo district government submitted the draft to the DPRD.



Preparing the academic manuscript also involved informal discussions with the district DPRD and a district-level public consultation. Public consultation is an important step in drafting any policy, to ensure transparency and reduce the likelihood of certain parties using information in the academic manuscript for their own interests.

#### CONCLUSION

Baru Pelepat communities' local wisdom on forest resources management had become hard to implement due to changes in community behaviour, government policies and the exploitative forest management practices of HPH companies. Initiatives for improving forest management patterns by including local wisdom and local developments in formal rulings such as village and district regulations can work. Nevertheless, appropriate processes and approaches are necessary to

ensure these local rules can suit modern needs and the changing times, so the planning and implementation of such regulations does not bring about conflicts or new problems at a later date.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author would like to thank the people of Baru Pelepat, the council of elders and Baru Pelepat customary leaders for their invaluable help in preparing this paper. Many thanks also to friends and colleagues in PSHK-ODA, the Gita Buana Foundation, and CIFOR involved in the Jambi ACM project.

#### **ENDNOTES**

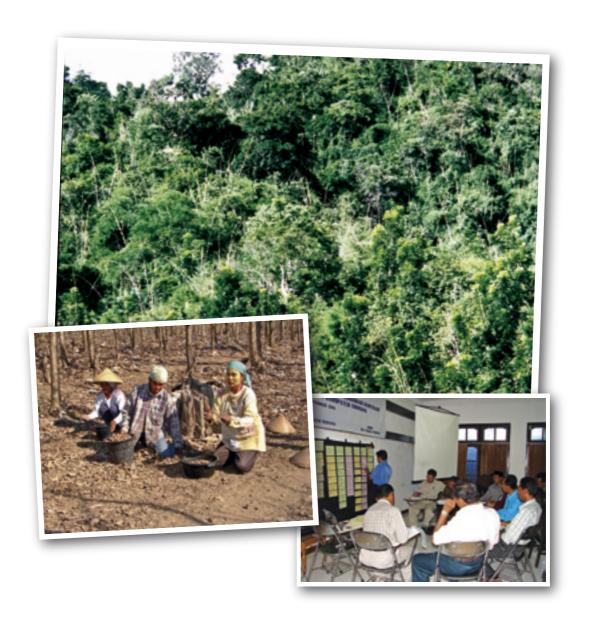
- <sup>1</sup> WARSI, ICDP Team. 2002. *Naratif Kesepakatan Konservasi Desa*. WARSI, Jambi.
- <sup>2</sup> Datuk Rangkayo Mulio is an ancestor of the local community and a descendent of the Minangkabau people of West Sumatra. The names Rimbo Larang and Rimbo Rakyat Datuk Rangkyo Mulio are not merely manifestations of a respect for these ancestors, but are messages that the forest resources there bear witness to the hard work of their forebears in maintaining and protecting them. Had they not done so, the current generation would probably not be able to enjoy their benefits.
- <sup>3</sup> One gantang equals 16 kg.
- <sup>4</sup> Spices, sugar, and other cooking expenses to be paid for by the violator.
- <sup>5</sup> Sarjono, M.A. 2004. *Mosaik Sosiologis Kehutanan: Masyarakat Lokal, Politik dan Kelestarian* Sumberdaya. Debut Press, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
- <sup>6</sup> Tembesu is the local name for Fragraea fragrans Roxb.; kulim is Scorodocarpus borneensis Becc.; keranji is Dialium indum L.; kawang is Shorea multiflora Sym. And meranti is the local name commonly used for several species of Shorea.
- <sup>7</sup> The ACM approach used by CIFOR is an ongoing collaboration among stakeholders adapting their management systems according to ever-changing social and physio-ecological conditions and times. In 2000-2006, the Gita Buana Foundation, PSHK-ODA and CIFOR conducted research and community capacity building for village institutions to secure their livelihoods through the conservation of their forest resources.
- <sup>8</sup> Perda are prepared in cooperation with the DPRD.
- 9 Prepared by the district government (executive) without DPRD involvement. District head decrees are individual and concrete in nature. In the past they could be legislative (public).
- <sup>10</sup> Products of Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Governments, which includes implementing procedures for regional regulations. In the past district head regulations took the form of district head decrees that operate in a general nature.

### **Photographs**

Carol J.P. Colfer, Eddy Harfia Surma, Ismal Dobesto, Hasantoha Adnan, Marzoni, Muriadi and Jambi ACM team documentation.

### Reference to this paper

Helmi. 2007. From tradition to district regulation. In: Yuliani, E.L., Tadjudin, Dj., Indriatmoko, Y., Munggoro, D.W., Gaban, F. and Maulana, F. (eds.) *Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change*. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.



CHAPTER 6 SUMBAWA, WEST NUSA TENGGARA

# INSTITUTIONALISING MULTISTAKEHOLDER FORESTRY

**JULMANSYAH** 

Forest resources management in Indonesia has not only generated foreign exchange, but has also caused forestry conflict over the past three decades. In 2000 alone, there were 359 instances of forestry conflict, a figure eleven times higher than for 1997. Most forestry conflicts (76%) have occurred in production forest regions and the remaining 34% in protection forests. The number of forestry conflicts remains high.<sup>1</sup>

On the island of Sumbawa, forestry conflicts broke out between Perhutani (a state-owned forestry company) and communities in the subdistrict of Moyo in Sumbawa District. Since 1990, villagers have looted 18,000 ha of teak forest managed by Perhutani. At the beginning of 2005, a conflict broke out between a farming community in Ale protection forest and villagers from Gapit in Empang Subdistrict. Forestry conflict escalated as authority over forest management shifted between central and regional governments.

The island of Sumbawa has the largest area of state-owned forests in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB). Forests in Sumbawa District alone cover 514,192 ha<sup>2</sup> or approximately 48% of total forest area in NTB province.<sup>3</sup> Almost half of the forests are protection areas (45.21%), and more than half of the forest areas on Sumbawa (57%) are in Sumbawa District. This relatively large forest area is of strategic value to the Sumbawa district government and should be seen in terms of its nonfinancial benefit, as it plays an important role in maintaining ecosystem stability on Sumbawa.

This extensive forest area is supported by neither sufficient personnel nor sufficient funds in the Forestry and Estate Crops Office (Dishutbun). Sumbawa District Dishutbun only had 155 employees, one forestry patrol car and operational funds of IDR 850 million in 2005.<sup>4</sup> This was a 71% drop compared to its budget for 2004.<sup>5</sup>

The limited budget, numbers of personnel and institutional capacity of the forestry office encouraged the multistakeholder forest management idea. The district government issued District Regulation No. 25/2002 on Community-Based Forest Resources Management providing the opportunity for the forestry office to collaborate with 104 villages in managing the forest areas near their homes.

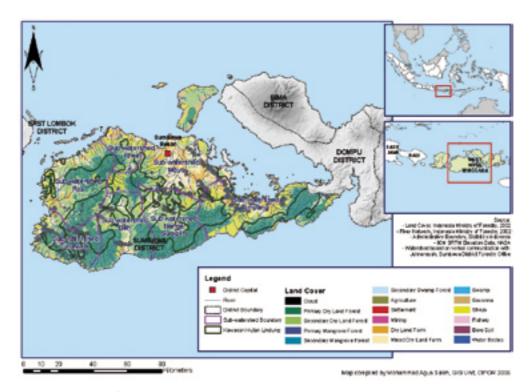


Figure 6. Map of Sumbawa District and its sub-watersheds

#### THE MULTISTAKEHOLDER FORESTRY IDEA

In 2002 a number of local NGOs together with the forestry and estate crops office welcomed the multistakeholder forestry programme idea by forming the Sumbawa District Multistakeholder Forestry Preparatory Team. The team was made up of key government bureaucrats (district secretary, head of Bappeda, head of the Dishutbun Natural Resources Conservation Division, National Land Agency), local NGO representatives as well as academics from Samawa University.

Every team member had a particular role; government representatives acted as a steering committee, NGOs and technical agencies as a project team, while academics, watershed communities and other government agencies played their part in strategic decision making through their membership in a multistakeholder forum.

The team was formalised by Sumbawa District Head Decree No. 144/2002 dated 16 March 2002 on Establishing a Multistakeholder Forestry Programme

Coordination and Preparatory Team. In order to fund team activities MFP<sup>6</sup> provided IDR 180 million, while a further IDR 132 million came from the Sumbawa district budget.

#### **IDENTIFYING ISSUES AND STAKEHOLDERS**

As a first step, the team identified stakeholders along the whole watershed. A watershed is a complex forest resources management unit, and watershed management is automatically linked to villages, community institutions, forest function and existing community initiatives. Stakeholders are defined as individuals or groups with interests in certain decisions, able to influence decisions, or directly or indirectly influenced by a policy. Identifying all stakeholders was an important step before commencing with the multistakeholder process.

At this stage, it was agreed that stakeholder representatives would be chosen from each of the six subwatersheds of Moyo, Beh, Ampang, Rea, Nanga Sumpe and Rhee. Every subwatershed elected representatives through subwatershed level meetings and workshops.

The representatives from each subwatershed became members of the Multistakeholder Forestry Programme Preparatory Team. Every team member had to have a mandate from his or her community or organisation to uphold commitment and outcomes of agreements made by the team. The team then undertook formal and informal communications through internal meetings and workshops. Finally a vision and a strategic plan were devised for forest management in Sumbawa.

#### **BUILDING A SHARED VISION**

During March and April 2002, workshops took place in every subwatershed with the objective of discussing pressing issues in each region. Outcomes from these six workshops were then presented in a larger district workshop held in December 2002, as points for discussion and strategic planning for multistakeholder forestry management in Sumbawa. Negotiations took place so that the proposals could become shared programme priorities. This process was extremely sensitive, and without the necessary caution could have brought about envy and created unwanted conflict.

During strategic planning, community representatives, regional government, DPRD, local NGOs and academics, as well as a number of observers, were all involved in formulating a vision. At this stage a number of follow-up plans were made for guiding the stakeholders involved in the team.

Output from the district workshop was a special team consisting of the head of the Dishutbun, members of NGOs, the Olah Hidup Institute (LOH) and the Community Socio-Economic Environment Research and Development Institute (LP2LSEM) and five members of the preparatory team. The special team mandate was until 2006 and the team was responsible for controlling and facilitating output from the district workshop. With formation of the special team, the Preparatory Team then became the Sumbawa Multistakeholder Forestry Forum.

In 2003, the Multistakeholder Forestry Programme Preparatory Team published a report on the district workshop, stating that forestry problems had resulted from a development approach not involving local communities.<sup>7</sup> The report recommended the government involve a range of stakeholders in determining forest management visions and strategies for Sumbawa. Other important recommendations were made in the areas of (1) stopping timber concessions in the region, (2) resolving land disputes, 3) increasing the forestry sector budget, (4) forming integrated partnerships supported by government and communities, (5) policies that prioritise conservation and sustainability, (6) law enforcement and (7) local wisdom. The report also listed 50 priority activities in the six subwatersheds.

The team's strategic planning document became a reference for stakeholders to contribute to saving forests in Sumbawa in accordance with their main duties and functions. The format implied that the multistakeholder approach would integrate a variety of government programmes and community initiatives.

#### **PROMISES AND COMMITMENTS**

The Multistakeholder Forestry Forum failed to function because the government did not keep its promise to provide the required budget. Consequently, the multistakeholder forestry programme stopped for two years.

The interesting fact was that Dishutbun, one of the stakeholders most in favour of the multistakeholder forestry programme in Sumbawa, did not include output from the multistakeholder workshop in its work budget, despite the formalisation



of the multistakeholder forestry team by district head decree. This disregard for the output of the workshop did not bode well for the Sumbawa multistakeholder forestry programme.

Hemmati classified formal processes like the one above as structural aspects of multistakeholder processes. According to Hemmati, multistakeholder processes must be linked with official decision-making processes in government, and between government agencies and other stakeholders because multistakeholder processes should be synchronised with other development planning processes.

Experiences in building a multistakeholder forestry process in Sumbawa reveal how multistakeholder agreements do not necessarily make stakeholders act together. Collective action involving individuals or groups can take place if the benefits stakeholders expect to obtain outweigh the costs they must bear. The failure to follow up on the Sumbawa multistakeholder workshop agreement is probably a result of the fact that it did not provide benefits to the government institutions, NGOs, local communities or other stakeholders involved. Benefits in this context are items that can support and encourage stakeholders' main duties and meet their expectations.

Therefore, the efficacy of political approaches such as district head decrees of district workshops should be questioned. For the sake of comparison, the multistakeholder agreement can be compared with the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 25/2002 on Community-Based Forest Resources Management. The regional regulation, pushed by the NGOs Economic and Social Research, Education and Information Institute (LP3ES) and Samawa Centre as well as by MFP and DPRD, provided funds of IDR 100 million in 2003, IDR 90 million in 2004 and IDR 30 million in 2005 thanks to a legal mandate obliging regional government and the DPRD to provide funds for the development of community-based forest management in Sumbawa.

Budget support was one issue affecting Multistakeholder Forestry Team performance. In the first year it had funding support, but the following year there was an activity vacuum due to the absence of a government support budget. Nevertheless, the multistakeholder forestry team did support forest community initiatives and self-sufficiency in several subwatersheds through independent crop nurseries.

After a two-year hiatus, at the beginning of 2004, the team began discussions on a proposal for submission to the MFP. Bappeda facilitated a meeting, and whilst discussing the proposal the head of the Programme Development Suboffice in the Forestry and Estate Crops Office questioned changes in team membership. At the meeting there were two new members — both of them from NGOs — whose inclusion had not been agreed upon by the team. News stories about this appeared in the local media and had a psychological effect on the forestry office, as they painted Sumbawa District Forestry and Estate Crops officials in a bad light.

The news stories affected the multistakeholder team. The head of the Forestry and Estate Crops Office refused to sign the Multistakeholder Forestry Programme proposal for submission to MFP even though the Forestry and Estate Crops Office was actually the coordinator proposed by the team. This rejection was an effort to pressure the NGOs involved into providing clarification of the media reports.

After MFP approved the new multistakeholder team proposal, the district head issued Decree No. 469/2004 dated 27 March 2004 on a Sumbawa Multistakeholder Forestry Coordination Team. The team conducted activities in accordance with its designated roles in the 2002 agreement: the NGO Olah Hidup was responsible for capacity building, LP2LSEM carried out policy synchronisation activities, Bappeda encouraged collaborative planning activities, and the Forestry and Estate Crops Office developed community-based forestry activities.

Then, the Bappeda representative had to stop coordinating planning activities because of other commitments, so his responsibilities in the Sumbawa Multistakeholder Forestry Team were temporarily taken over by the Project Team and the Sumbawa District Natural Resources Conservation Office.

The team reached a number of agreements, one with PT. Newmont Nusa Tenggara on private sector involvement in the multistakeholder process and another to work with Samawa Centre, a local NGO advocating community-based forest resources management for Sumbawa. The latter agreement was laid out in a memorandum of understanding on three shared work locations.

#### INSTITUTIONALISING MULTISTAKEHOLDER FORESTRY

Adistrict headdecree was neither successful in institutionalising a multistakeholder approach in Sumbawa nor in encouraging government agencies to participate in the multistakeholder process. According to Hemmati, a multistakeholder process is a process that brings all stakeholders to a new format for enabling the discovery of shared high-quality decisions. <sup>10</sup> Ideally, stakeholders involved in multistakeholder processes should recognise the importance of equality and accountability.

Seen from Hemmati's perspective, the multistakeholder process in Sumbawa still requires perfecting in terms of its processes and methodologies. An important precondition for a multistakeholder process is experience in small-scale collaboration as a model for developing more complex multistakeholder approaches and high levels of commitment.

According to Zaini and Surjanto, the obstacles encountered in institutionalising multistakeholder processes in Sumbawa came down to failings in agencies' internal rules, and to multistakeholder processes not being integrated into regional development planning.<sup>11</sup> There really is an art to integrating the formal and informal in multistakeholder processes.

In institutionalising the multistakeholder forestry team, a solid legal foundation is required in order to guarantee a commitment from stakeholders to the allocation of resources. The multistakeholder forum could focus on existing regional regulations, such as Article 11 Paragraph 2 of District Regulation No. 22 on Community-Based Forest Resources Management:



The Community Forest Forum involves stakeholders from government circles, academics, forestry and environmental NGOs and local community representatives involved in community-based forest resources management.

Multistakeholder processes are often uncertain when the government is involved; a well-constructed process can suddenly go bad simply because an official is transferred to another post or is busy working on other issues. This observation implies that multistakeholder processes involving a personal approach require constant and continuous attention.

#### **REFLECTING ON EXPERIENCES**

#### **Multistakeholder Collaboration**

Group representatives in the multistakeholder forestry team had different views, backgrounds and abilities. These differences caused disagreements and slowed

down shared decision-making processes. For that reason, it would be better if community representatives, NGOs, government, academics and DPRD had experience working with other stakeholders on a smaller scale. Such experience could help to build more effective multistakeholder processes.

#### **Implementation of Agreements**

The Multistakeholder Forestry Team made recommendations on strategic planning and priority activities through a system of graduated workshops. Despite the team's attendance at the workshops, stakeholders did not refer to the recommendations they had agreed upon when planning their programmes. Therefore, workshops should be more carefully planned, and stakeholders should be more involved in determining workshop processes and materials.

#### **Dependence on Funding**

The multistakeholder team relied on outside funding, and stopped working for two years when no funds were available. There is a lesson here that it is important to lobby policy makers in government and organisations involved in relation to budget availability. In the end, if multistakeholder processes are indeed capable of solving political, economic and social problems, then Bappeda and the DPRD should be responsible for including them in development budgets.

#### **Power Imbalance**

Even though meetings were designed with participatory principles in mind, multistakeholder activities were still controlled by those in positions of authority. So, multistakeholder processes should develop a two-room process: a room where all stakeholders are trained in interpersonal communication and negotiation skills through constructive education, training and comparative studies; and a political room where stakeholder can use their individual strengths in influencing other stakeholders to support their interests. In the end multistakeholder processes are exercises for a more democratic, transparent and accountable social order.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author would like to express thanks to colleagues from the Sumbawa Multistakeholder Forestry Team and the Samawa Centre who have given their undivided attention to the implementation of the Sumbawa District Regulations on community-based forest resources management. These two institutions became new vehicles for encouraging community forestry and multistakeholder processes in Sumbawa. I would also like to thank Hasbi, MFP regional facilitator for Nusa Tenggara, for providing scope for more extensive learning and Ir. H. Abdullah Hamid and Ir. Sigit Wiratsongko from the Sumbawa Forestry and Estate Crops Office, who have created a new atmosphere in the forestry bureaucracy in Sumbawa. Also my thanks go to Suhardi Suryadi (LP3ES Jakarta), Ani Nawir (CIFOR) and M. Ridha Hakim (WWF Nusa Tenggara).

#### **ENDNOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> Wulan, Y.C., Yasmi, Y., Purba, C. and Wollenberg, E. 2003. *Governance Brief No. 1: Konflik Kehutanan di Indonesia Sebelum dan Sesudah Desentralisasi*. CIFOR-FWI, Bogor, Indonesia.
- <sup>2</sup> This quantification stems from the time before the new district of West Sumbawa was formed in 2004.
- <sup>3</sup> Sumbawa District Forestry and Estate Crops Office. 2001. *Rencana Strategis Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan Kabupaten Sumbawa 2000-2005*. Sumbawa, Indonesia.
- <sup>4</sup> Sumbawa District Forestry and Estate Crops Office. 2004. *Dokumen Anggaran Satuan Kerja (DASK) Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan Kabupaten Sumbawa*. Indonesia.
- <sup>5</sup> This resulted from the budget being allocated for the direct elections of regional heads in 2005, the reconstruction of the Sumbawa District Head's office, which burned down in 2004, and the formation of West Sumbawa District.
- <sup>6</sup> MFP, or *Multistakeholder Forestry Programme*, is a bilateral programme involving the Indonesian Ministry of Forestry and the UK Department for International Development (DFID).
- Multistakeholder Forestry Programme Preparatory Team. 2003. Laporan Workshop dan strategic planning Pelibatan stakeholders dalam Upaya Penyelamatan Hutan Sumbawa. Sumbawa Besar, Indonesia.
- <sup>8,10</sup> Hemmati, M. 2002. *Multi-stakeholder processes for governance and sustainability: beyond deadlock and conflict.* Earthscan Publications, London, England.
- <sup>9</sup> Gibson, C.C., McKean, M.A. and Ostrom, E. 2000. Explaining deforestation: the role of local institutions. In: Gibson, C.C., McKean, M.A., and Ostrom, E. (eds.) *People and forests: communities, institutions, and governance,* 1–26). MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., USA.
- <sup>11</sup> Zaini, A. and Surjanto, T.K. 2004. *Evaluasi Program Kehutanan Multipihak Wilayah Nusa Tenggara* (Case study from Sumbawa District, West Nusa Tenggara Province). MFP, Jakarta, Indonesia.

### **Photographs**

Ani Adiwinata Nawir and Charlie Pye-Smith

**Reference to this paper**Julmansyah. 2007. Institutionalising multistakeholder forestry. In: Yuliani, E.L., Tadjudin, Dj., Indriatmoko, Y., Munggoro, D.W., Gaban, F. and Maulana, F. (eds.) Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.



CHAPTER 7 BARU PELEPAT VILLAGE, JAMBI

## **VILLAGE BORDER NEGOTIATIONS**

MARZONI

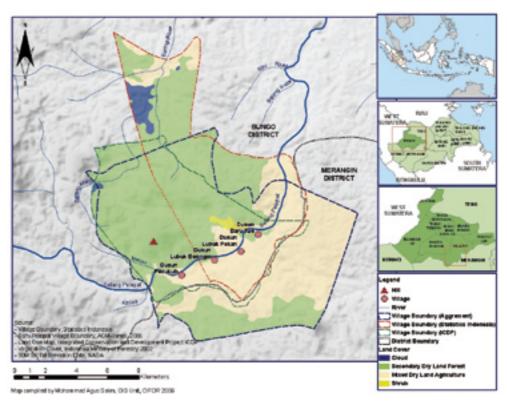
Baru Pelepat, on the border of Kerinci Seblat National Park, has a population of around 650 people. The income sources for villagers are forest resources and farming, but the community is facing some problems in relation to the management and utilisation of its natural resources. Villagers complain there are no clear rules on the use and management of forest resources and farming land. Of the 4,750 ha of forest in the village, only 780 ha, or 16%, is governed by any village regulation.

One community member said at a meeting in Baru Pelepat: 'Kami indak biso mambuek aturan-aturan di dalam ladang kami jiko' ladang itu indak tau uteh jo batehnyo', which means the villagers could not make rules on natural resources management without clarification of village borders. A similar statement was made at a workshop in Bungo District when discussing village spatial planning. An important conclusion from these statements is: clarity on village borders is essential for making rules on natural resources management.

This paper attempts to relate the processes undertaken by Baru Pelepat villagers in affirming their management region to lessons learned from the negotiation processes involved. Baru Pelepat shares its border with five villages, making border affirmation a source of conflict with neighbouring villages. Other natural resources, apart from timber and nontimber forest resources, can be the source of fights resulting from unclear village borders. These include agricultural fields, mining materials, decorative stones (*suiseki*), sand and the like. Border issues are further complicated by differences between administrative and traditional boundaries.

Similar issues occur in other parts of Indonesia, for example the Malinau River watershed in East Kalimantan. According to observations made by the Upper Malinau River Joint Forest Management Team in a research report on participatory mapping published by CIFOR in 2002, conflict is usually prompted by claims over land containing valuable resources like coal, timber and nontimber forest resources such as birds' nests or eaglewood.<sup>1</sup>

Land compensation claims are another common motive leading certain parties to alter established village borders; these often trigger even worse conflicts. At least three aspects have hindered the resolution of intervillage border issues in this region: (1) community members disagreeing with agreements made, (2) villages not making any preparations, and (3) lack of village community representation during negotiation processes.



**Figure 7.** Map of Baru Pelepat and different versions of the village boundaries. The blue dotted line indicates the village boundary that was agreed by all stakeholders.

Negotiation is a crucial element in making village borders acceptable to all stakeholders. Negotiations, however, require preparation both inside and outside the village. Experiences in Baru Pelepat have shown that intervillage negotiations do need to be planned in advance. Planning begins with village meetings to discuss steps necessary for negotiating. Visual aids such as maps must also be prepared. Maps are important aids in negotiations between bordering villages. Therefore, the first step taken by villagers in Baru Pelepat prior to negotiations was making village maps showing village borders.

During the mapmaking stage, community members learned a lot about their village. In making maps, they learned how to unearth traditional information on regional boundaries and conduct field surveys and found out which villagers were best at mastering mapmaking techniques. All stakeholders were involved in this learning process: village government officials, members of the village assembly (BPD), the customary council, members of the youth association and women.



#### **MAPMAKING**

#### **Making Village Sketches**

Sketching the village borders began with sketches of four hamlets in Baru Pelepat. Information on border points was obtained through numerous formal and informal meetings. Once sketches of all the hamlets were completed, work began on sketching the whole village. All village stakeholders attended meetings, which were helpful for gaining more comprehensive information, for exchanging opinions and building shared understanding. When consensus was reached, the village sketch was signed to indicate agreement.

#### **Field Surveys**

Surveys took place to physically inspect the border points in the field and to map geographic coordinates using global positioning system (GPS) equipment. Community representatives selected during village meetings conducted the

surveys. Accompanying them was a village team as well as officials from Pelepat Subdistrict and the Bungo District National Land Agency (BPN). The government officials helped with communications, providing equipment and assistance in mapmaking techniques.

#### Making a Perception Map

Field survey data was used to make a village perception map. It was important to call it a perception map as it was made based on the perceptions of the Baru Pelepat community and was not yet agreed upon by neighbouring villages. During this stage, the villagers negotiated any differences of opinion regarding the village borders marked on the map.

An example of differing perceptions arose regarding the western border of the village. Arif, a customary community leader, said, 'The border is the Sikapeh Kecil River mouth. Baru Pelepat and Batu Kerbau agreed on this when we opened the public road together.' This opinion, however, was refuted by Gani, another customary leader, who said that according to traditional rules the border between Baru Pelepat and Batu Kerbau was the Sikapeh Godang River mouth. After several village meetings, a consensus was finally reached on the location of the border, which was then marked on the map.

#### **Map Authorisation**

Stakeholder representatives stated their acceptance of agreements made by signing the map. Before signing, they were asked to study a miniature three-dimensional map to gain a better understanding of the village region. The perception map was not final, but only an aid to help negotiations with neighbouring villages.

To negotiate you have to be prepared, so a Baru Pelepat village meeting was necessary to form a negotiating team and to plan for negotiations with neighbouring villages. The criterion for becoming a member of the negotiating team was an understanding of the characters and conditions of neighbouring villages. Another item on the agenda was the determination of times and places for negotiations.

The next step involved communicating the intention and objectives of negotiations with stakeholders in other villages and in the government. These overtures always received a positive response from government and neighbouring villagers.



Negotiations had to take place in locations agreed upon by villages on both sides. In this case they took place in Baru Pelepat and in the subdistrict office. These locations were chosen because of the distances between neighbouring villages and to facilitate technical preparations for the meetings, such as catering. Written reports of negotiations covered agreements reached and follow-up plans, such as further negotiations or agreements to conduct field surveys for determining borders.

Field surveys are activities involving two or more neighbouring villages in order to locate border points agreed upon during negotiations. When border points have been determined in the field and jointly agreed, the negotiation process between neighbouring villages is complete. Field surveyors can get more complete information from representatives from villages on each side. In Baru Pelepat and some neighbouring villages, community representatives such as *ninik-mamak*, village youths, members of village government and customary leaders conducted

the surveys. Planning is necessary before these surveys commence, to ensure that survey objectives can be achieved without complications.

Outcomes of these surveys are publicized in each village for information sharing and reflection. In Baru Pelepat, this process generated important lessons from previous activities for future improvement.

#### CHALLENGES

There were more than a few challenges when mapping the borders between Baru Pelepat and its neighbouring villages. The whole multistakeholder process was quite time consuming due to the following factors.

Natural factors. Border points were difficult to reach because they were located deep in the forest. Customary borders were generally natural boundaries customary leaders had agreed upon many years earlier, so the people able to verify these boundaries were elderly and unable to make long journeys. Consequently, these boundaries took a long time to locate.

Village socio-cultural differences. The negotiation stage would have been easier if the neighbouring villagers had had similar historical traditions. It took time and patience for villagers to understand each other's customs. In Baru Pelepat and surrounding villages direct meetings were the only effective means of communication: letters were ineffective.

Differing perceptions and motives. Negotiations were sometimes tense, particularly when one of the villages wanted to expand its territory. The claim was further complicated by differing traditional and administrative boundaries.

Communication problems. Intervillage communication would often be cut off when government staff members acting as liaisons between villages were transferred.

**Dependence on facilitators.** There were many stakeholders to facilitate, but only a limited number of facilitators. This situation meant villagers had to have the capacity to conduct village border demarcation activities. Village community representatives needed to be identified so border affirmation processes could continue when facilitators were no longer in the village.



**Distances between villages and funding capacity.** The different stages involved in village border demarcation required more than one meeting; many deliberations were necessary, so transport costs were high. Intervillage meetings required the involvement of all stakeholder groups, which resulted in high catering costs.

**Bureaucratic and legal aspects.** Securing legalisation from the Bungo district government was a challenge in itself; there are no district government programmes available for participatory demarcation of village borders. Intersectoral coordination was weak, and government activities were target-oriented and rushed and did not prioritise multistakeholder processes.<sup>2</sup>

#### **BENEFITS**

- Clear borders were obtained, thus reducing the likelihood of future conflicts with neighbouring villages.
- Villagers now have common views on their village borders. The village also has documentation relating to village borders.
- The community gained experience interacting with outsiders, not only from neighbouring villages, but also from regional government.
- Villagers gained experience on planning, implementing and reflecting upon activities.
- Different perceptions discussed openly in village meetings brought a number of benefits, i.e. openness among customary leaders towards other people's opinions, and community members, especially the younger generation, learned about the history of the village and the locations of its borders.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author wishes to extend his gratitude to the villagers of Baru Pelepat, the village government as well as Ninik-Mamak nan Baompek Ilia (customary leaders), especially Abu Nazar, Datuk M. Arif, Datuk A. Gani, Hamdan, Rasidin, Abdullah, Abenhur, Sabli, Tarmizi, Kuris, Mustakim, Mirul, Aripin, Abu Jani, Abdurahman, Adam, Suhaili, Anas, Malek and Sulaiman. Thanks also to friends and colleagues from the Gita Buana Foundation, PSHK-ODA and CIFOR in the Jambi ACM team.

#### **ENDNOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> The Upper Malinau River Joint Forest Management Team. 2002. Results of participatory mapping. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.
- <sup>2</sup> The situation illustrated in the paragraph referred to the conditions in 2004. At the time of publication, conditions have begun to change, although continuous efforts are still required. Intersectoral coordination and activities prioritising multistakeholder processes have started to work, beginning with communication and information in the Bungo District Multistakeholder Forum.

### **Photographs**

Carol J.P. Colfer, Eddy Harfia Surma, Hasantoha Adnan, Ismal Dobesto and Trikurnianti Kusumanto.

**Reference to this paper**Marzoni. 2007. Village border negotiations. In: Yuliani, E.L., Tadjudin, Dj., Indriatmoko, Y., Munggoro, D.W., Gaban, F. and Maulana, F. (eds.) Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.



CHAPTER 8 EAST FLORES, EAST NUSA TENGGARA

# A LONG AND WINDING ROAD

**MELKY KOLI BARAN** 



'If you think of forests as dense and thick like those in Papua or Kalimantan, then there are no forests in East Flores,' said Yakobus Seng Tukan, a farmer from the Lewolema community in East Flores. This was an expression of opposition from farmers living in the Ilepadung Nedot protection forest. For generations they have lived on their ancestral land, which has now been declared a state forest.

This is the root of the confusion surrounding forestry in East Flores: the government gave the region protection forest status with the name Ilepadung-Nedot, while the community calls the region *newa*, or farming forest land. Conflict between the government and the traditional community attracted the attention of the NTT Community Self-Sufficiency Solidarity Forum (FSSM) in Maumere and the Social Development Study Foundation (YPPS) in East Flores. They suggested a multistakeholder forestry programme, an initiative to introduce conflicting stakeholders to one another and to get them to sit down to find the best solutions together.

The programme was a marked change of direction for YPPS, previously known as a farmers' rights advocacy organisation active in campaigns, demonstrations and teaching the people to be more critical. In the multistakeholder idea, YPPS had to change its style, putting itself forwards as a facilitator for all stakeholders.

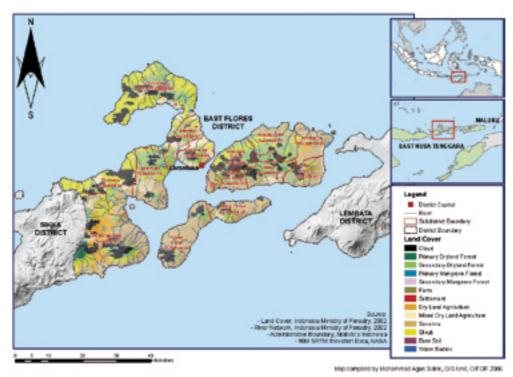


Figure 8. Map of East Flores District

In practice, FSSM was the better multistakeholder dialogue facilitator, while YPPS played a part in preparing community organisations through education and capacity building - important activities for building stakeholder dialogues with regional government and government technical agencies.

## TRADITIONAL WISDOM VERSUS STATE POLICY

The idea of the multistakeholder forestry programme in East Flores came about because of the conflicting local community and government viewpoints, which these stakeholder had never discussed frankly. Both sides were holding tightly to their respective values regarding the forest.

## **The Lewolema Community Perspective**

Lewolema is a traditional community in East Flores District, NTT, with a farming culture tightly bound to the forest. Villagers call the forest *Ema Ile Bapa Woka* 

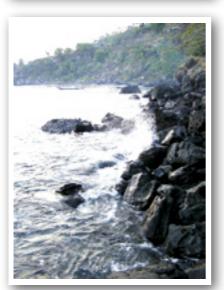
(Mother Mountain, Father Hills). They believe the forest from the hills to the peak of the mountain to be their parents. It must therefore be respected, because it provides them with water and other sources of life.

Yakobus Seng Tukan said the Lewolema community describes the functions of the forest in the proverb 'Emalile Bapa Woka tite, taan teken tenu hegulen ne lera bau' (the forest is our Mother Mountain and Father Hills and gives us food from morning to night). The villagers also call the forest on the mountain koton rata ema naen, nogo ema (the hair on mother's head).<sup>1</sup>

Yakobus Seng Tukan also described the totality of the Lewolema farmers' relationship with the forest with the expression *ihik noon temuit* (like the flesh of the finger and the nail attached to it). If the community damages the forest, it is in fact insulting the ancestors or harming itself.



The Lewolema community has its own way of managing the forest and its farming fields. The community's natural rhythm and approach is reflected in the expression *Ama Lera Wulan*, *Ina Tana Ekan* (Father Sun and Moon, Mother Earth).<sup>2</sup>



In relation to food security and sustainability, the community also calls the forest *Kebang Lewo*, meaning village food store. When the forest is managed as farmland, it provides food for the people of the community. After the sky *Ama Lera Wulan* drops its rain, the earth is called *Ina Tana Ekan* because it nurtures crops and emits water sources. The forest provides the community with timber and rope for building homes, food stores, shelters and animal pens. The forest also holds in reserve food such as roots and other vegetables, nuts, fruits and wildlife for times of famine.

The community does not farm the forest intensively, but extracts what it needs, so when fields are left, they are not fallow, but are actually hidden food stores. According to Father Frans Amanue, chair of the Larantuka Diocese Justice and Peace Commission, local culture, full of forest idioms, leaves no land in

the village neglected. 'The forest is their supermarket; the place they find their daily needs,' he said in 2004.<sup>3</sup>

Local forest management practices, when farming or collecting building materials, are carried out in accordance with customary rules. According to Ama Hurit, Anton Ledan Hurit and Gabriel Geken Ruron, three Lewolema customary figures, these rules are meant as control mechanisms for governing the management and use of forest resources.

When new fields are cleared there are rites for land selection, distribution, management, harvesting and carrying the yield into the village. These rites symbolise interaction between humans, nature and God, while maintaining social unity, common interests and reaffirming the history of landuse and the community region - a process of social reconciliation.<sup>4</sup>

Farming culture in Indonesia is not merely about economics, but relates to sociocultural value systems.<sup>5</sup> It is linked to environmental conservation, food security and poverty reduction as well as its contribution to the overall economy.

## **The State Perspective**

Article 33 Paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution mandates the state to organise natural resources management for the benefit of the people. In view of this article, the government passed Basic Agrarian Law No. 5/1960 and Law No. 41/1999 on Forestry as well as several packages of laws on natural resources management. It is these laws that guide the government in its management of all natural resources, including forests.

Whenever it meets with farmers in the region, the government always uses these laws as its argument for declaring the ancestral lands a state forest. The forestry office barred the community from clearing any new fields in the forest, and has on a number of occasions followed this up with arrests and prison sentences. Tension between government and customary communities has been laid bare in the courtroom, where communities always defend themselves by saying their fields are on their ancestral land, while the government believes they are violating state laws.6

#### Classic Issues Never Solved

Contrasting government and customary community perceptions have rarely been resolved. The government uses power politics and positive law to break down community arguments, while communities use history, origins, cultural and customary law to defend their agrarian rights.

Government and communities have differing interests. The government is concerned with maintaining and expanding forest regions and with broader economic interests, whereas community concerns lie in farming, fulfilling daily food and clothing needs, and customary rites. To complicate things further, many private-sector stakeholders have interests in getting timber for regional development, converting the forest to plantations or mining.

The political and economic chaos in 1998 provided the opportunity for the civil society movement in East Nusa Tenggara to grow stronger. YPPS participated in natural resources management advocacy through the Indigenous Peoples Network. This network, through the Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago, succeeded in bringing customary community issues to the top of the civil society agenda in Indonesia.

Civil society advocacy caused tension to grow between regional government and community. The regional government, with help from the police and military, came down heavily on customary communities occupying state forests. Many community members were arrested, tried and imprisoned. This situation left the communities increasingly marginalised, while the public accused them of forest encroachment. Meanwhile, the regional government became nervous when political decentralisation was introduced with no clear lines of authority for forest management due to contradictory regional autonomy and forestry laws.

## **MULTISTAKEHOLDER ROUNDTABLE**

YPPS suggested a collaborative approach prioritising dialogue, hoping such a process could alleviate the distrust between the disputing parties. YPPS saw a chance for a change in approach with the transitional government in power following the multiparty election. A confrontational approach was no longer effective during the transition period, so new methods were necessary for allowing the discussion and resolution of differences and tensions.

In 2001, a team from the Multistakeholder Forestry Programme<sup>7</sup> visited Flores. They asked what post-reform changes YPPS would make in relation to forestry. The question suited the ideas of YPPS activists. During the New Order period,

tensions between government and ruling elites on one side and communities and NGOs on the other were never accompanied by solutions or significant changes in policy. The room for dialogue was shut tight, and NGOs daring to be critical were branded communists or donor country lackeys.

YPPS suggested developing a multistakeholder roundtable dialogue, as roundtable dialogues symbolise equality among stakeholders. The 'honeymoon' of the reform period provided the momentum for inviting stakeholders to discuss fundamental issues and to seek new solutions.

The principles of roundtable dialogue are sitting together as equals and showing mutual respect. All stakeholders, be they officials, landowners or wealthy businesspeople, should discard any notions of their own grandeur. Prior to reformasi, farmers and farm workers were obliged to respect government officials and landowners and to passively accept any harm their policies





might cause local people. In a roundtable process, all stakeholders should respect one another and always remain positive. YPPS hoped roundtable dialogues could change the image of the government from ruler to public servant.

After explaining its roundtable idea, YPPS and the deputy governor of NTT, Frans Lebu Raya, attended a multistakeholder meeting in Bogor, West Java. The stakeholder meeting involved government representatives, businesspeople, researchers, NGOs and local people. During the Bogor meeting, YPPS began to recognise that the roundtable idea might work in East Flores.

YPPS introduced the roundtable idea to invite disputing stakeholders to open up and hold discussions. It hoped the process would succeed in restructuring forest management, which currently was benefiting neither government nor local communities.<sup>8</sup> The roundtable idea became the new road for all stakeholders to take.

#### MULTISTAKEHOLDER COLLABORATION

The multistakeholder idea became the strategy for East Flores, and resistance was immediately replaced by advocacy and dialogue. An implication of the roundtable idea was the necessity to strengthen community organisation, to build capacity to stand up in negotiation and dialogue processes. Without these strengths, the community would be lambs led to slaughter. Regional government too had to be open, professional and capable of dialogue. Without open-minded government officials, the roundtable process would be useless.

With the roundtable process, all stakeholders could learn from one another. The people would have the opportunity to learn to understand the government's position and interests, while the government could learn to appreciate the people's aspirations. It would be the spark to create a better future together. To manage the roundtable process, YPPS was responsible for community education and organisation, and FSSM for building multistakeholder dialogue.

#### THE DIALOGUE DOOR: INITIALLY DEAD IN THE WATER

The roundtable idea was not completely perfect; it was an alien concept for both the regional government and the local community. YPPS initially believed the customary communities were a united front. This assumption turned out to be inaccurate; in actual fact the communities had complicated compositions, complete with their own internal conflicts. There were those favouring traditions, different ethnic groups, youths, government projects, NGOs and church projects. These different clusters became more apparent during the general election.

A number of past events were responsible for internal conflicts in the customary community in Lewolema. One such event was a cashew project undertaken in the 1980s, when the government promoted cashew saying it would increase community prosperity. The high price of cashew changed the tenurial order of traditional land. Yield from *newa* land had originally belonged to the whole community. The government project, however, divided *newa* up without considering traditional mechanisms.

The government alone determined what land would be used for planting cashew, assuming that neglected land could be planted on. Due to poverty and a long famine, however, many villagers had gone to Malaysia. Much of the land



previously farmed by those who had left was now used for planting cashew. When the émigrés returned, conflicts broke out between cashew planters and landowners.

Conflict not only resulted from poorly organised projects; intervillage conflicts also broke out among the Lamatou, Lewolema and Belogili communities all competing for the *newa*. A similar conflict broke out involving the Lamatou and Riangkemis communities from neighbouring villages.

In another respect, the reform movement did not touch the district government, which remained inflexible, bureaucratic, characterized by linear and short-term thinking and captive to fleeting political interests. FSSM had to use a number of approaches in order to open communication with the district head. One was approaching the district secretary, as the district head spent more time in Jakarta than Larantuka. Despite gaining the support of his deputy, the roundtable idea struggled to secure the support of the district head. The district head still held the key to influencing the district government to respond to the multistakeholder dialogue idea. Without his full support, it was dead in the water.

The district government became increasingly closed as a result of the district head's many controversial policies. He was in the media spotlight and under pressure from political rivals. In the end, it became increasingly difficult to speak to him, yet his influence was vital to the roundtable initiative. The head of the East Flores District Forestry Office said he would not be involved in any multistakeholder process without the district head's approval, even though he had previously agreed to the multistakeholder dialogue idea.

On 2 December 2002, YPPS and FSSM conducted a multistakeholder forestry discussion at Hotel Fortuna in Larantuka. The head of the East Flores District Forestry Office was one of the planned speakers. He guaranteed the district head would open the proceedings and provide guidance. One day before the discussion, however, the forestry head cancelled by making a phone call to the committee.

The committee threatened to hold a press conference if he was not prepared to be involved in discussions on resolving forestry problems in East Flores. He was caught between pressure from the district head on one side and NGOs on the other. After some rapid coordination, the deputy head, Yohanses Payong Beda, became available to open the multistakeholder discussion. All of the government offices invited, including the forestry office, cancelled without any explanation. Only Theo K. Maran from the East Flores Bappeda Secretariat turned up, and apparently he was later given a strict reprimand by the head of Bappeda.

Efforts continued to help the programme go ahead. After evaluation and analysis of the means, methods and approaches available, it was agreed that a multistakeholder workshop be prepared in order to break the deadlock. FSSM lobbied the NTT Provincial Forestry Office, making use of its Executive Director E.P. da Gomes's connections with the East Flores Regional Secretary Landoaldus Mekeng. Finally the district head gave his blessing to a multistakeholder workshop.

The workshop was finally realised from 27 to 30 April 2003 with 39 participants from various government offices, NGOs and customary communities. Members of the district parliament could not attend as they were engaged in council sessions. The workshop succeeded in producing an agreement to establish the East Flores Multistakeholder Forestry Work Team involving government, NGO and community representatives, with Marthin Bulu from the East Flores District Forestry Office as its chair. YPPS and the Mitra Sejahtera Foundation were to act as team facilitators. The work team was finally recognised by the district head. It

held a number of meetings in villages and later went on a comparative study to Gunung Betung Community Forest in Lampung, at the end of December 2004.

Despite the formation of the work team, the roundtable idea came to a standstill when the coordinator of the East Flores Reform Forum, Father Frans Amanue, was taken to court by East Flores District Head Felix Fernandez in June 2003. The political and security situation became tense, and the multistakeholder work team was unable to follow up on the agreement made at the workshop. Most of those in favour of the multistakeholder idea were also Father Frans supporters. They were regularly terrorized and threatened with imprisonment, and many multistakeholder activists fled town.

## THE LONG AND WINDING ROAD

All the explanations above of course suggest several important lessons for reevaluating multistakeholder forestry processes. The inflexible mentality of the government bureaucracy on the one hand and lack of community capacity on the other are issues for reflection.

First, a community is not a simple entity. Communities are currently going through incredible social changes. Multistakeholder processes should begin with the most up-to-date information as to what is actually happening in a community. Without a clear picture of a community's social conditions, a multistakeholder forestry programme will always end up back at square one.

Second, capacity building is key to successful multistakeholder processes, which require new skills in the art of interpersonal communication, of facilitation and of negotiation. A graduated capacity-building process will help in building effective dialogues.

Third, local knowledge can be a fantastic basis for argument. Collecting local knowledge and local laws can help in building shared understanding within contrasting legal systems. This process can help encourage implementation of legal pluralism ideas.

Fourth, multistakeholder dialogues are means for stakeholder learning. Therefore, increasing stakeholder capacity should be the key activity, with meetings tailored to their interests.

Fifth, politics and power remain dominant. The district head still holds the key to change at the district level. An ability to manage district head power can help multistakeholder processes become more effective. Conversely, if a district head withdraws his support, multistakeholder processes will stop still, unless they are pushed forward by other stakeholders (particularly communities).

Sixth, multistakeholder processes are only paths towards a shared vision. They are complicated, full of dynamics, tense and tiring, and should therefore not be made the final destination, but the paths towards images in stakeholders' minds.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author would like to thank farmers in the Lewolema, Kobasoma, Leworook and Boru Kedang communities in East Flores, NTT. Also thanks go to all members of the Lewolema Traditional Community, particularly community organisers Yakobus Seng Tukan, Yan Kebakut Hurint and friends for all their help.

The author also thanks MFP, Hasbi Berliani, the MFP Nusa Tenggara regional facilitator, MFP partner friends in this region who have directly or indirectly provided strength with their support, all the members of the East Flores Multistakeholder Forestry Work Team, who have worked hard under difficult circumstances, and friends from the NGOs YMS, Ayu Tani and YTIB in East Flores, LBH NUSRA and FSSM in Sikka District, YPPS in Larantuka and FSSM NTT in Maumere.

We are also indebted to the East Flores district government for its inspiration; the district head, deputy district head and the East Flores Forestry Office have all helped us become more creative in seeking and trying out new methods in the field.

#### **ENDNOTES**

- Nogo Ema originates from a Lamaholot myth about the origins of rice, corn and other food crops. It tells of the sacrifice made by the only daughter in a family with seven sons. It was from this sacrifice that food crops came to the community.
- <sup>2</sup> The highest entities for Lamaholot communities are *Lera Wulan, Tana Ekan,* i.e., Sun, Moon and Earth, also called *Ama Lera Wulan, Ina Tana Ekan,* i.e., Father Sun and Moon, and Mother Earth. The earth is made up of the forest, while water symbolises a mother's fertility.

- <sup>3</sup> Amanue, F.M.A. 2004. Manusia dan Hutan. In: Baran, M.K. (ed.) *Bongkar! Mitos-mitos Pengelolaan Hutan*. YPPS, East Flores, Indonesia.
- <sup>4</sup> Baran, M.K. (ed.). 2004. Bongkar! Mitos-mitos Pengelolaan Hutan. YPPS, East Flores, Indonesia.
- <sup>5</sup> Pakpahan, A. 2004. *Petani Menggugat*. Max Havelaar Indonesia Foundation, Jakarta, Indonesia.
- <sup>6</sup> In October 2002 farmers from the Lewolema and Boru Kedang communities in East Flores were arrested when they wanted to work on new fields for that year and held in custody on district head orders. According to the forestry office the fields were on state forest land. Numerous approaches made by the Lewolema community through the DPRD and meetings with the deputy district head were fruitless.
- Multistakeholder Forestry Programme (MFP) is a collaborative programme involving the Indonesian Department of Forestry and the UK Department for International Development (DFID).
- <sup>8</sup> The two main stakeholders often clashed to protect central government interests. Conversely, the central government was not accommodating to political changes taking place in the field.
- In 2002 when the roundtable idea began to grow, the local political situation in East Flores District was becoming tense. A number of groups complained that the district head's policies were not accommodating the interests of the people. YPPS took the initiative to encourage the formation of the East Flores Reformasi Forum. The forum was well known for its radical stance in protesting the district head's policies. The forum reported the district head to the Anti-Corruption Commission in 2004.

## **Photographs**

Eko Prianto, Hasbi Berliani and Widya Prajanthi.

## Reference to this paper

Baran, M.K. 2007. A long and winding road. In: Yuliani, E.L., Tadjudin, Dj., Indriatmoko, Y., Munggoro, D.W., Gaban, F. and Maulana, F. (eds.) *Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change*. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.



CHAPTER 9 BUNGO DISTRICT, JAMBI

# **OPENING GOVERNMENT DOORS**

**MUSTAFAL HADI** 

Government bureaucracy often equated with inflexibility and other attributes with uncooperative connotations can indeed be extremely tedious. However, if its formalities are adhered to, and accompanied by trusting and understanding relationships among stakeholders, including the government, at the end of the tedium a new enthusiasm can appear, or even an invitation to collaborate — an essential precondition to every multistakeholder process.

This paper provides a more positive angle on the inflexibility of bureaucracy. This is what makes it inspirational. [Editors]

In July 2004, the Bungo district head and, as representatives of a collaborative partnership, the director of the Gita Buana Foundation, the director of PSHK-ODA and the director general of CIFOR signed a memorandum of understanding on ACM research in Bungo District, Jambi. The ACM research involved studies and collective action in connection with equitable and sustainable multistakeholder forest management processes.

The idea to make a memorandum of understanding between the district head and the ACM team arose from a simple incident when ACM researchers needed some information from the Bungo Bappeda. Bappeda officials were hesitant to provide them with any information. One Bappeda official at the time asked whether there was an official document recognising ACM, so he could be sure that any data he provided could later be accounted for. ACM researchers explained that they had a permit from the central government (through the Indonesian Ministry of Forestry's Research and Development Agency (FORDA), with a copy forwarded to the district government, through Bappeda, and that ACM activities had involved the Bungo district government and Bappeda from the start. However, Bappeda thought that in the regional autonomy era, there was no place for central government control over research permits in the outlying regions, and this research was focused on the village and district levels.

Bappeda thought the ACM team was an organisation, and later suggested the organisation should be formally registered with the regional government through the National Unity and Social Protection Office. The ACM team, however, was a collaborative effort involving three organisations, all of which were already registered at the provincial and national levels. So Bappeda then suggested the ACM team make a formal memorandum of understanding with the district government. This memorandum of understanding later became essential when ACM researchers wanted to obtain more data from government offices in Bungo District. Several months later at a meeting in the Bungo District Bappeda office, Forestry and Estate Crops officials reiterated the importance of a formal

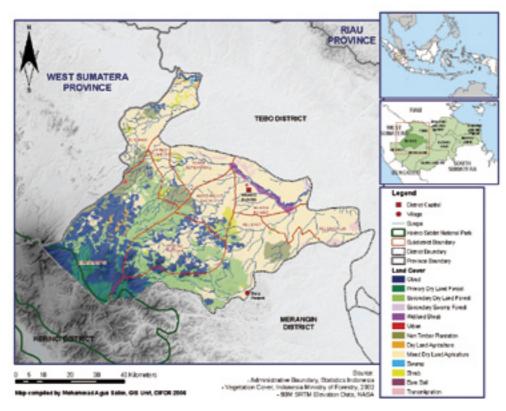


Figure 9. Map of Bungo District

memorandum of understanding, without which government officials remained hesitant to support ACM activities.

After experiencing more problems, the memorandum of understanding idea was finally put to the top of the agenda in ACM team meetings. When the draft memorandum of understanding had been made, the ACM team presented it to relevant agencies such as Bappeda, the Forestry and Estate Crops Office, the Mining, Energy and Environment Office and the Legal Division of the Bungo District Secretariat. They all agreed to support the content of the memorandum of understanding. Finally, the Legal Bureau accepted the memorandum of understanding concept proposal from the ACM researcher team. It then invited several government agencies to provide input, suggestions and criticism, and invited the ACM team to make a final proposal for submission to the district head.

The memorandum of understanding included Bungo district government commitment to provide policy and programme support and other facilities connected with ACM activities. This commitment was important for ACM activities in Jambi, because the team now had a legal umbrella binding stakeholders to support it. In addition to its importance to ACM researchers, the memorandum of understanding provided 'protection' to regional government officials actively involved in ACM research activities. Many officials long involved in ACM activities had felt hesitant when touching on sensitive issues, such as illegal logging, customary forests or opposition to oil palm estates.



The regional autonomy era has made memoranda of understanding essential. Even though CIFOR has a permit from the central government to conduct research throughout the whole of Indonesia, it might not necessarily be accepted by regional governments. In this era, district heads hold key authority in organising relations between district governments and other stakeholders. Therefore, any activities in a district will run far more smoothly if a district head has given his/her approval.

In a short period of time the efficacy of the memorandum of understanding was proved on a couple of occasions. The first came when the ACM team met with difficulties with the Bungo District Industry, Trade and Cooperatives Office, and the second when the Forestry and Estate Crops Office was asked to help in preparing an academic manuscript on the Baru Pelepat customary forest which was to be the foundation for drafting a district regulation on the customary forest in Baru Pelepat in Pelepat Subdistrict. On both occasions processes were expedited as soon as the ACM team forwarded copies of the memorandum of understanding.

The memorandum of understanding helps when the schedules of district government officials or staff involved in ACM activities clash with their routine daily tasks. An issue arose with the academic manuscript on the customary forests in Baru Pelepat called Rimbo Adat and Rimbo Lindung Datuk Rangkayo Mulio<sup>1</sup> because it was not on the Bungo District Forestry and Estate Crops Office list of priority programmes. Nevertheless, thanks to the memorandum of understanding, everything went smoothly.

#### **LESSONS LEARNED**

It is generally quite difficult to get information from government offices because you must have prior approval of the office head. This problem becomes manifold when the information you require is spread throughout several different offices. Do you have to request permission from every office head to get the information? This, of course, is unnecessary if you have district head approval for accessing all information relating to collaborative activities with an outside party.

In the regional autonomy era, information may not always be accessible with a permit from central government. This suggests that when conducting activities in a given district, you need to meet the district head first, to ensure your presence in the district is legal. Thus, making a memorandum of understanding constitutes a good first step in facilitating more effective collaboration.

#### **ENDNOTES**

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 5

## **Photographs**

Carol J.P. Colfer, Yayan Indriatmoko and Yulia Siagian.

## Reference to this paper

Hadi, M. 2007. Opening government doors. In: Yuliani, E.L., Tadjudin, Dj., Indriatmoko, Y., Munggoro, D.W., Gaban, F. and Maulana, F. (eds.) Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.



CHAPTER 10 SUKU SEMBILAN, BENGKULU

# A FIGHT FOR RIGHTS

**TOMMY ERWINSYAH** 

The Suku Sembilan people were living in the Bengkulu region even before it came under the control of the Majapahit Kingdom. They settled in groups in a *Petulai*, an area governed by customary law where communities adhered to a system of rules from leaders who emerged from within the community. A customary leader from a community unit had the title *Ajai*. The establishment of the modern state has led to the Suku Sembilan people losing control of the region governed by their tradition law.

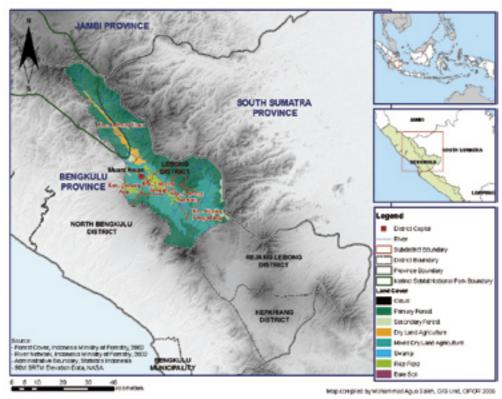
#### THE HISTORY OF SUKU SEMBILAN

Suku Sembilan cannot be considered separate from the history of the Rejang people.<sup>1</sup> The Rejang originated from a group of nomadic hunters and gatherers, who finally settled in a region known as *Renah Sekelawi*, or Layered Areca.

They farmed and lived in permanent groups, building settlements along the river valley in what is now the upper Ketahun River region in Lebong District, Bengkulu Province. Some time later, four commanders (Biku) from the Majapahit Kingdom — Biku Sepanjang Jiwo, Biku Bejenggo, Biku Bermano and Biku Bembo — arrived in the region. Owing to their supernatural powers, nobility and wisdom, the four commanders were asked to stay and became the leaders of each Petulai. The four Biku were later better known as Depati Tiang Empat (the four pillars), or Pat Petulai in the Rejang language.

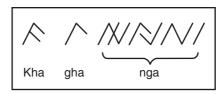
Customary communities are community groups with ancestral origins in a particular geographic location with their own values, ideological, economic, political, cultural and social systems and territory.<sup>2</sup> From this definition it is clear that Suku Sembilan represents a customary community.

Under the leadership of the four *Biku*, new laws were conceived that bound together all the communities in the region. The name for a customary law territory, originally known as *Petulai*, became *Kutei*, meaning town, or *Kuta* in Sanskrit. Hindu culture was highly influential at the time.



**Figure 10.** Map of Bengkulu Province, including the districts of North Bengkulu, Rejang Lebong and Lebong

The influence of Hindu culture had developed as the population increased and spread throughout the region. This was the time when they began to cultivate crops, practicing dryland farming and wetland rice farming. The community also had a system of writing known as the Rencong script (*kha gha nga*).



Example of Rencong script 'Kha gha nga'



#### **DEMARCATION OF CUSTOMARY BORDERS**

According to ex-*Pasirah*<sup>3</sup> Ahmad, Ali Rahman and Kandar Manan, the boundaries of Suku Sembilan lands were first determined by Rajo Megat, who had the title *Rajo Mudo Gunung Gedang* and was a son of *Biku Sepanjang Jiwo*. From their story, it seems Rajo Megat was sent to China to learn about determining the boundaries of Suku Sembilan traditional lands. On his return, he set off on an elephant to mark the Suku Sembilan boundaries by sowing *bano* seeds, a species of root plant (*Alpinia* sp.).

According to local beliefs, the *bano* could only grow on Suku Sembilan land, and not on any land belonging to other customary communities. So if they saw *bano* growing, people could be sure they were in Suku Sembilan territory. Other signs used for defining borders of Suku Sembilan territory were a confluence often called *Air Suwo*, areca nut trees and three kinds of rice plants, all of which grew in rows encircling Suku Sembilan customary lands.

Traditionally, land in Suku Sembilan was organised into different categories or areas:

- areas for planting, dryland farming, ricefields and community fish ponds;
- areas considered sacred, such as sacred forest that had to be preserved as a water source; and
- areas for settlement.

Suku Sembilan people recognized communal and shared rights over land. These communal lands covered forest land allocated for farming in Air Picung, Padang Kerbau, Air Putih, Air Kopras and Ketenong villages.

#### **DISPUTES OVER CUSTOMARY LAND**

The Dutch colonial government arrived in the Suku Sembilan region in 1856.<sup>5</sup> The arrival of the Dutch was not marked by violence, but by an agreement between the *Depati Tiang Empat* and the Dutch man, Controlleur Pruis van Der Hoeven. Suku Sembilan now came under the Palembang Residency, while the Dutch promised not to interfere with the inherited customs of the region.

Disputes over customary lands began when J. V. Walland replaced Pruis van Der Hoeven in 1856. The new ruler refused to recognise any of the customary laws; he changed the *Petulai* into the *marga* system, and enforced the *Simbur Cahaya* law in the Suku Sembilan region.

These systems made life difficult for customary communities because they had to pay tribute to the Dutch. The *Simbur Cahaya* law did not regulate lifestyles, or social and economic relations, only marriages. By law, weddings had to take place over seven days and seven nights, and all expenses had to be borne by the couple's families. This put a stranglehold on families that could not afford to pay.

In order to marry, villagers had to sell everything they owned to the Dutch government. Slowly but surely, land, houses and everything else they owned was sold. Furthermore, parties were introduced, involving drinking and dancing the like of which they had never seen before.

After the law was passed, many people ended up as coolies or labourers because all their belongings had been sold to the Dutch. That was how the Dutch finally took control of the Suku Sembilan traditional territory. Even though the traditional lands were now under Dutch control, the sacred forest was left untouched, but its name was changed to Boss Weissen in 1860.



After independence, the central government replaced all the rules that had applied during the height of the *Petulai* and the Dutch administration with new national rules. One product of this policy was Law No. 5/1979 on Village Governments. Through the new policy, Suku Sembilan territory was divided into several villages where customary law no longer applied. The government also restructured systems of governance using legal apparatus completely alien to the Suku Sembilan community.

The state based itself on Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution<sup>6</sup> and felt it had the authority to manage villages through its State Property, the intention of which was to have governance and development under one command. The government became very centralistic in its approach to governance, and the door to community involvement was firmly closed. The state had free reign to control and regulate the management of natural resources. This fits the words of Munggoro: 'A paradigm of state-based forestry development tends to give full authority to the state to claim, control, own and regulate forest management and forests, and the state systematically denies the claims of traditional communities.'<sup>7</sup>

With this absolute control, slowly but surely all the rules passed down for generations in the Suku Sembilan customary community were eroded away by the products of government law. Communal rights became individual rights, and the values of togetherness and community endeavour began to fade. Slowly they began to forget their traditional identity and became more involved in themselves and their own personal interests. Customary community rights completely disappeared when the government established protection forest regions, nature reserves and national parks.8 The community customary land was divided up into protection regions, which meant the areas originally used for farming land changed their status, becoming a protection forest and a national park.

In 1999, the Bengkulu provincial government 'harmonized' its provincial spatial plan and its forest land use consensus plan. Community involvement was limited to carrying the building materials for making border markers. This provincial government policy made Suku Sembilan territory even smaller. More recently, territorial disputes have broken out between North Bengkulu and Rejang Lebong districts over Suku Sembilan traditional land, most of which is in North Bengkulu District but was originally a unitary territory under Suku Sembilan customary law.

## THE FIGHT FOR RIGHTS OVER CUSTOMARY TERRITORY

At the beginning of 2003, a Suku Sembilan customary leader, Indra Jaya, with the approval of other community members, asked the Bengkulu Kelopak Foundation to help them fight for their rights over their customary lands. Since then, Kelopak Foundation staff have been sent to unearth information about conflicts occurring in Suku Sembilan customary territory and about the community's desire to return to its traditional legal system.

Results of preliminary investigations showed the Suku Sembilan customary community wanted to map the region so their traditional lands could be clearly defined. Participatory mapping was eventually considered a solution to resolving territorial disputes. Participatory mapping is a simple means for identifying, recognising and strengthening the original institutions and territories in a region.9 Participatory mapping also aims to reintroduce the actual spatial conditions of a customary territory and document attributes relating to the space built by the community itself, as proof of territorial claims that may be easily read by other stakeholders outside the customary community.



Participatory mapping commenced in March 2003, beginning with the formation of a field team made up entirely of Bengkulu Kelopak Foundation staff. The team was divided into three subteams: Team A was to conduct field studies, Team B was to facilitate mapping and Team C was to act as mediator, negotiator and lobbyist between community and regional government. Throughout the process, all team members stayed in Kota Baru Santan village, Lebong Atas Subdistrict, which became the base camp. The first action team members took was to build emotional bonds with the Suku Sembilan customary communities through informal discussions with customary figures, village authorities and villagers living in the region.

Once emotional bonds had been formed, Team A began to conduct field studies using participatory rural appraisals (PRA) to get important information and data on conditions in the disputed territory. To test the accuracy of information and field data, more intensive formal discussions were held through focus group discussions.

When all the data had been collected, a preliminary agreement was made on the need for participatory mapping. Through a series of formal and informal discussions it was agreed to hold a customary community deliberation, the first in many many years. The deliberation was aimed towards unifying understanding of the map and seeking consensus on the unclear borders between Suku Sembilan customary lands and customary lands in other *marga*.

The customary community deliberation went far from smoothly as other *marga* wanted mapping in the same way. This meant that achievements and strategies initially exclusive to Suku Sembilan had to be changed to suit the wishes of the other *marga*. After some consideration, an agreement was reached to carry out participatory mapping in Suku Sembilan, Suku Delapan and Selupu. Due to the limited funds available, however, the three customary communities of Suku Sembilan, Suku Delapan and Selupu all agreed to pay for the activity.

Once an agreement was reached, further field studies commenced to glean important information on conditions in the other *marga*. Team A, originally tasked to study Suku Sembilan, also studied Suku Delapan and Selupu. Team B followed up on outcomes of the field studies and was tasked with facilitating community members, customary leaders and village authorities in understanding and using mapping equipment and mapmaking itself. Mapping subsequently took place involving two teams of seven members to represent each customary community.

It took one month of mapping to trace the disputed areas, sacred forest regions, district administrative boundaries, protection forest, national park and provincial administrative boundaries. Mapping was carried out using two Garmin 12 XL GPS receivers. After tracing and taking the points of customary borders, the mapping teams began to work on producing the maps, which took almost two weeks. Participatory mapping generated the data on land allocation shown in tables 10.1 and 10.2.10

Table 10.1 Regions by status and allocation

Regional Status	Area (ha)			
Danau Tes Nature Reserve	3,022.72			
Kerinci Seblat National Park	111,035.00			
Bukit Daun Protection Forest	20,077.40			
Non-forestry uses	58,089.45			
Total	192,224.57			

Table 10.2 Villages on traditional lands

Ethnic Group	Number of Villages	Subdistrict Region
Suku Sembilan	43	Upper Lebong, Central Lebong, parts of South Lebong
Suku Delapan	24	South Lebong
Selupu	18	North Lebong

The completed maps were then discussed further with customary figures, village authorities and customary communities from various *marga* in order to make any necessary additions if anything had been left out, and to correct any mistakes that may have been made, thus ensuring the maps were not immediately considered correct. These revisions and corrections took a relatively long time involving lengthy debates in determining the borders of customary lands.

Once revisions were complete, final maps were made, which involved overlaying the maps with topographic maps of Rejang Lebong and North Bengkulu districts. The maps were finally completed at the beginning of 2004. Next, Team C was to undertake negotiations with the regional government on a regional regulation recognising the existence of Suku Sembilan, Suku Delapan and Selupu customary law communities.

At the end of 2003, however, before Team C could carry out its task, the Minister of Home Affairs issued a decree on the fragmentation of Rejang Lebong District and the formation of the three new districts of Rejang Lebong, Kepahiang and Lebong. Suku Sembilan, originally in Rejang Lebong District, had become its own district called Lebong. As the fragmentation took place at almost the same time the mapping was completed, the original Rejang Lebong district government mistakenly thought the participatory mapping had been carried out with the intention of helping district fragmentation to come to pass. Fortunately however, the misunderstanding was soon resolved after intensive discussions between customary leaders and members of the Rejang Lebong District DPRD.

On 23 December 2003 Lebong District was formally established. The new district was made up of the five subdistricts of Rimbo Pengadang, North Lebong, Central Lebong, South Lebong and Upper Lebong. Although the Suku Sembilan customary community is slightly more hopeful about retaining its customary lands, culture and identity, now that the new district has been established, the struggle to regain its rights over traditional land still has a ways to go. These customary rights must have the approval of the local DPRD, which has yet to be formed, and must be ratified by a district head, the current head only having caretaker status. The fight for rights over customary land must wait until the election of new district representatives and a definitive district head.

The help of all stakeholders is required to assist the community and the local government in formulating a truly environmentally aware development strategy. The customary regions are flanked by two conservation areas — a protection forest and a national park — so development strategies must accommodate two aims simultaneously: the preservation of conservation areas and the provision of socioeconomic benefits to the local customary communities.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author and the Kelopak Foundation would like to express our unfailing gratitude to the villagers of Kota Baru Santan who welcomed the mapping team with such affability and were so helpful in mapping Marga Suku Sembilan. Also thanks go to the village head of Kota Baru Santan, community elders, customary leaders, ex-pasirah, religious scholars, the subdistrict head, the head of the Bengkulu Provincial Forestry Office, the head of the Rejang Lebong District Forestry Office and the Participatory Mapping Network.

#### **ENDNOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> Siddik, A. 1977. *Hukum Adat Redjang*. Notes from old texts. Bengkulu, Indonesia.
- <sup>2</sup> Achmaliadi, R. 1999. Negara, Masyarakat Adat dan Konflik Ruang. Participatory Mapping Network, Bogor, Indonesia.
- <sup>3</sup> Pasirah is a term for hamlet leaders.
- <sup>4</sup> Ahmad, Rahman, A. and Manan, K. 2003. Personal communication.
- <sup>5</sup> Hoessein, M. 1963. *Sedjarah Redjang Pat Petulai*. Notes from old texts. Bengkulu, Indonesia.
- <sup>6</sup> Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution states that natural resources are controlled by the state and utilised as extensively as possible for the prosperity of the people.
- <sup>7</sup> Munggoro, D.W. 1998. *Krisis Pengelolaan Hutan di Indonesia*. Pustaka Latin, Bogor, Indonesia.
- <sup>8</sup> Minister of Forestry and Estate Crops Decree in 1989.
- <sup>9</sup> Achmaliadi, R. 2003. *Menuju Tegaknya Kedaulatan Rakyat atas Ruang, Peluang dan Tantangan Pemetaan Partisipatif. Jaringan Kerja Pemetaan Partisipatif.* Boqor, Indonesia.
- Kelopak Foundation. 2003. Laporan Kegiatan Pemetaan Partisipatif di Suku Sembilan. Participatory Mapping Network, Bengkulu, Indonesia.

## **Photographs**

Carol J.P. Colfer and Tommy Erwinsyah.

**Reference to this paper** Erwinsyah, T. 2007. A fight for rights. In: Yuliani, E.L., Tadjudin, Dj., Indriatmoko, Y., Munggoro, D.W., Gaban, F. and Maulana, F. (eds.) Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.



IN CLOSING

# **INSTITUTIONALISING CHANGE**

DJUHENDI TADJUDIN and ELIZABETH LINDA YULIANI

Many lessons are offered in these chapters. One such lesson is appreciation, a way of looking at issues, however complicated they may be, in a positive way. Differences are not for building conflict, but a starting point for discovering shared goals from different directions. NGO activists' heroism is no longer seen purely in terms of being antigovernment, but can now mean sitting calmly and listening respectfully to others' explanations. Many aspects originally considered inappropriate can now be seen as acceptable and fitting.

#### **Conflict**

No longer viewed as something negative, conflict does not necessarily mean confrontation that sorts two sides into friends and enemies. It can be useful, at the very least, as a starting point for understanding the aspirations of others. Nowadays, conflict is seen as difference, but not entirely void of similarity. Differences can arise from many causes, and every one can be used to build dialogue.

First, differences in perceptions: farmers in East Flores treat the 'forest' there as farming fields and manage it prudently, but the government considers their actions violations because their fields are in an area it regards as state forest. In teak estates, people pick up small teak branches for firewood because they consider them waste, while *Perhutani* officers treat the people as thieves because according to rules – that the people do not identify with – taking small branches and twigs without a permit is classified as theft.

Second, differences in knowledge: the different attitudes among villagers in Baru Pelepat towards the oil palm estate illustrate a difference in knowledge.<sup>2</sup> The involvement of women in decision making<sup>3</sup> and natural resources management was important, because there were differences in knowledge relating to everyday roles.<sup>4</sup>

Third, differences in values: for Dayak communities, ironwood, or *ulin* (*Eusideroxylon zwageri* Teijsm & Binn), trees are sacred and must therefore be treated with special care and attention. Meanwhile, HPH concessionaires want to cut them down because they see the wood as an extremely high-value commodity. Another example is the Baru Pelepat women's struggle for recognition. The men saw them merely as domestic workers, but the women struggled to prove they could manage *lubuk* more effectively than previously, and they turned out to be right. 6

Fourth, differences of interests: conflicts of this nature always emerge in forests bordering community settlements. The state does not want local communities

to occupy state forests, while local people depend on those forests for their livelihoods. Nowadays, these differences can be bridged. The government is beginning to consider allowing local communities to work in state forests, while the communities are prepared to respect conservation objectives.

Fifth, differences in recognition of ownership rights: the eviction of villagers from Dwikora in Lampung,7 the expulsion of communities from the Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga regions in Southeast Sulawesi<sup>8</sup> and the struggle of Suku Sembilan in Bengkulu<sup>9</sup> are all examples of this type of conflict as these communities fight for their rights over their customary lands. In the cases of Southeast Sulawesi and Bengkulu, space for dialogue is starting to grow.

#### **Forest Degradation**

For years environmentally concerned stakeholders have been angered that the government might begin conservation actions only after forests are completely destroyed. Without meaning to justify forest degradation, the damage to resources, however, can actually be seen as a prompt towards building collaboration and dialogue. A situation that used to cause only anger can now be seen as an instrument for learning.<sup>10</sup>

The Baru Pelepat community decided to make its customary forest a conservation area only after seeing the effects of the forest degradation it had caused through its excessive exploitation of the region.<sup>11</sup> Experiences in other countries have proved similar: India took action on conservation and collaboration after going through periods of colonialism and commercialism, 12 while Nepal's populist movement took hold after the country had passed through processes of privatisation and nationalisation.<sup>13</sup>







#### **Decentralisation transition**

Theoretically, decentralisation provides greater authority to regional governments. In practice, however, there is still confusion over authority between regional and central, and between provincial and district governments, with all seeming equally uncomfortable when handling issues. <sup>14</sup> The indigenous peoples of Nipa-Nipa and Nanga-Nanga were moved from the grand forest park, which came under provincial authority. Meanwhile, the district government left other people alone to settle the areas the indigenous population had been forced to leave. That issue is now considered a part of the learning process in the transition to decentralisation.

#### **Justice**

People have been evicted from forest areas 'by operation of law'. Nongovernmental stakeholders' response has been to judge the government too inflexible in its attitude. This issue has often been the source of conflict between NGOs and the government. Nowadays a more appreciative attitude is emerging. NGOs will respect law-abiding, corruption-free government, which is what the people have been longing for. Meanwhile, there is a growing awareness among all stakeholders - government, NGOs and communities – that laws are not passed to make life more difficult, but to provide justice to the people. Injustices brought about by a law being put into effect provide new impetus for interpreting the law more creatively and considering justice.

If necessary the law can even be changed. The government has shown a more flexible attitude in recognising the people of Baru Pelepat's struggle to secure affirmation of their customary forest, and towards efforts made by Suku Sembilan for the recognition of their customary land.

## **Community Heterogeneity**

Now stakeholders realise that communities are not homogenous entities, and therefore, community reactions towards a given matter can be diverse. This realisation emerged during the village border negotiations process in Baru Pelepat, he when developing customary laws into a district regulation, had during the multistakeholder process in East Flores. An understanding of heterogeneity makes stakeholders more astute in their approach to dialogue processes. Simplification, it seems, does not always create simple processes.



## INSTITUTIONALISING AND FOSTERING CHANGE<sup>18</sup>

While the changes in stakeholder attitudes and awareness described in this book are just beginning to take hold, funding support for facilitating multistakeholder collaboration in some of these places is coming to an end. Though they might be without outside funding support, systematic steps are necessary in order to institutionalise these changes and prevent them from fading.

Below are a number of steps that might be tried. The explanations below, however, must not be considered inflexible 'recipes'; they will always require continuous innovation and creativity.

## **Adaptability**

While natural resources management is complex and dynamic in nature, policy makers are often tasked with making rules or programmes in a short period of time, and therefore have little time to gain an in-depth understanding of the issues involved:<sup>19</sup> nature with processes of its own, humans with their many and varied needs, as well as interdependency and nonlinear cause and effect. The management of an isolated region in West Kalimantan, for instance, just might be affected by policies in other countries located thousands of miles away.<sup>20</sup>

For these reasons, stakeholders should become more adaptable in their thoughts and actions, adapting themselves to dynamics and complexities through continuous shared learning. Multistakeholder forums should aim at becoming arenas for shared learning and not merely for making agreements or recommendations.

## Respect Stakeholders' 'Cultures'

The memorandum of understanding required by the Bungo district government was not so much a fabricated bureaucratic procedure, but more a standard procedure. It succeeded in expediting activities and facilitating support from all the government offices involved.<sup>21</sup> Every organisation or institution has a culture and procedures of its own. Therefore, reciprocal understanding and mutual respect for stakeholder cultures are essential factors for collaboration.

#### **Build Good Relations and Mutual Trust**

Suspicions and misunderstandings often occur when discussions only take place in meeting rooms, workshops or seminars. Stakeholders that hardly know one another, or are even at odds, must suddenly sit together. Designing processes incorrectly might just exacerbate differences, opposition and accusations with each stakeholder feeling in the right. Stakeholders may try to keep on good terms to prevent differences becoming more pronounced, but meetings like these stagnate because core issues are not touched on.

Equally, multistakeholder processes or formal collaboration can run effectively when mutual trust and the awareness to understand and respect other stakeholders have been built.<sup>22</sup> Discussions and informal meetings outside formal confines are effective means for building stakeholder trust and openness.<sup>23</sup>

## **Collaboration Requires Patience**

The overall impression from all the activities the authors reported is that collaboration is tiring; it really is a long and winding road! But that too is a learning process making stakeholders more astute and open-minded.

In order to collaborate, people need to communicate and negotiate. Communication and negotiation can flow and give rise to equality when founded on sufficient knowledge of matters at hand and mutual respect. Important things that stand out from all the authors' experiences are that you can communicate and negotiate anywhere, that you do not need to wait for formal coordination and that it is important to communicate and negotiate before commencing any activities.

Policy direction is often influenced by the personalisation of power, which means that changes in government structure or the transfer of officials will invariably be accompanied by changes of policy. Therefore, it is absolutely vital to make





an effort to maintain collaboration every time there is a change of official or government organisational structure. The transfer of officials and government staff is a reality, so a life-long approach is essential.

## **Community Collectivity**

In Indonesia, the importance of an issue is almost always linked to the number of supporters it has. An idea is considered good if many people are in favour of it. So, building community collectivity and alliances are necessary steps. The emphasis here is not on amassing a crowd for support, but on the importance of collaboration to achieve shared objectives. Building community collectivity will require greater energy if community aspirations are distributed across a heterogeneous community.

## **Starting Small**

If the process of institutionalising change is seen as a movement, then starting from many small points is better than launching a large national movement. This will simultaneously show recognition of the diversity within society.

## **Keep On Learning**

The phrase 'learning to the grave' illustrates the enthusiasm necessary for institutionalising change. As a wise man once said, everything changes except change itself. So, learning too must be a continuous process to keep pace with the changes taking place.



#### CONCLUSION

There are two major obstacles to introducing multistakeholder processes in Indonesia as tools for encouraging change. First, the adoption rate for multistakeholder process ideas and practices is slow. Though logically multistakeholder processes are a good and beneficial option, stakeholders still feel they need to see concrete examples of them in everyday practice. Furthermore, stakeholders may still require social support, the 'blessing' of key figures as well as substantive support from society. Second, when multistakeholder processes are adopted, then the implementation of multistakeholder processes as everyday practices can be highly unstable. They can be disrupted simply because a key official is transferred or a strategic position is filled by another person.

The above two conditions indicate in order to ensure a smooth change process, persistent attention to multistakeholder process is needed. Two important aims are to maintain the continuity of changes in trial locations and to expand those changes to other regions.

In short, adapting change in Indonesia requires incredible patience. Yet, if it is a necessity, it can never be evaded.

At the time of writing, funding for a number of multistakeholder forestry projects in Indonesia is officially entering its final stage. This must be seen as a warning: a new process of fostering change must begin soon in order to truly institutionalise and embed multistakeholder processes. Errors in evaluating the latest situation will risk allowing change to head in a completely unwanted direction.

#### **ENDNOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> See Chapter 8.
- <sup>2</sup> See Chapter 2.
- <sup>3</sup> See Chapter 3.
- <sup>4</sup> Indriatmoko, Y., Yuliani, E.L., Tarigan, Y., Gaban, F., Maulana, F., Munggoro, D.W., Lopulalan, D., Adnan, H. (eds) Forthcoming. Cerita dari Desa ke Desa: Dinamika *Gender dan Pengelolaan Kekayaan Alam*. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.
- <sup>5</sup> Tadjudin, Dj. 2000. *Manajemen Kolaborasi*. Pustaka Latin, Bogor. Indonesia.
- <sup>6</sup> See Chapter 3.
- <sup>7</sup> Lampung Province Regional Department of Forestry Office 1993 Rancangan Tanaman Kegiatan Rehabilitasi Hutan Lindung Bantuan OECF (Register 34 Tangkit Tebak). Final Report. Bandar Lampung.
- <sup>8</sup> See Chapter 1.
- <sup>9</sup> See Chapter 10.
- <sup>10</sup> Tadjudin, Dj. 2000. *Manajemen Kolaborasi*. Pustaka Latin, Bogor, Indonesia.
- <sup>11</sup> See Chapter 5.
- <sup>12</sup> Hobley, M. 1996. *Participatory forestry: the process of change in India and Nepal*. ODI, London, England.
- <sup>13</sup> Hobley, M. and Malla, Y. 1996. From forest to forestry. The three ages of forestry in Nepal: privatisation, nationalisation and populism. In: Hobley, M. 1996. *Participatory forestry: the process of change in India and Nepal*. ODI, London, England.
- <sup>14</sup> According to Law No. 32/2004, regional governments are provincial and district governments.
- <sup>15</sup> See Chapter 7.
- <sup>16</sup> See Chapter 5.
- <sup>17</sup> See Chapter 8.
- <sup>18</sup> Institutionalising change here is not intended as an effort to perpetuate a contract or agreement, but more an effort to help change continue and become ingrained at an individual and institutional level
- <sup>19</sup> Kusumanto, T., Yuliani, E.L., Macoun, P., Indriatmoko, Y. and Adnan, H. 2006. *Belajar Beradaptasi: Bersama-sama Mengelola Hutan di Indonesia*. CIFOR, YGB, PSHK-ODA, Bogor, Indonesia.
- This example was taken from a case in a relatively isolated location in Danau Sentarum National Park. One threat it is facing is the exploitation of its natural resources, following growing levels of poverty in the local community caused by rising fuel prices. This rise was itself influenced by world oil trade strategies.

- <sup>21</sup> See Chapter 9.
- <sup>22</sup> See Chapter 4.
- <sup>23</sup> See Chapter 1.

## **Photographs**

Alain Compost, Ani Adiwinata Nawir, Diana Parsell, Hasantoha Adnan, Herwasono Soedjito, Linda Yuliani, Miriam van Heist, Yayan Indriatmoko and Zul MS.

## Reference to this paper

Tadjudin, Dj. and Yuliani, E.L. 2007. Institutionalising change. In: Yuliani, E.L., Tadjudin, Dj., Indriatmoko, Y., Munggoro, D.W., Gaban, F. and Maulana, F. (eds.) *Multistakeholder Forestry: Steps for Change*. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.

The Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) is a leading international forestry research organisation established in 1993 in response to global concerns about the social, environmental, and economic consequences of forest loss and degradation. CIFOR is dedicated to developing policies and technologies for sustainable use and management of forests, and for enhancing the well-being of people in developing countries who rely on tropical forests for their livelihoods. CIFOR is one of the 15 centres supported by the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR). With headquarters in Bogor, Indonesia, CIFOR has regional offices in Brazil, Burkina Faso, Cameroon and Zimbabwe, and it works in over 30 other countries around the world.

#### **Donors**

CIFOR receives its major funding from governments, international development organizations, private foundations and regional organizations. In 2005, CIFOR received financial support from Australia, Asian Development Bank (ADB), Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Centre de coopération internationale en recherche agronomique pour le développement (CIRAD), Cordaid, Conservation International Foundation (CIF), European Commission, Finland, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), Ford Foundation, France, German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), Indonesia, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO), Israel, Italy, The World Conservation Union (IUCN), Japan, Korea, Netherlands, Norway, Netherlands Development Organization, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), Peruvian Secretariat for International Cooperation (RSCI), Philippines, Spain, Sweden, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU), Switzerland, Swiss Agency for the Environment, Forests and Landscape, The Overbrook Foundation, The Nature Conservancy (TNC), Tropical Forest Foundation, Tropenbos International, United States, United Kingdom, United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), World Bank, World Resources Institute (WRI) and World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF).



Multistakeholder processes have been one of the most oft-mentioned terms in the forestry world in the last decade. Many believed that such processes could help promote bottom-up decision making and help ensure equity for marginalised groups. Others argued that multistakeholder processes would ideally provide opportunities for social learning to take place. Have these processes reached their objectives? What have they changed? What are their successes and challenges?

This book, consisting of a series of papers written by Indonesian NGO researchers/facilitators and government officials, shares the authors' experiences, including lessons learned, in promoting multistakeholder forestry processes between 2000 and 2005.

























