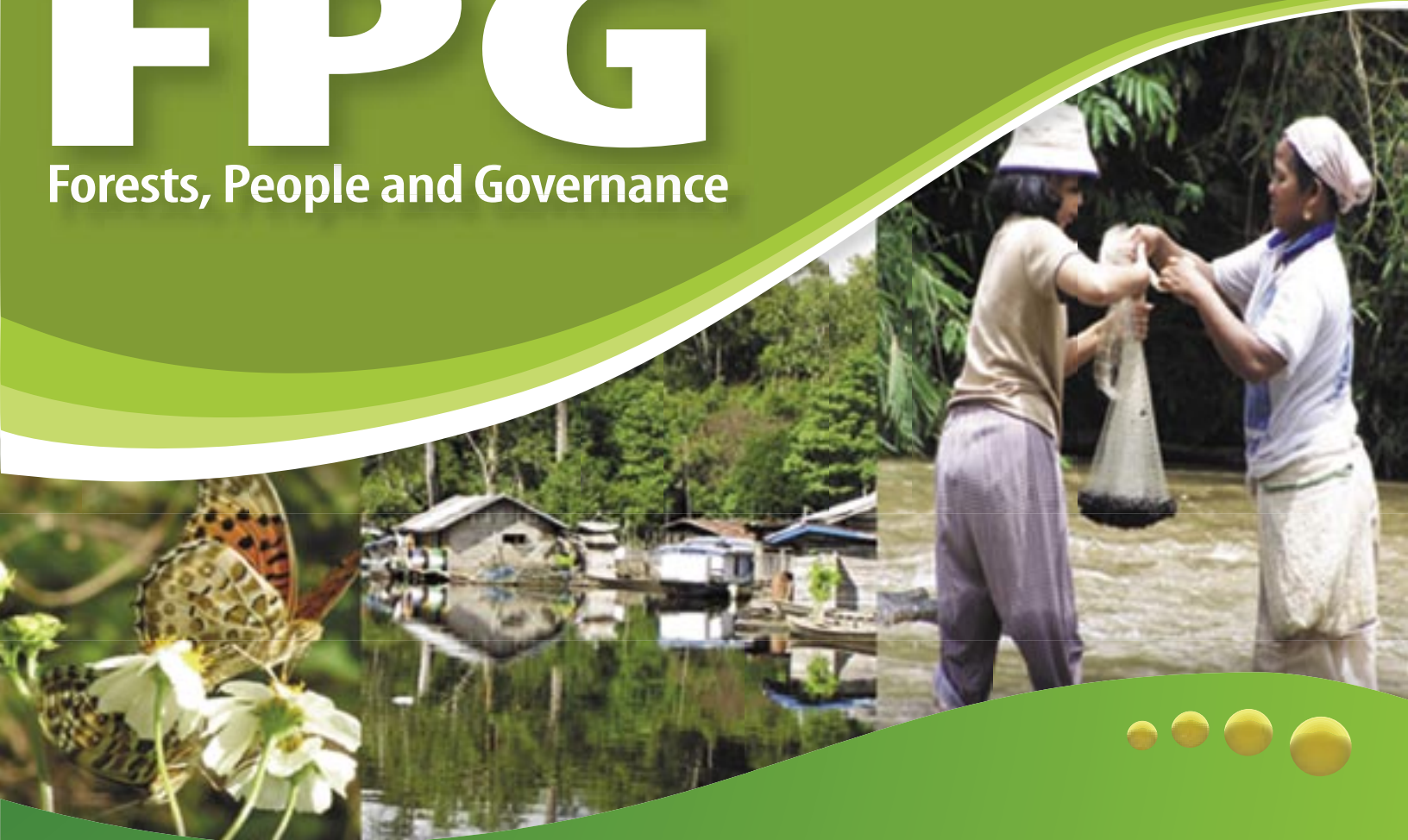


FPG

Forests, People and Governance

GOVERNANCE PROGRAMME
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New Forests and Employment

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The main goals of President S.B. Yudhoyono's government are to improve economic growth, create jobs and alleviate poverty in Indonesia. The government's target is to create 15.6 million new jobs, which means decreasing unemployment from 9.9% in 2004 to 5.1% by 2009. This is expected to reduce poverty from 16.6% to 5.1%. However, this target has already failed to be achieved in 2005. Unemployment increased from 10.3 million people to 10.9 million in 2005; it is expected to rise to 12.15 million in 2006. There is a similar trend in growth rates in the number of underemployed people, currently more than 30 million people.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that there are one million formal forestry sector workers in Indonesia. Another two million work in the informal forestry sector. The Ministry of Forestry (MoF) reports that 150,000 people lost their jobs in forest industries in 2003, and that this increased to 600,000 persons in 2004 due to the shortage of logs. MPI (*Masyarakat Perhutanan Indonesia* or Indonesian Forestry Society) reports that 60% of forest employees lost their jobs in 2005. The furniture industries continue to lose jobs due to weak design, low productivity, shortage of wood materials, competition with China, Vietnam and the Philippines and high transaction costs due to local government regulations. This job loss coincides with the destruction of Indonesia's natural forest.

While the extent of plantation forests in Asia is increasing due to China's forest plantations, Indonesia's 110 million hectares of forest continue to degrade. Illegal logging and forest conversion through IPK (land clearing permits) are difficult to curtail. Indeed, illegal logging provides twice as many jobs as legal logging, while natural forest conversion to agricultural purposes such as oil palm plantations provides as many jobs as legal logging. This gives "rationalization" to illegal logging and forest conversion. Hundreds of thousands of people depend on the jobs these activities provide. In the future, the proportion of forest workers who depend on "bad forestry practices" will increase.

Forestry employment trends

According to International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC) Revision 3.3, the forestry sector includes the sub-sectors of forestry, wood industry and pulp and paper industry. In the forestry sub-sector,

land clearing and illegal logging account for the most employment, followed by industrial forest plantations and legal logging. Woodworking and pulp and paper industries account for more employment than plywood mills and sawmills.

A computer simulation of forestry employment in three main forestry provinces in Indonesia (i.e., Riau, East Kalimantan and Papua) projects continued job increases (up to one million) due to practices of illegal logging, land clearing, industrial forest plantations as well as pulp and paper industries. However, the forestry sector is expected to collapse after 5 years in Riau, 10 years in East Kalimantan, and 15 years in Papua. Under the current forestry practices, these three provinces will experience a boom and bust in employment.

In recent times we have been facing an annual tragedy of floods, fires and landslides. The government of Indonesia is confronted with 60 million hectares of degraded forest, more than 40 million people either un- or underemployed, hundreds of engaged universities and forest research institutes and a US\$1 billion reforestation fund. Can we mobilize these elements into a political movement to press policymakers? Can the government keep its promise to decrease employment and alleviate poverty?

Future scenarios to boost employment

The government has a target of establishing 2.5 million new industrial forest plantations by 2009. This strategy won't help with employment and people's livelihoods. Employment absorption in large-scale forest plantations is much less than for small-scale forestry. To provide one permanent job small-scale forestry needs 3.5 hectares of land whereas a large-scale plantation needs 23.3 hectares of land. In addition, there is no single area of land in Indonesia free from conflict.

To come up with 2.5 million hectares of conflict-free land, the government will encounter unfriendly communities with customary and traditional rights. If the government forces establishment of large-scale plantations in lands traditionally claimed by the communities, 182,000 people will lose jobs. However, if the government builds small-scale forestry this kind of forest plantation development will create 432,000 new and permanent jobs.

Supporters of large-scale plantations might argue that such plantations are more efficient than small-scale ones. They forget that large-scale plantations will create monoculture vegetation, which is vulnerable to diseases and fires. Certainly government and parliament members will have difficulty making millions of small farmers their “cash cow.” But now is the last chance to do it right, to recognize small farmers as actors in forest management. It is time to realize the government goal to alleviate poverty through revitalizing forestry.

What can we do? Actually, the answer is simple. Local community members, individually or collectively, should be given rights to manage 60 million hectares of degraded forest. Since planting trees is a long-term investment, the right to manage must be about 75 years. Each right holder can decide what species she/he plants. The right holder can select fast wood species like Acacia (*Acacia mangium*) and Sengon (*Paraserianthes falcata*) or long-term rotation like Teak (*Tectona grandis*) and Mahogany (*Swietenia mahogany*). The government monitors the execution of this right. If the degraded land is not planted, then the government can take back the right with a penalty if necessary. A right holder is able to sell her/his right to the forest, not the land, to someone else.

If the government executes this scenario—giving the right to manage forests to local communities—new forests will emerge. These diverse new forests will belong to millions of small farmers. The development of the new forests will create 12.6 million permanent jobs, which is 81% of the total targeted by the current government by 2009. Where will the money for establishing forests come from? The government must believe small farmers are able to plant trees with their own effort. They can find tree seedlings easily. They have knowledge, skill, talents and a culture of planting, maintaining and harvesting trees.

The investment needed to establish new forests in 60 million hectares of degraded forest is 90 trillion rupiahs (US\$9 billion). It is similar to three years of losing money due to illegal logging. The local communities will take care of it through their collective action. What the government needs to do is simply to give and secure rights by legalizing existing land claims by the local communities all over Indonesia. It is not the right to own but right to manage and benefit from the new forests they plant. New forests can generate a new future, moving from “rich forest poor people” to “new forests new future.”

Effective Facilitation of Indonesian Learning Platforms for Fostering Cycles of Change: Some Further Discussion

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This is the fourth in a series of articles that assesses learning platforms in Indonesia. The first article introduced the overall work and *guiding questions* for the assessment (Kusumanto *et al.*, 2005). The second discussed the *role of facilitation* in platform processes (Adnan *et al.*, 2005). And the third focused on *shared learning* in platforms and *cross-visits* as a form of learning platforms (Moeliono *et al.*, 2006). In this article we further assess the effectiveness of platforms by trying to answer the following questions:

- To what extent does external facilitation, if any, affect local control of the platform process?
- To what extent are the platforms sustainable or to what extent are they dependent on external facilitation? What factors are behind this?

Buck *et al.* (2001) showed us that a given learning platform can have more impact if the resulting change is institutionalized in a group or an organization. Having

social learning as their core, platforms should be guided by the four dimensions of social learning as asserted by the authors: 1) conflict mitigation and political decision-making; 2) innovation and problem solving; 3) communication and relationship building; and 4) capacity building and community or organizational development.

To have impact, facilitation of learning is needed to trigger change-enhancement of knowledge and skill and change of attitude or values of participants involved in the learning. As shown in the previous article, shared learning and cross-visits as learning platforms can provide opportunities for the development of new alliances, platforms and ways of collaboration. Shared learning also can shape conditions for more open and voluntary communication through a combination of “togetherness” other than common social conditions at home with informal activities, small group discussions, and formal presentations. Here, effective facilitation plays a key role in fostering learning platforms.

Yet, how can facilitation be effective? Our experience showed that it was necessary to develop a shared commitment among participants and between participants and facilitators, particularly in the early stages of the process. Change processes appeared to be most successful when efforts were driven by dedication and initiatives by a willingness to learn. Once participants realized that change was necessary, a process towards change could be designed, catalyzed, facilitated, and iteratively reviewed. Key to starting a facilitation process is building a clear shared vision and values such as participation, accountability, openness, transparency, ownership, and inclusiveness. Lessons from one of our sites, Baru Pelepat, Jambi, in Sumatra, showed that high commitment of stakeholders for improving village conditions was conditional for the level of participation in the election of village representatives.¹ We further learned about the importance of joint identification in who to involve, how to design the election process, what strategies to use, and who should lead the process.

Also, we learned that facilitators should possess the skills and capacity in using methods that can foster cycles of learning/sharing/reflecting/self-evaluating while bringing out the lessons and experiences along the way. Such methods are also helpful for the facilitator in realizing to what extent facilitation supports changes at the individual level. These methods are also key to understanding the views of each participant.

Further, facilitators must understand the platform process itself. Because the facilitator is a process guide, he/she should apply participatory methods that encourage participants to bring out the best of what they have or are capable. It is necessary for facilitators to share their understandings and design the process jointly with the participants. In our fieldwork, learning processes were developed along the participatory action research cycle: observation, planning, action, monitoring and reflection. Because the learning process is jointly designed, both participants and facilitators not only learned about how to design processes, but also came across opportunities for self-improvement or corrections. At this phase, the facilitator became a participant as well. This is the phase that Paulo Freire called the phase in which the teacher becomes student and the student becomes teacher at the same time. For example, during a shared learning about collaborative monitoring in Sumba, a younger staff member of the provincial forestry service expressed her lack of knowledge about participatory methods, while realizing that these are important in collaborative monitoring. Another participant—a community member— then helped to

describe the methods based on his experiences and knowledge. In another instance, when forestry policies were discussed, the forestry staff member gave her ideas in return. All participants are student and teacher at the same time.

What we learned is that facilitation has two sides (or approaches, if one wishes): an inner and outer side. Facilitation combines “inner” shifts in people’s values, aspirations, and behaviors with “outer” shifts in processes, strategies, practices, and systems.

Referring to the questions we posed at the beginning of this article, our observations show that external facilitation affected local control of processes *only* when local people were lacking the knowledge or experience in relation to specific technical or legal aspects of the issue at hand. Sufficient knowledge and experience appeared to be important for the local control of processes and for learning to emerge spontaneously.

Facilitation effectively develops at the later stages if at these phases the external facilitator can “release” him/herself and become part of the “learning with/from each other” process. Where he/she fails to do so, dependence on the external facilitator may become too strong. In the field, although we anticipated this possibility by encouraging active participation, role delegation to local facilitators, and training of local facilitators, it is too early to see if platform processes will endure without external facilitation. However, evidence so far shows that effective facilitation stimulates platform processes to develop in more profound ways than ever imagined before.

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¹ See table in our first article for description of this election activity.

Poverty and Decentralization in East Kalimantan: The Impacts of Regional Autonomy on Dayak Benuaq Livelihoods

Making local government more responsive to the poor: Developing indicators and tools to support sustainable livelihood development under decentralization

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Background

Through the implementation of decentralization reforms many countries have provided local governments with greater opportunities to alleviate poverty. These governments could address poverty more effectively if they had better tools and strategies. The CIFOR-BMZ action research project therefore assists local governments in Bolivia and Indonesia in developing new mechanisms to improve the impact of their poverty alleviation policies and actions.

Objectives

One aim of the project is to create monitoring tools that help local governments measure poverty with locally specific indicators, prioritize actions and evaluate the impacts of their poverty alleviation programs. In this context, the project team is conducting field research to gain insights into the impacts of decentralization on communities in four research locations, two in Bolivia (Bolpebra and El Sena) and two in Indonesia (Malinau and Kutai Barat).

An integral part of the CIFOR-BMZ research was to understand the impacts of regional autonomy on Dayak Benuaq livelihoods in Kutai Barat, East Kalimantan. The study sought to gain insights into the Benuaq's own perception of poverty, document changes happening after decentralization and understand the causal relations behind these ongoing processes.

Methods

Ethnological field research was carried out between 2004 and 2006 in three different Dayak Benuaq villages. The main research methods included participant observation, two household surveys, a well-being survey and many open interviews with villagers, NGOs and local government officials.

Perception of poverty

The Dayak Benuaq share a common understanding of poverty that is largely based on a household's economic situation. People are generally considered as poor if they experience difficulties fulfilling basic needs such as food, housing and clothing. On the contrary a good life, which the Benuaq call *bolupm bueq* is characterized by the satisfaction of all demands, including aspects like infrastructure, health care and job opportunities, with a high priority on education, but also intact social relations.

Impacts of regional autonomy

Decentralization clearly had some positive impacts on Dayak Benuaq livelihoods. The creation of the new district Kutai Barat improved the political participation and self-determination of the formerly marginalized Dayak group as the Benuaq now form the majority of the new district's government.

With regional autonomy infrastructure and government services improved in many areas and new economic opportunities opened up. However, these improvements and opportunities have not been enjoyed by everyone. Official poverty data even shows a stagnation of poverty incidence at a higher level than before decentralization and research findings indicate that inequality within the villages increased dramatically due to the uneven distribution of benefits.

Local governments' poverty alleviation programs are visible in the villages but they often lag behind the expectations of both local government officials and the villagers due to poor implementation and weak control mechanisms. Especially the impacts of decentralization on the natural and social environment were perceived as mainly negative. Conflicts among villagers but also between villagers and companies increased since decentralization. Most conflicts arise about land and

natural resources, both of which have an increasing value. Many conflicts are further complicated through a growing tendency towards individual ownership and weakening traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. Extractive resource use such as logging and increased coal mining activities in Kutai Barat led to a decline of river water and forest quality. The lax control of timber, mining and oil palm companies by local governments further adds to their negative impact on the natural and social sphere.

The situation worsened for most households as prices increased sharply after the fuel subsidies stopped in October 2005 and new forest policies drew back authority to the central government and intensified the control of illegal logging. The increased material wealth was mainly short lived as only a few families used the temporarily high cash income from the timber sector to secure their livelihoods through long-term investments. Currently people are falling back on alternative livelihood strategies, such as increased subsistence production,

rattan and rubber. Beside that, many express the hope that after the timber boom they will soon receive fees or compensation payments from the increasing number of coal mines opening.

Conclusion of preliminary research findings

In Kutai Barat, decentralization generated a variety of new opportunities, but with high costs in the social and natural environment. The unbalanced use of new political and economic opportunities and the extractive use of natural resources will ultimately increase the vulnerability of Dayak Benuaq livelihoods and put environmental and social sustainability at risk unless local government takes action. Counter measures should include the improvement of the implementation of poverty alleviation programs, a long-term development plan based on sustainable resource use and an intensified control of companies in order to minimize their negative impact on the environment and to maximize their benefits for the people.

The Role of Collective Action in Helping People Out of Poverty: Some Early Findings from Jambi

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Collective action plays an important role in many aspects of human interaction, including income generation, risk reduction and public service provision. In the much cited *A Dictionary of Sociology*, Marshal defines collective action as action taken by a group to achieve common interests. Collective action also refers to both the process by which voluntary institutions are created and maintained, and to the groups ranging from voluntary self-help groups to formal organizations that act together to manage resources or to enhance their abilities to take part in policy development.

Collective action can contribute to poverty reduction in several ways. People work together to provide local goods and services. Self-help groups and mutual risk sharing substitute for imperfect credit markets, and microfinance groups allow people to access credit, sometimes helping poor people to build their own assets. Collective action can provide the poor with the opportunity to access services, request protection of claims, and increase bargaining power (Di Gregorio *et al.*, 2005). Collective action allows people to overcome limitations linked to lack of resources, power and voice. Despite its strengths, however, experience has shown that collective action at the local level often remains

limited in its impact if it is not backed by external support (Meinzen-Dick *et al.*, 2001).

A CIFOR research project with support from the CGIAR System-wide Programme on Collective Action and Property Rights (CAPRI) started its activities in early 2005 in Jambi Province, Sumatra, to explore the role of collective action in securing property rights for the poor. Working collaboratively with district government institutions and communities in two districts in the province, we employed a participatory action research approach by catalyzing local communities, facilitating the process of interaction among stakeholders and analyzing government policies and programs considered to have the potential to affect people's motivation to act in groups in order to pursue a common goal. Focusing on two groups of women and men farmers each in two village sites, we engaged in a cycle of identifying local problems, planning and taking actions, and reflecting on what is going well or badly with their actions, as a mechanism for course correction.

The research views poverty as involving more than the income aspect. We considered it to cover various dimensions of human life such as education, health,

security of future welfare, social participation, political decision-making, voicing aspirations and freedom of speech. In our approach, we have tried to emphasize people's potential capabilities to learn and act together to achieve a shared goal, seeing poverty as reflecting difficulties making use of these capabilities.

Our findings to date indicate that there was improvement in the mechanism for developing plans through which local aspirations are channeled; increased chance for people to freely act without restraint and to have their say; and an improved forum for multi-stakeholder processes in policymaking. However, how the policies have affected the ways people act together and the security of property rights for local communities remains a question. Based on the research, the central government's cancellation of devolved authority to issue small-scale timber concessions, for example, has advantages as well as disadvantages. It has, to a large extent, prevented forest resources from further degradation and allowed all stakeholders to reflect on what worked well and what did not. But, it has limited our ability to learn about how property rights may be secured and how such rights could lead people to manage forest resources with clearly-delineated boundaries in a more responsible and sustainable manner.

There are now more opportunities for people to have their voices heard through refinement of mechanisms for planning regional development. Though it is still in its infancy, the role of facilitated interaction among government officials, members of local parliament, villagers and other parties attempting to share information and lessons has increasingly been recognized in improving the content of district policies. Forestry and estate crops programs intended to help community groups become self-sustaining have also been started and the district forestry and estate crops office learned from the process and took advantage of our facilitation function in our research communities.

After a one and half year facilitation process, we have found that there is now increased awareness among the communities about the importance of acting collectively on the livelihood issues they are facing. During the process, the communities collectively acted to get a piece of communal land certified, to engage in a negotiation process with government officials in their attempt to have a greater involvement in forest and land rehabilitation programs and to obtain governmental funding for the propagation of *Jernang* (a non timber product), among other things. *Jernang* is a species of rattan fruit commonly known in the market as *Draconis Sanguisrecin* or Dragon's Blood (*Daemonorops draco*), used as material for coloring, cosmetics, etc. In one of our sites, communities entered into negotiations with an

oil palm company in their effort to have a proper share of the anticipated benefits.

We now often hear the people say "...it is easier to achieve our goal if we work together instead of individually." Thanks to our facilitation between local communities and other stakeholders including district government officials, women's and men's farmer groups have increased confidence in voicing their ideas and thoughts on district development through local forums or meetings with government officials and other external actors.

While the general goal of engaging in collective action between men and women is the same—to seek better options for livelihoods—they have a different motivation. Men are more driven by their concern about village development and often their desire to join a group to pursue government aid that has broad and direct impacts on their livelihoods. Men's groups are mostly government-led initiatives. Women, on the other hand, are inclined to be driven by their interest in specific or domestic subjects such as how to make a piece of land become productive and provide their children with a better education or health. As shown during the catalyzation process, women are more attentive to efficient or effective outcomes of their actions, and prefer to start collective action with small steps. Our findings indicate that women face higher opportunity costs in terms of time and money than men. This has limited women's participation in collective action. Programs that are able to stimulate women's motivation and enthusiasm to participate in collective action spontaneously have a good chance of functioning better than other programs that assume that men and women share the same motivations and constraints.

Our observations indicate that in the case of *Pelhin* (a group of villagers who help each other voluntarily in agricultural activities), the women's group continues to work effectively since the members strongly maintain their non-monetary values as the basis for their collective action. Men's group activities, on the other hand, failed to keep the group together once they started to accept money to compensate for work when members were not able to join in collective activities. Having a better understanding of people's motivations for joining a group would help government and development practitioners to assess whether their programs are hitting or missing the target.

It is worth noting that particular issues attract people to join in collective action. The level of the community's participation varies depending on the issues. People were enthusiastic, for instance, to deliberate on efforts to secure their lands through certification and seek

government funding. Members of the communities taking part in the process are increasing as time goes by. New groups emerged when some other members of the village took the decision to join in a group following the success of the old group in paving the way towards better livelihoods.

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Workshops/Conferences

- A district workshop on "Building Inclusive Multistakeholder Systems for Pro-poor Natural Resources Governance" was held in Luwu Utara, South Sulawesi, from 17-21 April 2006.
- Indonesia Ministry of Forestry's "Forest Research Development Agency" (FORDA) and CIFOR conducted a one-day seminar "Menuju Desa Mandiri: Kebijakan Hutan dan Kesejahteraan" (Moving towards village independence: Forest policy and prosperity) on 18 April 2006 in Jakarta. The seminar looked at research results from the MFP/DFID-funded studies in Malinau.

- Workshop on Designing of Methodology of Participatory Action Research for Mitigating Conflict in Community Forest. This workshop was held in Jayapura Papua, April 2005.
- The Eleventh biennial conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property (IASCP) took place from 19-23 June 2006, on the grounds the Agung Rai Museum of Art (ARMA) in the town of Ubud, Bali, Indonesia. The Conference was hosted by the Center for Agrarian Studies (Pusat Kajian Agraria) of Bogor Agricultural University (IPB). About 15 papers from CIFOR Governance Programme were presented in the conference; Doris Capistrano, Moira Moeliono, Peter Cronkleton, Lini Wollenberg, Deborah Barry and Anne Larson took part in chairing the panel sessions. During the conference, CIFOR also launched a film titled "The People of Baru Pelepat: Learning to Change" and a book titled "Justice in the Forest" (by Marcus Colchester).
- An IUFRO Working Party on Gender Research in Forestry (6.08.01) was held on 21 June 2006 in Umeå, Sweden. This meeting followed a workshop (17-20 June) on Gender and Forestry, organized by Gun Lidestav [Gun.Lidestav@resgeom.slu.se]. Carol Colfer gave a keynote address titled "Important Trends and Ways Forward in Gender and Forestry Research."
- Enhancing Implementation of Sustainable Forest Management through Forest Certification and Reduced Impact Logging (RIL): CIFOR-MRF and the Forest Partnership. This workshop was held in Balikpapan East Kalimantan on 21-22 June. Organized by Tropenbos, CIFOR and WWF.
- Heru Komarudin, Yulia Siagian, Nety Tarigan and Carol Colfer attended a CAPRI (System-wide Initiative on Collective Action and Property Rights) workshop in Bali, on 24 June, which brought together the recipients of CAPRI's BMZ funds for the study of collective action. Heru, Yulia and Nety Tarigan were very involved in preparations for the meeting, since it was held in Indonesia, with participants from Ethiopia, Germany, Indonesia, Kenya, and the US.
- Christiane Ehringhaus, Magna Cunha dos Santos, Marianne Schmink and Noemi Porro are meeting in Acre, Brazil, for a three-day writing workshop (6-8 July). They will update Magna's 2001 report on the ACM work in Acre, update the information, and add new data on impact and scaling up of ACM ideas in the region.
- Upcoming Regional Workshop: Forest Governance and Decentralization in Asia. AFP-BUWAL-CIFOR. 4-6 September 2006 in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
- Siegfried Lewark (siegfried.lewark@fobawi.uni-freiburg.de), of Freiburg University (and head of the IUFRO Gender and Forestry Education Working Group, 6.8.02), is running another free course on gender and forestry on the internet from November 2006 to February 2007.

Photos by Douglas Sheil and Carol Colfer



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