8-2-2013

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Abstract. Centralized approach is no longer perceived as effective in managing natural resources such as the forest. In line with the good governance movement, practices of forest resource management have changed from one-bureaucratic show into partnership. Consequently, the concept of transparency, accountability, and broader public participations should be institutionalized to improve the sustainability of forest management. By using the experience of Banyumas' forest communities as case studies, this research aims to examine the extent to which the practice of good governance in forest management develops and influences the sustainability of forest management. Since this study was been intended to reveal the process of governance practices at the level of community-based organization, it uses the descriptive-qualitative approach in its analysis. The result of this study shows that participatory forest monitoring, transparency and accountable asset utilization have been practiced by the local forestry organization in their forest management. The researcher also found that strong traditions and local leadership contributes positively to good governance practices by providing cultural dialogue forum, social control and a spirit of volunteering..

Keywords: accountability, forest management, participation, partnership, transparency.

Abstrak. *Sumber daya alam seperti hutan tidak lagi efektif untuk dikelola dengan pendekatan terpusat. Sejalan dengan gerakan pemerintahan yang baik, praktik pengelolaan sumber daya hutan telah berubah dari satu-cara birokrasi kepada cara-cara kemitraan. Akibatnya, konsep transparansi, akuntabilitas, dan partisipasi publik yang lebih luas harus dilembagakan untuk meningkatkan kelestarian hutan. Dengan menggunakan pengalaman masyarakat di hutan Banyumas sebagai studi kasus, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menguji sejauh mana praktek gerakan pemerintahan yang baikdidalam pengelolaan hutan untuk mengembangkan dan mempengaruhi kesesuaian pengelolaan hutan. Karena penelitian ini telah dimaksudkan untuk mengungkapkan proses praktek tata kelola pada tingkat masyarakat berbasis organisasi, penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif-kualitatif dalam analisisnya. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa penyertaan dalam pemantauan hutan , transparansi dan akuntabilitas dalam pemanfaatan aset telah dipraktekkan oleh organisasi kehutanan setempat dalam pengelolaan hutan. Saya juga menemukan bahwa tradisi yang kuat dan kepemimpinan lokal memberikan kontribusi positif bagi praktek tata kelola yang baik dengan menyediakan forum dialog budaya, kontrol sosial dan semangat sukarela.*

Kata kunci: *akuntabilitas, pengelolaan hutan, partisipasi, kemitraan, transparansi*

INTRODUCTION

The centralized approach is no longer effective for management of natural resources. Lessons learnt from the past showed that forest management with state-dominated bureaucracy failed to address forest-based rural poverty and illegal logging, which also involves financial backers, forest rangers, and security forces (Rosyadi, 2005). Ironically, forest rural communities living in poverty are often accused as the main agents behind the losses. These circumstances had put highly conflicting relationship between forestry bureaucracy and the people in terms of forest management. In other words, public governance in the forestry sector is still problematic.

In line with good governance movement, practices of forest resource management are encouraged to shift from one-bureaucratic show into partnership. A study reported that public participation in forest management has led to better outcomes both in economical as well as environmental result, because it fosters mutual cooperation and benefits all parties (Muraly, Murthy, and Ravindranath, 2002; Nasikh, 2009). In Banyumas region, the implementation of forest co-management policy (pengelolaan hutan bersama masyarakat, well-known as PHBM) since 2001 has indicated some efforts to empower people and their institutions. Under PHBM, state-owned forestry corporation/SFC–Perhutani– particularly in East Banyumas region has shared forest resource profit gains to people through their forest-village community institution. Data shows that since the last four years, SFC in East Banyumas region has shared its profit in excess of 200 million rupiah from sales of timber and 800 million from non-timber sales, such as resin/latex (East Banyumas State Corporation, 2010). The policy of profit sharing is based on a new set of regulations in forest management which puts people as partners rather than outsiders. As a consequence, people and their institution can get access to their rights.

In addition to the profit sharing, under PHBM policy, people also has more rights to manage the state forest through their local forest institution, well-known as Lembaga Masyarakat Desa Hutan or LMDH (forest-village community institution). In good governance perspective, referring to McCall and Minang, 2005, power relationships between the governed (forest community) and the governing (SFC) in the context of PHBM policy implementation has shifted. In the past, the governing party possessed very powerful rights over forest resources management. Meanwhile, people were marginalized from taking benefits over the state forest resources existing in the vicinity of their village. With the PHBM policy in place, the decision making, the planning and the implementation of the policy have shifted from the governing to the governed side.

The situation change as a result of the policy implementation is interesting, mainly when we examine whether local people can manage the additional resources and power they have received from the PHBM policy implementation in 2001. Some studies provide conflicting findings. Some reported that local people are successful to promote good governance in the forest management at local level (Ostrom, 2009; Kunwar and Parajuli, 2007; Muralia, Murthy and Ravindranath, 2006; McCall and Minang, 2005) but another study found that local institutions failed to manage the forest resource due to lack of governance capacity (Smith, 2001; Hayama and Seki, 2006). To bridge conflicting results of previous studies, this study tries to provide a qualitative description of how local people and their institution practice good governance principles such as participation, transparency, and accountability in managing their newly given resource and power.

RESEARCH METHODS

Qualitative approach with a case study is deployed to examine good governance practices at local institutional level in depth. Participation, transparency, and accountability became a research focus to get a descriptive process of forest management by local forest organization with their members and other stakeholders. These three main dimensions of good governance represent core concepts for understanding good governance since they are the means towards political-ethical higher values of strengthening legitimacy of local forestry organization and reinforcing competence dealing with decentralized forest mangement (McCall and Minang, 2005). The case study of good governance practices has been purposively selected in Kalisalak Village, a forest village around Slamet Mountain in Banyumas District, Central Java. Selection of research location is based on the previous study finding that local forestry organization in Kalisalak Village which is more active and sustainable than other villages in forest management (Rosyadi, 2010).

Data collection was undertaken from July to December 2010 with observation, in depth-interview and documentation. Informants were purposively selected in this study. They consisted of leaders of forest villagers, forestry organization, and SFC officers. Thematic and comparative analyses were used to build explanation on participation, transparency, and accountability practices in relation with forest management at local level.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Forestry resources in developing countries like Indonesia are increasingly degraded since they are problematic in regard of governance. International perspective views governance as rules under which power is exercised in the management of resources and the relationship between state and its citizens, civil society and the private sector (Brown et al, 2002). Frequently where a country is practicing bad governance, natural resources like forestry become worst.

The forest management in Banyumas District can be noticed from any program of forest management started since 1972. The program includes prosperity approach, forest village development, social forestry and newly collaborative forest management (pengelolaan hutan bersama masyarakat or PHBM). Before the PHBM is applied, the forest in Banyumas can reflect national constellation to certain extent. Illegal logging, illegal field management and conflict between SFC and people sacrificed resource of forest at the critical level.

Study conducted by Rosyadi (2005) in Banyumas District found that the average number of forest tree which are lost during 1994-1997 reached the number of 7,017 or 1,754 trees per year. Interestingly, the range of lost tree has significantly increased after political and economic crisis. The number could be fivefold. In 1997-2000, the lost tree reached 33,204 or 8,301 per year. The root of the problem of current forestry crisis is very much triggered by corruption and collusion within the bureaucracy of forestry. Instead of protecting the forest, the bureaucrats of forestry in the region were involved the theft and embezzlement of wood by issuing various manipulative permits.

To address the institutional crisis in the forestry sector, in 2001 the SFC issued PHBM program. In Banyumas, implementation of PHBM program has indicated positive signs. Data on forest security rate shows that number of forest tree losses has decreased since 2002. For the last eight years (2002-2010) the number of forest tree losses

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Table 1. Development of Number of LMDHs in East Banyumas SFC

Year	Number of LMDHs
2002	12
2003	39
2004	37
2005	40
2006	12
2007	22
2008	8
2009 – 2010	160

Source: Monograph of East Banyumas SFC (2010)

is 5.722, or on average decrease of 11 % per year (East Banyumas SFC, 2010). However, in terms of economic welfare though the implementation of PHBM provides profit sharing forest rural poverty incidence changes not much. A survey held by the Ministry of Environment in Banyumas in 2006 found that income per capita per month of forest rural household in forest rural area in Banyumas Regency on average was about Rp. 702.856 which was still under national poverty line of Rp 846.904 (Ministry of Environment, 2006).

Unlike the past forestry development programs, under PHBM approach the SFC puts LMDHs as partners in managing forest resources. The SFC also encourages LMDH to invite other stakeholders to participate in PHBM activities. In many occasions, some SFC officers remind LMDH organizers not to rely on SFC assistance. Instead, LMDH open external agencies to contribute their resource for the successful implementation of PHBM policy (Rosyadi, 2010).

In our research location, efforts of partnership development are another positive sign from PHBM policy implementation. Rural people are more open and welcome in building cooperation with other stakeholders. They become increasingly aware that relying their livelihood on forest resources will only be disadvantageous for them in the long term. They seem to try to capitalize the state forest for other economic benefits. In addition to daily consumption and irrigation, water spring and river flowing from the forest are transformed to be natural energy to move their micro-hydro power generator. Grass provided by the forest is utilized to feed their cattle managed communally. These efforts can be realized since PHBM policy has kept encouraging rural people to take more benefits from non-timber forest production.

In Kalisalak, the incidence of forest poor household is still 47 % of total rural household (Kalisalak Village Government, 2009). Most of them still rely on their livelihood on forest resource as forest labors and cattleman. Under LMDH Madyolaras in Kalisalak Village,

forest labors and cattlemen are organized to support PHBM policy. Results of their work in the context of PHBM policy are successful to attract external resources for improving their livelihood. The evidence of this success can be revealed from various co operations between LMDH Kalisalak and The Office of Resource Management at District and Province level in the implementation of micro-hydropwer generator, Division of Poultry in Fostering Cattle Farm and various programs of forestry information from Banyumas Administration and State-Owned Forestry Enterprise (Rosyadi, 2010).

Does the relation between people and State-Owned Forestry Enterprise really change? Facts in the field shows that the SFC still remains the main controller in any agreement of cooperation or known as "KS" by the people in the forest-based village. Since the implementation of PHBM, the relation between SFC and people has been tightened by a written agreement. It aims to creation of atmosphere in adhering to the agreement among those who are involved in the pact. But the problem is: the pact is merely drafted by the State-Owned Forestry Enterprise. People and LMDH who become its partners do not have access to revise of the content of cooperation. One of the crucial aspects of the agreement is formulation of profit sharing in the cultivation of land under the forest trees or pemanfaatan lahan di bawah tegakan (PLDT). In this respect, SFC always determines profit sharing 75 % for their own, while the people obtain only 25%.

Forest village community organization (LMDH) in Banyumas District has historically been developed from forest farmer groups. There are some reasons underlying the changing of forest farmer groups into LMDH: Forest management at village level requires an institution functioning not only for the forest plantation but also for sustainability of the state owned forest; Putting forest people at better position as active actors than just labors. Before PHBM program, forest people have only a single right to be labors and as compensation they can cultivate the forest land for limited period. This situation is not

enough to provide safety net for forest people; Giving more rights to forest people for managing the state forest in collaboration with the SFC or other partners. Under LMDH, forest people have a new power to be involved in decision making process and thus reinforcing their organizational capacity.

Because of some incentives for the establishment of LMDH, the development of LMDH has shown a positive response. Until 2010, as seen in Table 1, there were 330 LMDH's in Banyumas forest community. Profit sharing offered by the SFC was one of the strongest motivational factors for forest people to accept the establishment of LMDH. The SFC provided profit sharing from revenue of forest tree and latex selling. This offer has never been existed in the former forestry programs.

However, the establishment of LMDH was not supported by appropriate institutional design. At the initial stage, most of LMDH's were founded to fulfill a formal requirement from the SFC to initiate cooperation in forest management. In addition, the SFC provided a financial assistance for compensating the process of making notary certificate. In this situation, the position of forest people was inactive. Consequently, the process of LMDH formation tend to meet the SFC needs rather than of the community's.

Interestingly, assuming position as the heads and boards of LMDH is really a voluntary work, there is no remuneration for those positions both from SFC and local government. On one side, this situation encourages people to work based on an emotional calling instead of some monetary objectives. Therefore, only those who have high level of concern towards forestry issues will be strongly interested to sit as the board of LMDH. However, on the other side, this situation might be counterproductive since it may reduce someone's interest to be involved in LMDH positions, as well as retaining motivation of the existing board of LMDH. Our case study shows that the head of LMDH Madyolaras could not rely on his livelihood from his position. He has to look for income for his family outside the village. Sometimes he has to take a job for several days making him to leave his work in LMDH. Due to circumstance, he has no full time commitment for managing the LMDH. Besides, there is not any incentive from SFC and local government. In other villages, many LMDHs are inactive because of this lack of remuneration. In Kalisalak village, the head of LMDH still has strong commitment to retain his position because of the mandate that he receives from his people.

One of the key elements of good governance practices is public participation (Raharja,2009). Participation gave local people the first experience of being consulted, and then of greater responsibility for local resources (Brown et al, 2002). In PHBM policy, public participation in forest management is strongly encouraged to assist SFC in maintaining and protecting the state forest. In line with public participation, SFC provides local resource rights in the form of profit sharing with LMDHs. However, the number of profit sharing rules has been applied by SFC as follows: If number of forest tree losses achieves 5%, then LMDHs are entitled to get 100% of sharing proportion based on index table of calculation determined by SFC; If number of forest tree losses is more than 5%, then right of LMDH to gain sharing will be decreased according to percentage of the lost forest trees.

In addition to timber profit sharing, SFC also gives profit sharing of latex or resin selling to LMDHs if resin labor that is organized by LMDH can fulfill resin quota determined by SFC. However our case study shows that profit sharing received by LMDH in Kalisalak Village is still little. For the last two years (2008-2009), LMDHs only received Rp.746.000 from resin profit sharing. This fund was used by LMDH only for running administrative activities to support sustainability of LMDH.

By providing profit sharing of forest resources, many people also realize the importance of protecting forests for forest products and elements in the forest community through regular monitoring. Members of LMDH Madyolaras in Kalisalak Village who also work for SFC as latex tapping labor are utilized to monitor the damar (Sorea Javanica) trees as they go inside the state forest area. Since 2008 there has no significant number of forest tree theft (Rosyadi, 2010).

In terms of planning, people are still strongly relying on their LMDH leader. In the case of coffee and cacao planting, for example, the leader made a planting plan with extensions and forest officers. Afterwards, he consulted the plan to people in routine meeting on Friday as they had held "tahlilan" meeting, a special meeting in Islamic traditional group on every Friday for remembering God. Using this meeting, the leader asked his followers for their agreement. Without this traditional approach, any plan of leader cannot be effective. Therefore, consultation process is the first stage of the leader to attract support of his followers for the next stages.

Sustainability of local organization in rural area is strongly dependent on how local organization (LMDH) and the leader empower their followers and other stakeholders to take control of resource use and organizational activities. Consequently, LMDH should be open and transparent. In other words, people have the right to ask LMDH and its organizers to provide information and report of organizational activities as they need it.

Our observation found that the head of LMDH Madyolaras and the treasurer in Kalisalak Village have

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made administrative books, recording all revenues and expenditure as well as activities financed by LMDH and other stakeholders. Through monthly meeting on "wage" Sunday based on Javanese Calendar, the board of LMDH delivers their report of activities to their group of cattleman. On "pahing" Friday, they report forestry activities to resin labors and forest farmers group. To attract people in these meeting, rotational saving is held. In these meeting also, each person is provided access to ask any questions on the board's works.

In addition to internal control, LMDH also should report their activities as recorded in administrative book to the East Banyumas SFC. It is a part of external control to monitor performance of LMDH in terms of cooperation with the SFC.   In this regard, the SFC encourages LMDHs including Madyolaras in Kalisalak Village to institutionalize accountable and transparent practices.

Some environmental performance indicators can be realized due to accountable and transparent practices developed by the head and boards of LMDH. Such good governance practices have made forest community trust their organizers. This trust capital has made the LMDH organizers easier to activate their people to participate in the LMDH programs. Some activities in Kalisalak Village are aimed to conservation efforts such as building micro-hydro power generator, planting of coffee and cacao to replace harvested trees such as albasia, and reforestation in some areas which were previously cut-clear. By building a micro-hydro power generator providing 100 watt of electricity for each of 38 household, people become more interested in maintaining one of forest functions in providing water sources. Replacing the formerly harvested trees in forest area with fruit trees like coffee and cacao has grown environmental awareness of forest people. They only take fruits from the forest trees, instead of wood. This can make people maintain trees and keep the forest from illegal cutting. Reforestation, which is labor intensive, has been effective since it is supported by good leadership of LMDH. In Kalisalak village, forest people have been successful to plant 10.000 new seeds of trees in the forest area of 14 hectares since 2009.

The case study shows that PHBM policy has internalized good governance practices such as public participation, accountability, and transparency at local level. Xu and Ribbot (2004) found that although incomplete, decentralization – to some extent – has led to accountability at local level in forest management. Because of the shared norms and rules, the local leader is also accountable to forest users. This study is relevant with our case study finding that the head and board of LMDH are objects of internal control from forest people based on shared local norms and rules. Therefore, local

organization is capable of practicing good governance.

However, the expected role of good governance practices in forest management to improve forest people welfare is unclear. As long as activities inside the forest lack of "cash" income mechanism for people involved in local forestry organization, this situation can be counterproductive in the long term. The situation will worsen if the local leaders are not able to retain their commitment of running local organization because of low appreciation from the forestry bureaucracy. An interesting study of Jumbe and Angelsen (2006) found opposite results: participation in forest co-management program has a minor impact on enhancing rural incomes. In line with this study, our case study also found that forest people received small and far from their expectation of profit sharing determined by SFC. In addition, board of LMDH assessed that forestry sector was not reliable economically and appreciated those who had high concern towards forest conservation. In the long run, this situation can reduce people participation in the forest management.

CONCLUSION

Overall, results from this study revealed that implementation of PHBM policy at local level can lead local people with their forestry organization and shared norms and rules to develop good governance practices. Three critical components of good governance such as public participation, accountability, and transparency can be applied to support forest management. However, contribution of good governance practices in forest management to the economic welfare of forest people is still minor. Our findings suggest providing economic incentive to local leaders of LMDH from the SFC to retain their commitment.

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