



# 7

## Potential for integration?

### An assessment of national environment and development policies

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#### Introduction

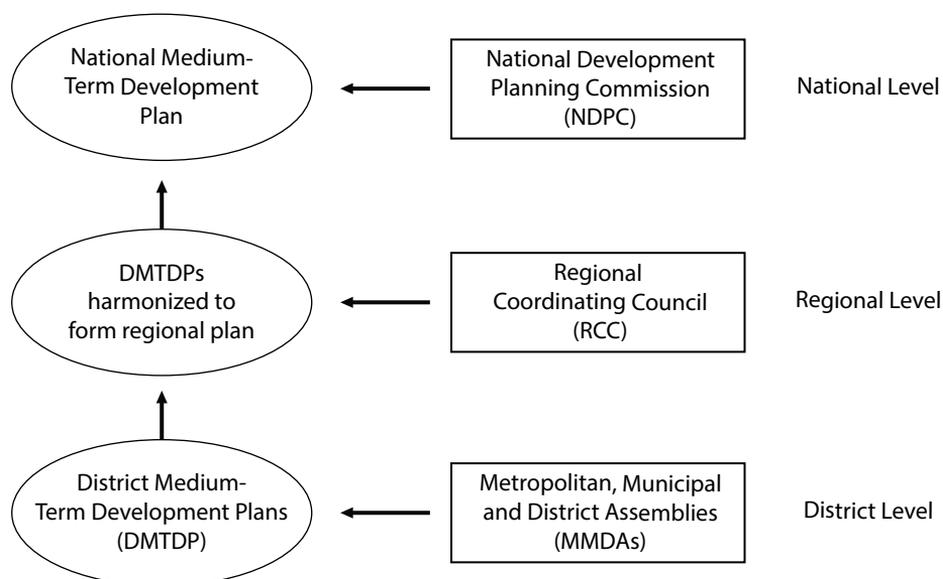
A national policy review was conducted for each of the focus countries (Ghana, Indonesia and Zambia) to identify opportunities and challenges for operationalizing landscape approaches. Landscapes are inherently complex, providing multiple functions that affect a diverse range of stakeholders. With numerous sectors and policies regulating land-use activities and influencing the landscape, it is challenging to identify and explore all policies that could potentially support or hinder the implementation of landscape approaches. For this reason, this review focused on the most recent development plans of each country and the policies identified to support and/or implement development plan objectives. After reviewing relevant policy literature, both peer-reviewed papers and gray literature from non-governmental organizations were used to collect information on the plans and policies applied in practice. Using 10 landscape approach principles (Sayer et al. 2013) as a guide, we discuss the national policy climate in each country and the potential for operationalizing landscape approaches.

## 7.1 Ghana

We reviewed the objectives of Ghana's Medium-Term National Development Policy Framework for the period 2018–2021. We discuss several policies and natural resource management schemes that promote development objectives and their potential to support a landscape approaches.

### 7.1.1 Key findings

Ghana's Medium-Term National Development Policy Framework (2018–2021) *Agenda for Jobs: Creating Prosperity and Equal Opportunity for All* is the sixth in a series of policy frameworks designed to guide Ghana's development (NDPC 2017). The framework is coordinated by the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), responsible for synthesizing development priorities identified through a multilevel process (see Figure 7.1). At the district level, metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies (MMDAs) are responsible for the preparation and submission of district-level development plans. MMDAs are a platform for community members, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and traditional authorities to identify community needs and planning priorities (NDPC 2017). Next, the regional coordinating councils (RCCs) harmonize district-level plans into regional development plans and submit them to the NDPC for formulation of the national plan. The NDPC is also required to establish and utilize cross-sectorial planning groups (CSPGs) consisting of representatives of the NDPC, relevant sector ministries, and public- and private-sector institutions and organizations. CSPGs are expected to convene at least once every 3 months and to work together on cross-sectorial development issues (NDPC 2017).



**Figure 7.1 National development planning process.**

Source: Adapted from NDPC (2017)

In Ghana, urbanization is outpacing development, and this challenge is reflected in the priorities outlined in the most recent Medium-Term National Development Policy Framework. The strategic areas of the policy framework include: restoring the economy, transforming agriculture and industry, strengthening social protection and inclusion, revamping socioeconomic infrastructure and reforming public delivery institutions (NDPC 2017). The plan cites falling demand for traditional exports, unstable global commodity prices (gold, cocoa, oil), an underperforming agriculture and manufacturing sectors as key contributors to revenue shortfalls and an incapacity to implement past development plans (NDPC 2017). The policy framework calls attention to commercial production of oil and gas as an emerging opportunity for the country. In collaboration with the private sector, oil exploration is expected to accelerate in the Voltaian, Keta and Accra Basins (NDPC 2017). The Voltaian Basin alone covers approximately 40% of the country's land mass (CBD 2016).

It is evident that Ghana's policy framework is geared toward large-scale, near-term development, which raises questions regarding environmental impacts and related socio-economic reverberations. Concerns surrounding future development plans stem from Ghana's past and present challenges around competing land uses. A growing population, agricultural expansion, intensification of cocoa and oil palm, illegal timber harvesting, and illegal small-scale mining (commonly known as *galamsey*) have increased social tensions, contaminated water sources, and degraded land and biodiversity (CBD 2016; NDPC 2017; UNDP 2018). The national policy framework acknowledges the need to reconcile conservation and development needs and outlines a number of focus areas for the 2018–2021 time frame. For example, the framework commits to ensuring the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Petroleum Commission work together on environmentally sound exploration and production of oil and gas. Other focus areas include restoring degraded land, improving land administration and management, expanding protected areas and increasing resilience to climate change (NDPC 2017).

Several contemporary policies support these broad objectives in Ghana. For instance, the National Environmental Policy of 2014 aims to integrate environmental consideration in sectorial, structural and socioeconomic planning at all levels (MLNR 2016). The National Climate Change Policy (NCCP) was launched in 2014 to guide Ghana toward a climate-resilient economy through low-carbon growth (NDPC 2017). A pillar of the national climate change agenda is Ghana's REDD+ Strategy (Forestry Commission 2016) and the supporting National Forest Reference Level (FRL) plan. The FRL plan will serve as the baseline for monitoring emissions reductions from REDD+ activities aimed at reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (National REDD+ Secretariat 2017).

The Forest and Wildlife Policy of 2012 regulated by the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources (MLNR) marked a shift in policy focus from timber to conservation. The policy calls for sustainable conservation and development of forest and wildlife resources to sustain socioeconomic and cultural benefits, while fulfilling Ghana's commitments to international agreements and conventions (MLNR 2012; Adom 2017). Relatedly, the Forestry Development Master Plan (FDMP) (2016–2036) seeks to transform the forestry sector by implementing the objectives of the Forest and Wildlife Policy and the National Climate Change Policy. The plan intends to follow an ecosystem-based strategy that

considers the interactions between government, organizations, industry, traditional authorities and landowners (MLNR 2016).

Two natural resource management schemes that embody the above policies are the Modified Taungya System (MTS) and the community resource management areas (CREMAs). The MTS is a co-management reforestation arrangement between the Ghana Forestry Commission and local communities (Foli et al. 2018). The scheme is a legally binding land lease that recognizes farmers as co-owners of forest plantations until tree crops mature (after around 3 years) (Acheampong et al. 2016). During this time, farmers can intercrop food crops and receive 100% of the proceeds. They are also entitled to 40% of tree revenues once the trees have matured after three years (Acheampong et al. 2016; Foli et al. 2018).

The second scheme, CREMAs, was initiated in the early 2000s by the Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission to sustainably manage natural resources outside of protected areas, in turn, reducing pressure on wildlife and forest reserves (Foli et al. 2018). In exchange for sustainable management, communities are granted rights to the economic benefits derived from natural resources within the CREMAs. Today, there are approximately 30 CREMAs across the country (Foli et al. 2018). The passage of the pending Wildlife and Resources Management Bill would help mainstream CREMA and community participation in wildlife and forest resource management into Ghana's institutional framework.

Despite the apparent progress in recent policy development, barriers to implementing these policies and natural resource management schemes persist. As a member of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), Ghana developed the National Biodiversity Strategy (NBSAP) to oversee the sustainable use of biological resources (CBD 2016). The NBSAP report credits the national development agenda with capturing biodiversity issues, but identifies a serious lack of coordination across sectors, particularly at the national level. The report describes a case where a farmer illegally cultivated parts of a wildlife reserve, causing conflict with the Forestry Commission. Yet, the same farmer received a district farming award from the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, and the farm was used as an agricultural demonstration site (CBD 2016, 32). The Ministry of Environment, Science, Technology and Innovation (MESTI), Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources (MLNR) and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA) were supposed to establish an environmental desk at their respective ministries to enhance cross-sectorial coordination and prevent cases such as the farmer described above. However, due to a lack of resources and coordinating capacity, the MoFA was the only ministry with an environmental desk at the time of the report (CBD 2016).

A lack of coordinating capacity across sectors is further challenged by a national spatial planning system that has largely operated in isolation from development planning. Acheampong and Ibrahim (2016) describe how 'socio-economic' is treated as separate from 'spatial', leading to two distinct planning systems with different institutional frameworks and policies, further dividing and complicating land-use plans. A need for coordination across sectors and stakeholder groups has become the prevailing narrative throughout the literature assessing Ghana's policies and development objectives (Mensah 2005; CBD 2016; NDPC 2017; UNDP 2018; Government of Ghana 2019).

### 7.1.2 The potential for landscape approaches in Ghana

When applying the 10 principles of the landscape approach (see Sayer et al. 2013) to the key findings of Ghana's national policy review, two clear gaps emerge: a need to strengthen stakeholder capacity (Principle 10), and a need to negotiate a transparent change logic (Principle 6) across sectors. In order to establish a transparent change logic that is understood and endorsed across sectors and stakeholder groups, identifying common concern entry points (Principle 2) and clarifying rights and responsibilities (Principle 7) is needed. The objectives of the Medium-Term National Development Policy (MTDP) framework are focused on restoring the economy, with an emphasis on oil and gas. With large-scale natural resource extraction on the horizon, effective cross-sectorial and multi-stakeholder collaboration is crucial if Ghana is to concurrently fulfil its environmental commitments.

A review of the Medium-Term National Development Policy Framework process revealed there are existing platforms that could be leveraged to enhance stakeholder engagement. For example, the metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies (MMDAs) are designed as a platform for multiple stakeholders (Principle 5) to identify community needs and development priorities. The cross-sectorial planning groups (CSPGs), required to convene at least once every 3 months, also have potential for multi-stakeholder collaboration. As we discussed, there are many policies that support integration of development and conservation objectives (i.e. National Environmental Policy, Forestry Development Master Plan, REDD+, The Forest and Wildlife Policy, etc.) and encourage multifunctional (Principle 4) landscapes; the challenge is ensuring that these policies are enacted.

Although policies and platforms are in place to facilitate improved collaboration across sectors and stakeholder groups, rectifying these issues at the national scale is an enormous undertaking. Foli et al. (2018) assessed some locally embedded natural resource management initiatives in Ghana and Burkina Faso that showed potential to be entry points for integrated landscape approaches. The study found Ghana's CREMAs scheme met most of the desired criteria for operationalizing landscape approaches and showed potential to be scaled up for far-reaching landscape governance (Foli et al. 2018). A commitment to upscale CREMAs could be an excellent opportunity to work toward the aforementioned landscape approach principles.

## 7.2 Zambia

The review focused on Zambia's current development plan (The 7<sup>th</sup> National Development Plan (7NDP)) and several policies designed to accomplish development objectives. Three key themes were identified: diversification, decentralization and integration. This summary will touch on each, followed by an overview of the related opportunities and constraints for operationalizing landscape approaches within Zambia's current policy climate.

### 7.2.1 Key findings

Zambia's development is challenged by a vulnerable economy, amplified by the need to meet the demands of a growing population. Between 2006 and 2016, Zambia's population rapidly increased from 11.8 million to 15.9 million (MNDP 2017), with mounting pressure on natural resources for food, wood fuel, infrastructure and income. Informal settlements and expansion of agricultural land have led to the encroachment of game management areas, national parks and forest reserves (GRZ 2006, 2015a; Mabeta et al. 2018). The 7NDP (2017–2021) aims to alleviate these stresses by working toward a resilient economy that enables opportunities for both rural and urban dwellers.

*Diversification:* Presently, the Zambian economy is heavily dependent on mining and agriculture, both of which are vulnerable to external shocks such as fluctuating market prices and hard-hitting environmental shocks exacerbated by climate change (MNDP 2017). For these reasons, a priority of the 7NDP is establishing a diverse economy, resilient to external shocks. Agriculture, mining and tourism have been prioritized for their high growth potential. Focus has been placed on increasing the productivity of smallholder farmers and the agro-diversification of crops, fisheries, livestock and forestry products (MNDP 2017). To mitigate the effects of climate change, the 7NDP promotes the adoption of climate-smart agriculture techniques such as agroforestry, conservation farming, crop rotation and organic fertilizers (MNDP 2017).

Diversifying agricultural production and the other priority sectors will require significant infrastructure development and investment in small-scale producer groups. Challenges surrounding land tenure, lack of transport and reliable energy threaten production and dissuades investors and long-term investment in land by smallholders. Another challenge is the high cost of taxes and fees (licensing, inspections, impact assessments), preventing long-term investment and proving unaffordable for smallholder producers (MNDP 2017; Mabeta et al. 2018).

*Decentralization:* The decentralization policy is key to the implementation of the 7NDP, but implementation is contingent on the enactment of the recently (2018) amended Public Finance Act. The policy's objective is to devolve central government authority and resources to provincial, district and subdistrict levels. The policy is supported by a number of existing policies and laws encouraging governance at multiple scales such as the Registration and Development of Villages Act (GRZ 1971). Another example is the Urban and Regional Planning Act of 2015, which established guidelines for multi-sector and multi-level governance for integrated urban and regional planning (GRZ 2015b). Other examples include the Forestry Policy (2014) and Forests Act (2015), which decentralize forest management through Community Forest Management (CFM), Joint Forest Management (JFM) and Private Forest Management (PFM) (GRZ 2017). To be effective, all of these policies require collaboration with multiple sectors, actors and levels of government, underscoring the importance of integration.

*Integration:* The 7NDP departs from the prevailing top-down sectorial approach toward a new vision of multisectorial integration. The plan introduced several new coordination mechanisms. The cluster advisory groups (CAGs), composed of sectors

sharing common objectives, are an example. Prior to the 7NDP officially adopting an integrated approach, several policies, strategies and structural changes were already reflecting this shift and could be utilized to help achieve 7NDP objectives. For instance, the Second National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (NBSAP-2), formulated by the Ministry of Lands, Natural Resources and Environmental Protection (MLNREP) to implement the goals of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) matched CBD targets with groupings of ministries across sectors responsible for their completion (GRZ 2015a). Another notable shift toward integration is the harmonization of the Second National Agricultural Policy (SNAP) and the National Policy on Climate Change (NPCC) (GRZ 2013).

### 7.2.2 The potential for landscape approaches in Zambia

The policy trends outlined reveal favorable conditions for operationalizing landscape approaches. Impressive first steps have been made that align with the 10 principles of the landscape approach (see Sayer et al. 2013). For example, the 7NDP's focus on diversification, specifically through integration, signals Zambia's commitment to adaptive management (Principle 1) and resilience (Principle 9) to external shocks.

Further, national strategies such as the 7NDP and NBSAP-2 recognize the many stakeholders (Principle 5) and land uses (Principle 4) shaping Zambia's landscape. Each of these key development strategies identifies cross-sectorial groups that need to work together, which links to Principle 2 (Common concern entry point) and Principle 7 (Clarify rights and responsibilities). However, for policies constructed at the national level to be successfully realized, they will need to be renegotiated at the provincial, district and ward levels. This ties into Principle 6 (Negotiated and transparent change logic).

Decentralization is a focal point across many of Zambia's strategies and policies. However, the devolution of power means that more people are given more responsibilities, drawing attention to an ongoing struggle in Zambia –lack of capacity. Without the technical capacity, fiscal capacity and necessary skills, it is difficult for people to step into new roles and make the most of the rights they are given. All the national strategies in the review cited lack of capacity as a major roadblock to the success of previous plans. Consequently, this has resulted in unfulfilled potential of well-intended acts and policies. One of the greatest consequences of lack of capacity is the inability to monitor and evaluate and share information (Principle 8). Without monitoring and evaluation, it is difficult to learn and adapt (Principle 1) and understand changes at multiple scales (Principle 3), which ultimately reduces resilience (Principle 9).

Strengthening stakeholder capacity is simultaneously the biggest challenge and the best opportunity for operationalizing landscape approaches in Zambia, especially since capacity building takes time and Zambia is facing pressure to develop rapidly. A lack of capacity makes it difficult to operationalize landscape approaches, as nearly all the other principles depend on it. At the same time, this underscores how impactful investing in Principle 10 (Strengthened stakeholder capacity) could be.

## 7.3 Indonesia

The review focused on Indonesia's current development approach and several policies and plans designed to accomplish environmental and developmental objectives. The Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) policy, One Map policy, and the Social Forestry policy were selected for a more in-depth analysis of Indonesian policy in practice. These policies were selected based on their alignment with the goals of the current National Development Plan, as well as many of the objectives of a landscape approach. Consequently, these examples provide valuable insights into the potential challenges and opportunities for operationalizing landscape approaches in Indonesia.

### 7.3.1 Key findings

Indonesia's development is guided by the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) for the period 2005–2025. The RPJPN is broken into four, 5-year stages, referred to as the National Medium-Term Development Plans (RPJMN). The most recent Medium-Term Development Plan for the period 2015–2019 identified an inclusive green economy as the pathway forward for development (LSE 2015). Establishing a green economy requires overcoming Indonesia's long-standing challenges with transparency, inclusion and regulation, which have created a dichotomy between conservation and development and forest and non-forest areas. This has manifested into the exploitation of natural resources, extreme biodiversity loss and the marginalization of vulnerable groups.

In Indonesia, planning processes tend to fall into one of three streams: national spatial planning (RTRWN), development planning (RPJPN) and strategic environmental assessment (KLHS). The KLHS is meant to underpin spatial planning and development to ensure sustainable land use, but evidence of this in practice remains scarce. For example, RTRWN is supported by Law 26/2007 which stipulates that provincial and local land-use policy should be formulated based on the region's environmental carrying capacity (Ardiansyah et al. 2015). Yet, ongoing deforestation and peatland degradation clearly indicate a discrepancy between policy and practice.

In addition to the horizontal disconnect across sectors and planning streams, a vertical disconnect also exists. Decentralization in Indonesia is supported by a number of laws and policies devolving rights and responsibilities from central to local government (i.e. Law 32/2004 on Regional Administration, Law 33/2004 on Fiscal Balance between Central and Regional Governments, Law 23/2014 on the Village). Decentralization is important for giving local governments the authority to address their context-specific needs, but these decentralized roles and responsibilities must be clearly defined. Further, a lack of coordination and communication has resulted in policies issued at the national scale contradicting those formed by provincial and local governments and *adat* (customary) law (Pisani 2014; Ardiansyah et al. 2015).

When analyzing the ISPO, Social Forestry and One Map policies, these vertical and horizontal disconnects become even more apparent. For example, the ISPO is a policy adopted by the Ministry of Agriculture with the aim of improving the competitiveness of palm oil on the global market, meet greenhouse gas reduction targets and adhere to

biodiversity conservation policies (ISPO 2013). While the policy was made mandatory in 2014 for all oil palm plantations, smallholders were given until 2020 to comply (Jelsma and Schoneveld 2016). Yet, to date, less than 1% of smallholders are certified under ISPO (Jong 2018). ISPO certification requirements are difficult to meet for smallholders who manage their land without formal boundaries, have no proof of land ownership and have poor access to extension services. This shows a vertical disconnect between ISPO requirements designed at the national scale and on-the-ground realities. ISPO also illustrates a horizontal disconnect. Oil palm plantations for biofuel production are exempt from ISPO certification. Indonesia has one of the most ambitious biofuel blending targets in the world, predicated on the expansion of oil palm plantations and conflicting with the National Action Plan to Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions (RAN-GRK) and other environmental policies (Anderson et al. 2016; Artati et al. 2019).

A closer look at the Social Forestry policy and One Map policy reveals a similar story. The One Map policy aims to reconcile land-use conflicts through a single, unified map. The policy has reportedly reconciled 85 maps managed by 19 government agencies across the country (Gokkon 2018). However, there are criticisms of the One Map policy and public participation. Communities often do not have access to mapping tools, but some have received support from the Participatory Mapping Network (JKPP). These maps were rejected by the Geospatial Information Agency (Badan Informasi Geospasial or BIG), because of the use of a less accurate GPS receiver, but the 'standard' device was much more expensive (Shahab 2016). This begs the question: for whom and at what scale is this policy accessible? And what will these 'reconciled' maps look like on the ground? It should be noted that Social Forestry maps will be included in the One Map database, at the behest of President Joko Widodo's Social Forestry policy.

Social Forestry aims to devolve legal access to state forest land to improve land rights, support livelihoods and achieve conservation outcomes through five different social forestry schemes (Fisher et al. 2018). The Social Forestry program is regulated by Social Forestry decree P83/2016 and administered through the Forestry Agency. The policy is legally mandated by the MoEF and thus regulated by forestry laws. However, Social Forestry falls under the category of land use, meaning it is also bound by laws on villages, land, spatial planning and the national and regional development plans (Moeliono et al. 2017). This has made the program difficult to navigate and regulate. In addition, the Social Forestry permitting process is expensive and requires technical and fiscal capacity to map forest boundaries and provide the required documentation. Again, this highlights the vertical disconnect between policy and implementation.

### 7.3.2 The potential for landscape approaches in Indonesia

A number of landscape approach principles (see Sayer et al. 2013) are reflected in Indonesia's national policies and plans. Indonesia's National Medium-Term Development Plan acknowledges multiple land uses (Principle 4) and the need to reconcile development and conservation objectives to enhance resilience (Principle 9) and climate change adaptation (Principle 1) through the development of an inclusive green economy. To make this goal a reality, changes are needed to improve transparency, enhance regulation and prevent the exclusion of marginalized groups.

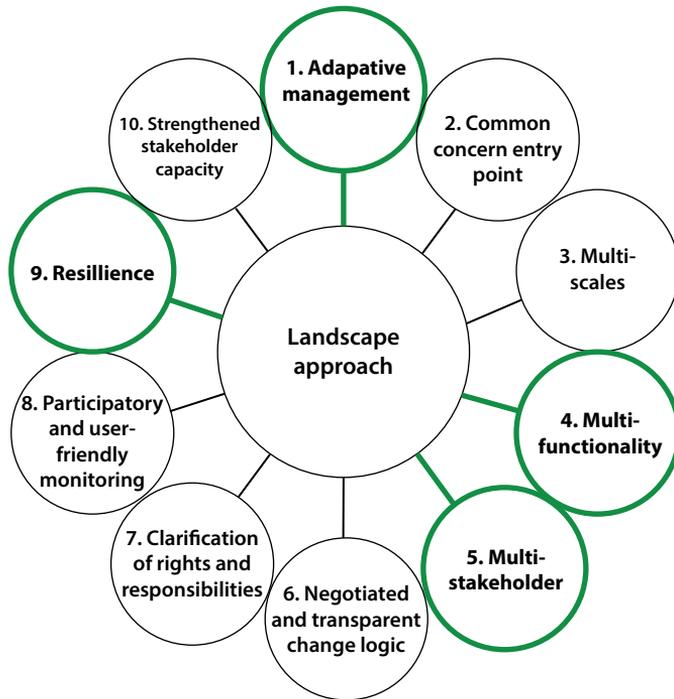


Figure 7.2 Common landscape approach principles found across each country's national development plans.

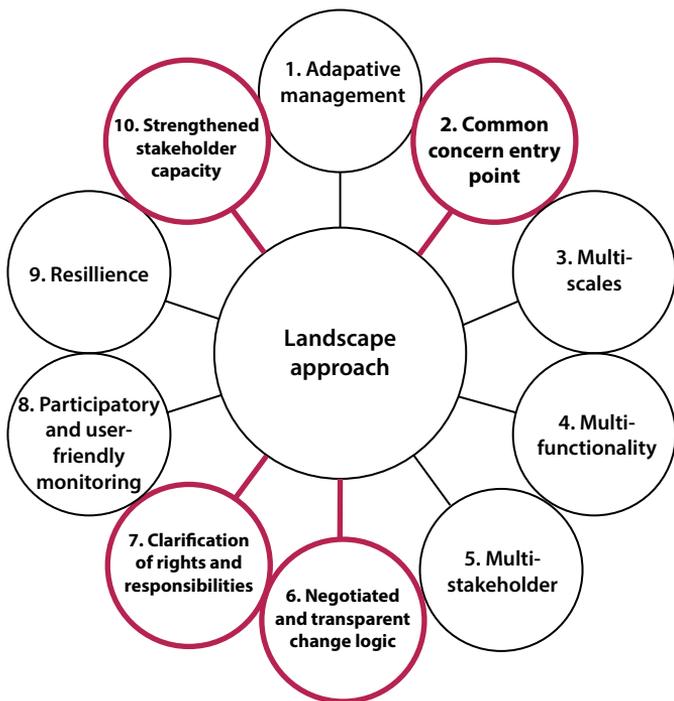


Figure 7.3 Landscape approach principles requiring further action.

The three policies discussed have sought to address these challenges. For example, the ISPO policy had potential to act as a regulatory framework for sustainable palm oil production. The One Map policy was designed to improve transparency and clarify land rights (Principle 7). One Map also recognizes the multifunctionality (Principle 4) and multiple stakeholders across a landscape (Principle 5). Finally, the Social Forestry policy aims to give rights and responsibilities (Principle 7) to communities in hopes of fostering community forest management that increases stakeholder capacity (Principle 10) and allows the integrated management of multiple land uses (Principle 4).

However, as the discussion of the three policy examples revealed, national policy has seldom led to implementation at the local scale. The ISPO requirements proved inaccessible for smallholders, although with the appropriate support, smallholder groups have the potential to significantly impact conservation and development outcomes. Moreover, the objectives of the policy contradicted those from other sectors. In the case of the One Map policy, technical capacity was a limiting factor for the participation of communities. Finally, the Social Forestry policy's goal to devolve rights to communities was overshadowed by top-down and rigidly structured requirements for each Social Forestry scheme and permitting process.

A closer look at these policies and the barriers to their implementation offers valuable insights into potential constraints and opportunities for operationalizing landscape approaches in Indonesia. These challenge areas are where landscape approach principles could be of greatest assistance. Particularly identifying common concern entry points (Principle 2), clarifying rights and responsibilities (Principle 7) and enhancing stakeholder capacity (Principle 10) are particularly need to move forward. Meanwhile, adopting landscape approaches that engages multiple stakeholders (Principle 5) to identify a negotiated and transparent change logic (Principle 6) would offer significant potential to enhance Indonesian policy performance and ensure that policy development is more representative of national *and* local concerns and practices.

## Concluding remarks

Although the context and policies in each country were vastly different, common findings emerged (Figures 7.2 and 7.3). First, each country's national development plan called for development that enhances adaptive management (Principle 1) to foster a more resilient (Principle 9) economy and environment, especially in the face of climate change. This is fundamental to the process of implementing landscape approaches. The plans recognize multiple land uses (Principle 4) and stakeholders (Principle 5); again, very much in line with landscape approach thinking. Further, each country's development plan had an element of decentralizing land management rights and responsibilities to different stakeholder groups. However, peer-reviewed papers and project reports showed that in many cases, these well-intended policies had yet to be implemented, or fell short in practice.

Overall, there is a need to clarify rights and responsibilities (Principle 7), enhance stakeholder capacity (Principle 10), identify common concern entry points (Principle 2)

and to find a negotiated and transparent change logic (Principle 6) that resonates at not just the national level, but at regional and local levels too. We suggest that a greater commitment to these principles and the adoption of landscape approaches holds potential for each of the countries to aid delivery of their respective environment and development objectives.

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