Present Status of Local Communities in the CDM Area: Significance of Local Collaborative Forest Governance

Makoto Inoue[1]

Department of Global Agricultural Sciences,
Graduate School of Agricultural and Life Sciences, University of Tokyo,
1-1-1 Yayoi, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, 113-8657, Japan

Abstract

While the failures of autocratic forest governance by experts have made us notice the importance of local participation, the fact that not all local people have developed appropriate local resource management systems based on traditional local knowledge highlights the importance of understanding the local reality. Under decentralization policy in Indonesia, local governments in the province of East Kalimantan and the district of West Kutai have introduced multi-stakeholder approaches for forest and land rehabilitation and local forest management respectively. Despite the existence of shortcomings, these attempts are remarkable. Examples of realizing a system for forming consensus-building mechanisms by a multi-stakeholder approach, which are based on the participation of local people in natural forest regions where valuable forests still remain, are extremely rare and innovative in Asia and the Pacific.

Based on lessons learnt from both past and on-going attempts, I would like to present the latest paradigm for forest policy or local collaborative forest management. This is the system of collaborative forest management and includes various steps, such as appraisal, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, through cooperation between various stakeholders who have interests in local forest management. I would also like to identify the principles necessary to establish collaborative local forest governance. I name it "Principle of Involvement/Commitment" so as to recognize the right of stakeholders to speak and make decisions corresponding to their degree of involvement in and commitment to forest use and management, on the assumption that diverse groups of related parties are regarded as stakeholders. As a result, numerous people, including local people, can agree to assign legitimacy to the opinions of outsiders.

Two key issues for local collaborative forest management are (1) typology of participation and (2) an approach to conflict management. Even when a local community has good relations with a timber company, most people prefer to regard the participation as an end, while the company interprets the participation as a means of managing forests in a sustainable way. In order to avoid conflicts between local people and timber companies, both parties are recommended to share the concept of participation, to understand the current situation of participation, and to build consensus along the lines of a desirable typology of participation. When a local community is in conflict with a timber company, both parties are requested to be conscious of their own present responses to the conflict, to ask outsiders to evaluate the situation, to introduce approaches for consensus building/conflict management, and to rationalize compromises for both parties in order to settle the conflict.

It is recommended that collaborative local forest governance should be established prior to the commencement of CDM sink projects in order to avoid social conflict over the land for reforestation and afforestation.

[1] Tel: 81-3-5841-5233, Fax: 81-3-5841-5437, E-mail: minoue@fr.a.u-tokyo.ac.jp
(Project Leader, Forest Conservation Project, Institute for Global Environmental Strategies-IGES)

1. Introduction: Lessons from the Past

1.1. Failure of autocratic forest governance by experts

In many tropical countries, most of the forests belonged to the State and forest management was centralized. This centralization was based on the assumption that the State was the best forest manager, developer and protector, because it applied scientific management systems. Executive agents of the centralized forest management were professional foresters consisting of government officers and experts of private companies.

Under this situation, discourses such as "one of the most important causes of deforestation is slash and burn agriculture that is practiced by ignorant and poor local people" were dominant. Then most of the professional foresters considered that it was necessary to enclose forests by shutting out the local people.

Professional foresters, however, noticed that they could not manage the forest in a sustainable way under the paradigm of autocratic forest governance to support conventional and industrial forestry.

1.2. Difficulties in participatory forest management

Since the late 1970s, many participatory forest management programs such as social forestry and community forestry, as a new paradigm for forest policy, have been introduced; however many projects have not achieved sustainable forest management because of the neglect of local needs and sabotage by local people.

Such difficulties were generated by underlying causes, one of which was a "foresters' syndrome" characterized by the inclination of professional foresters to love trees but hate people. Professional foresters are strongly requested not to give lip service to local participation but to pay serious attention to the facilitation of local people. Meanwhile, not all local people have developed appropriate local resource management systems based on traditional local knowledge. Many people need to be supported by reliable outsiders such as NGOs, local governments and scientists.

2. Lessons from On-going Attempts in East Kalimantan, Indonesia: Effectiveness of the Multi-stakeholder Approach

2.1. Decentralization in Indonesia

The government of Indonesia launched decentralization policy based on a series of laws relating to decentralization that were issued in 1999. The district (*Kabupaten* in Indonesian) and city (*Kota*) levels, which were formerly subordinate to province (*Propinsi*), acquired a lot of functions as units of local autonomy.

2.2. Attempts in the province of East Kalimantan at a working group for forest and land rehabilitation

The working group was established in 2000 for the purpose of better communication among stakeholders and for better facilitation of local governments and local people. It has been

supported by the Sustainable Forest Management Program (SFMP) coordinated by GTZ. Based on the governor's decree in 2002, the working group consists of 39 members including staff of provincial administrations, private companies, international and foreign donor agencies, and NGOs. One important task for them is to facilitate and advise on forest rehabilitation projects organized by districts since 2002 by using reforestation funds. Another important task is to support afforestation activities in private forestland (*Hutan Rakyat*).

2.3. Attempts in the district of West Kutai at a working group for local forest management

West Kutai District has a land area of 32,000 km^2 (equal to the area of Taiwan), a population of 145,000, a population density of only 4.5 persons/km^2, and prevalent illegal logging. The working group was established in 2000 and is supported by the Natural Resource Management Program (NRM), which is coordinated by USAID. Based on the decree of the district head issued in 2001, the group consisted of 20 members including five local representatives, ten government officials, two scientists, one representative of a private foundation for local development established by a huge mining company, and one NGO representative.

Fifty-two actions to be implemented over the following ten years were proposed in 2001. Examples of the content of the action plans include the establishment of a team for resolving disputes, reformation of customary laws into procedures capable of dealing with current issues, providing opportunities for discussion with local people to enable investors in forestry projects to have an understanding of customary laws, and modifying technical guidelines for forest management to be in line with the current situation.

The group was reorganized in April 2002, and it drafted the ordinance of district forest management. This was approved by the local parliament in November 2002. The group also drafted the ordinance of community forestry; this was approved in June 2003. IGES Forest Conservation Project has made certain contributions to these processes.

2.4. Significance of these attempts

We can easily point out controversial issues implicated by these attempts:
- Who is to be responsible for taking the initiative?
- Who is to speak on behalf of the local people?
- Who are the legitimate stakeholders?

How will the action plans be implemented over a large number of villages?

However, despite the existence of shortcomings, these attempts are still remarkable. Examples of systems for forming consensus-building mechanisms that have been realized through a multi-stakeholder approach and which are based on the participation of local people in natural forest regions where valuable forests still remain, are extremely rare and innovative in Asia and the Pacific.

3. The Latest Paradigm in Forest Policy: Local Collaborative Forest Governance

Based on the lessons learnt from both past and on-going attempts, I would like to introduce the latest paradigm in forest policy, termed local collaborative forest management, which takes the place of conventional forest management (or industrial forestry).
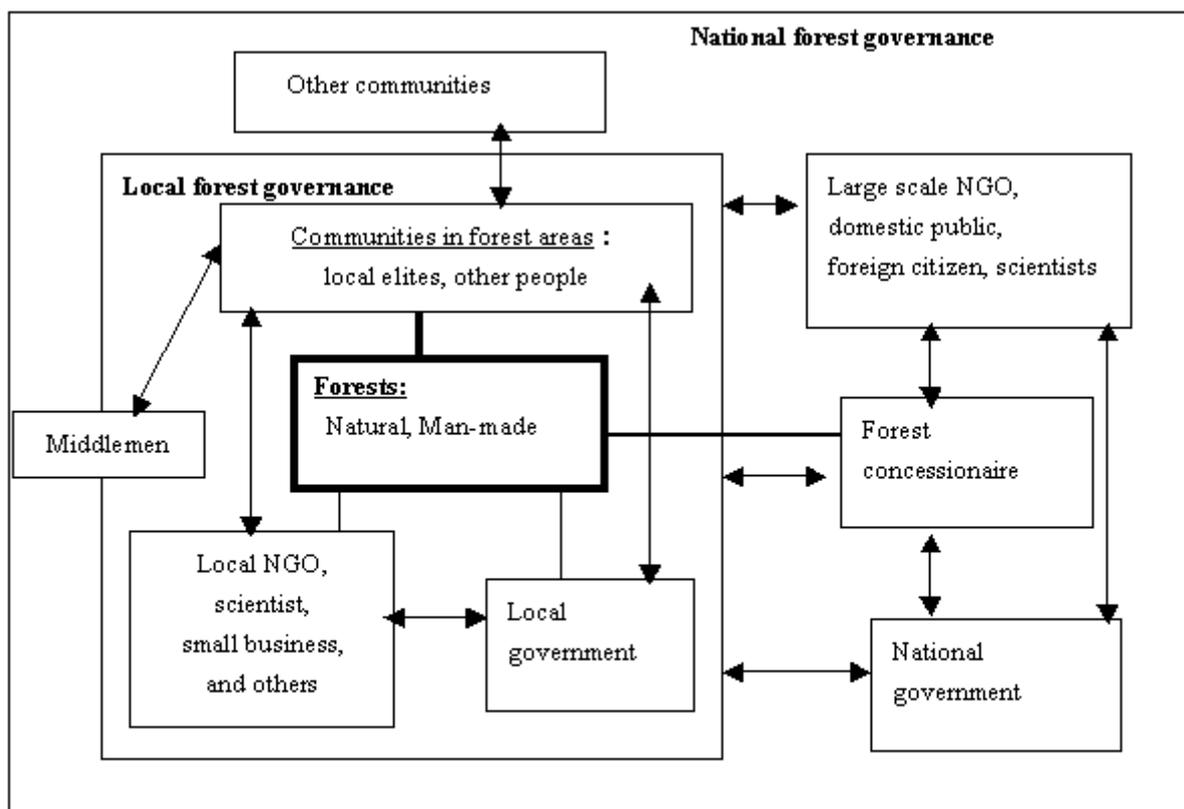
Fig. 1 Stakeholders in local forest governance and national forest governance

3.1. Definition of collaborative local forest governance

This is a system for collaborative forest management, which incorporates various steps such as appraisal, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and is organized through cooperation between various stakeholders who have a range of interests in local forest management (Figure 1).

3.2. A question of common sense

Most of us may admit that equal participation by all stakeholders should be ensured, as some of the international conventions state. However, the voices of the people residing in forest regions, who are usually minorities, are ultimately not reflected in government policies. A typical example is the establishment and management of national parks and other protected areas in the tropics.

Conversely, this system should not be led by only those local communities that observe customary laws. We need a principle through which to realize the latest paradigm for collaborative local forest governance.

3.3. Principle of involvement/commitment

This concept recognizes the right of stakeholders to speak and make decisions in a capacity that corresponds to their degree of involvement in and commitment to forest use and management. It is based on the assumption that diverse groups of related parties are regarded as stakeholders. As a result, numerous people, including local people, are able to agree to the

legitimacy of the opinions of outsiders. This principle functions to establish collaborative local forest governance.

4. Key Issues for Local Collaborative Forest Governance (1): Typology of Participation

4.1. A case of local communities having good relations with a timber company

The Kenyah people in Batu Majang have made their livelihood by swidden agriculture, fishing and hunting, supplemented by a cash income generated through vegetable cultivation in dry fields and log production supported by a timber company. The timber company followed the national program to help development of the local communities, such as helping to establish a village cooperative, buying the vegetables they produce, providing opportunities for local people to work, and repairing village roads. Moreover, the company agreed to remove from its logging area the Kenyha's customary conservation forest, or so called *tana' ulen*, after the survey and mapping stage (**Appendix 1**).

4.2. Two ways of interpreting participation

There are two ways of interpreting participation (UNDP, http://www.undp.org/csopp/paguide.htm).
- *Participation as a means*: Participation is seen as a process whereby local people cooperate or collaborate with externally introduced development programs or projects. Participation becomes the means whereby such initiatives can be more effectively implemented.
- *Participation as an end*: Participation is seen as a goal in itself. This goal can be expressed as empowering people to acquire the skills, knowledge and experience they need to take greater responsibility for their development.

Based on lessons from the past, the term participation has been widely interpreted as a *means* of managing forests in a sustainable way. This interpretation made by professional foresters seems to be in latent conflict with the interpretation of local people. Most people prefer to regard participation as an *end*.

4.3. Importance of sharing common understandings of typology of participation
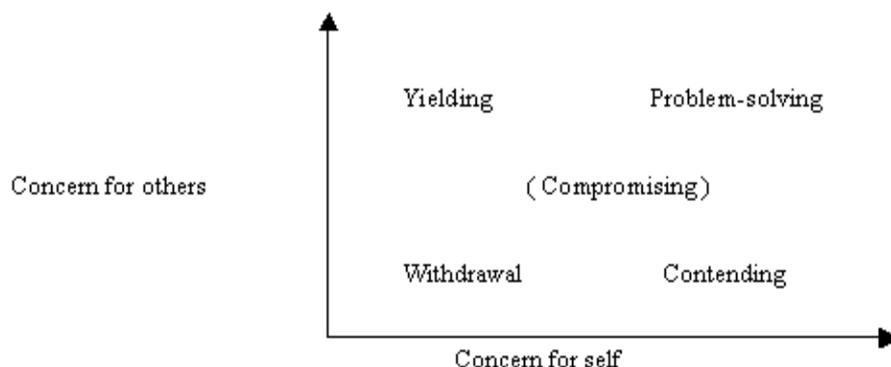
Fig. 2   Responses to conflict (based on Rubin et al., 1994)

In order to avoid conflict between local people and timber companies, both parties are recommended to share the concept of participation, to understand the current situation of participation, and to build consensus along the lines of a desirable typology of participation in the near future, be it *informing, information gathering, consultation, conciliation, partnership, participation or self-mobilization* (Inoue, 2003). A review of typology in participation accompanied by a detailed explanation of each form is presented in **Appendix 2**.

5. Key Issues for Local Collaborative Forest Governance (2): Conflict Management Approach

5.1. A case of local communities in conflict with a timber company

The Bahau people in Mataliba' have born hardship caused by the insincerity of a timber company that did not fulfill the duties prescribed by the national program and that destroyed parts of a customary conservation forest, or so called *tana' mawa*, to prepare the land for reforestation.

After repeated protests and demonstrations against the company, the villagers gained a large sum of compensation in January 2000. This experience enhanced a sense of distrust towards the company amongst local people, stimulated small-scale illegal logging activities (known as *banjir kap*), and prompted locals to establish a village cooperative to gain timber concession for themselves.

5.2. Responses to conflict

Typical responses to conflict by a party, in terms of the level of concern shown towards others and itself, have been classified into four categories (Figure 2): *withdrawal/avoidance, yielding/ accommodating, contending/competing and problem-solving/collaboration* (Rubin et al., 1994). The ideal situation would be to achieve *problem-solving/collaboration*. However, since it is often very difficult to do so in practice, we should add an extra form of response to conflict, namely *compromise*. Actually, in Mataliba', both the local people and the company made compromises in order to reach a consensus in a recent collaboration for getting a new logging concession.

5.3. Importance of introducing conflict management approaches

In order to settle a conflict, both parties are requested to be conscious of their own present responses to the conflict, to ask outsiders to evaluate the situation, to introduce novel approaches for consensus building/conflict management (**Appendix 3**), and to be ready to compromise.

6. Prerequisites for the Introduction of CDM Sink Projects

In order to avoid social conflict over the land for reforestation and afforestation, it is recommended that collaborative local forest governance should be established prior to the commencement of CDM sink projects.

References

Inoue, M. (2003) Sustainable forest management through local participation: procedures and priority perspectives. In: Makoto Inoue and Hiroji Isozaki (Ed.) *People and Forest: policy and local reality in Southeast Asia, the Russian Far East, and Japan*. Kluwer Academic Publishers (358pp.), 337-356

Rubin, J.Z. et al. (1994) *Social conflict*. McGraw-Hill.

Appendix 1: Tana' Ulen of the Kenyah

- Source of citation: Imang, N., Gani, A.D., Yokota, Y., Saito, T., and Mochizuki, A. 2004. Community
  Participation in Batu Majang. In: Martinus Nanang and Simon Devung (Eds.). *Indonesia Country Report 2003*. Forest Conservation Project, Institute for Global Environmental Strategies.

Tana' ulen is a term used by the Dayak Kenyah for a reserved forest area. The Dayak Bahau also have similar types of land, called *tana' mawa'*. Historically, the *tana' ulen* only belonged to aristocratic families for hunting and fishing, reserving the big trees for coffins and for any emergency needs, *etc*. Briefly, the functions of the forest are to provide timber and consumable products at any time of need.

In the village of Batu Majang, the term *Tana' Ulen* is used in the Mt. Ben area. The villagers are considerably concerned about the conservation of the forest area because it provides direct benefits and is situated quite close to the village. The closest part of the forest is not more than 500m from the village. Both Batu Majang and a timber company, PT. Sumalindo, have agreed to enclave the area of Mt. Ben as a source of drinking water, and as a protected area for animals and many species of valuable timber trees. Previously, the 8,000 hectare (4 x 2 km) forest formed part of the concession area of PT. Sumalindo. However, as both sides consider that this area has abundant bio-diversity, it has been protected as a *Tana' Ulen* of Batu Majang.

The designation process of this area as a reserved forest is the result of the former Customary Headman's struggle in 1968. The Headman did not give any permission to anyone to open swiddens in the area. His struggle was continued by the former Village Head, who continuously lobbied PT. Sumalindo to formally designate this area as a reserved forest (*tana' ulen*). He was successful. In a meeting with the staff of PT. Sumalindo on 28th March 2002, the Head of Logging Division revealed that the area had been released to Batu Majang for the *Tana' Ulen* a couple of years previously. This suggests that its status as a reserve forest is strong enough. The next step would be recognition from the District and Central Governments.

This area has potential for ecological tourism, for forest research, and especially for the preservation of forest biodiversity. The utilization, rules, and norms related to the *Tana' Ulen* are made through agreements among the Village Head, the Customary Headman, and the villagers. Based on the agreements of all villagers and the village staff, it is strictly prohibited to cut trees and hunt for individual use, or practice agricultural activities in the area. The only activities allowed are collecting medicinal plants, taking *sang* (palm leaf) for making hats, and other minor NTFPs. The Village Head and the Customary Headman have the right to punish anyone who breaks the rules and norms. The punishment is usually in the form of handing over antique properties *e.g. tempayan* (Chinese jar), *gong* or *mandau* (Dayak machete), or

Table 1 Degree, type, and level of participation in the field of development studies (Inoue, 2003)

Ladder of participation (Arnstein 1969)		Level/degree of participation (UNDP 2001)	Level/Stance of participation (Wilcox 2001)	A typology of participation (Pretty 1994)	Types of participation (Hobley 1996)	Level of participation (Inoue 2000)
Manipulation	Non-partici-pation	Manipulation			Manipulative participation	
Therapy						
Information	Degree of tokenism	Information	Information	Passive participation	Passive participation	Participatory top-down approach
				Participation in information giving		
Consultation		Consultation	Consultation	Participation by consultation	Participation by consultation	
				Participation for material incentives	Participation for material incentives	
Conciliation		Consensus-building		Functional participation	Functional participation	Professional-guided participatory approach
		Decision-making	Deciding together			
		Risk-sharing	Acting together			
Partnership	Degree of citizen power	Partnership	Supporting independent community initiatives	Interactive participation	Interactive participation	Endogenous bottom-up approach
Delegated power		Self-management		Self-mobil-ization	Self-mobil-ization	
Citizen control						

cash equal in value to such antique objects. According to a village elder, if someone is found cutting timber in this area, the Village Head will fine him/her for the amount of money equal to 50% of the value of the timber he/she cuts. Unfortunately, however, there are no formal written rules or guidelines to manage the forest as yet.

Appendix 2: Degree and Type of Participation

● Source of citation: Inoue, Makoto. 2003. Sustainable forest management through local participation:
Procedures and priority perspectives. In: Makoto Inoue and Hiroji Isozaki (Ed.) *People and Forest: policy and local reality in Southeast Asia, the Russian Far East, and Japan.* Kluwer Academic Publishers (358pp.), 337-356, 2003

1. Review of existing typologies of participation

Several typologies of participation have been proposed in the past, as listed in Table 1. The focus of discussion has been the degree of transferal or devolution of power to the local people, and this has been adopted as a criterion to classify participation.

First, we should review the "ladder of participation," as elaborated by Arnstein (1969). There are eight steps in the ladder. This typology is logical and definite because the criterion of classification is clearly stated: it is "the extent of citizens' power in determining the end product." But "manipulation" and "therapy" should be excluded from the typology of participation, because Arnstein himself regarded them as non-participation. Taking account of the present

situation in the tropics, "citizen control" in forest management is beyond the scope of the present discussion, though it is very important, even in developed countries.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 2001) adopted "levels/degrees of participation". In this typology, "manipulation" should be excluded. It seems that further classification between "consensus-building" and "partnership" is not necessary, because the difference between "decision-making" and "risk-sharing" is very subtle.

Wilcox (2001) suggested "levels/stances of participation" to outsiders for offering increasing degrees of control to the others involved. In this typology, it is hardly possible for us to consider whether the stance of "acting together" is a higher-grade participation than the stance of "deciding together". In some cases, "deciding together" will be higher-grade participation; in other cases, "acting together" will be higher.

Pretty (1994) proposed a "typology of participation" in which "participation for material incentives" is problematic. It should not be given the position of an independent type of participation, because the dimension of the material incentives is different from that of other types, and the material incentives are also accompanied by other types of participation, such as passive participation, participation by consultation and functional participation.

Typology by Hobley (1996) corresponds to that of Pretty (1994). But participation in the form of information-giving as defined by Pretty is deleted, and manipulative participation is listed, which is not one of Pretty's types. This typology has the same problem as Pretty's types in terms of "participation for material incentives". And "manipulative participation" should be excluded from the typology, because it is not regarded by him as a form of participation.

Inoue (2000) categorized various types of participation into three levels in terms of the relationship between local people and external agents in the decision-making process. This is the simplest typology of participation. However, it may be too simple for field staff to use as a guide to promote local participation. In such cases, the three levels of participation are appropriate for utilization as a framework for the typology.

2. Proposed new typology

A basis of the new typology we propose is the "ladder of participation" defined by Arnstein (1969), because this is the most logically consistent. Based on a review of this research, the lowest steps of the ladder, such as manipulation and therapy, should be deleted, as should the highest step of the ladder, citizen control. The proposed typology in our project is given below.

1. **Informing**—The local people are simply told what has been decided and unilateral announcements are made by external agents such as administrators and development specialists. It is a one-way communication in which the information flows to the local people with neither a channel for feedback nor power for negotiation.
2. **Information gathering**—The local people participate by answering questions posed by outsiders, such as researchers and development specialists, using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. It is also a one-way communication in which the information flows from the local people. But the people do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings of the research are neither shared nor checked for accuracy.
3. **Consultation**—This level entails two-way communication, and the local people are consulted, but analysis and decisions are made by external agents. The most frequent approaches to consultation are chaired meetings, where the local people do not contribute to the agenda, public hearings, and surveys. In such cases, it is just a window-dressing ritual.

Table 2 Proposed typology of participation (Inoue, 2003)

Degrees/types of participation	Principle	Frames of approach
1. Informing	Tokenism	Participatory top-down approach
2. Information gathering		
3. Consultation		
4. Conciliation	Functionalism	Professional-guided participatory approach
5. Partnership	Collaboration	Endogenous bottom-up approach
6. Self-mobilization		

4. **Conciliation—**The local people may be involved in decision-making, but this tends to be only after major decisions have been made by external agents. They may be simply placated. This is regarded as "functional" or "ceremonial" participation.

5. **Partnership—**The local people participate in joint activities and decision-making in all processes, such as appraisal and investigation, development of action plans, formation or strengthening of local institutions, implementation, and evaluation. Participation is a right, not an obligation to achieve a goal. Various responsibilities are often shared, *e.g.* through joint committees. This is also called "interactive participation."

6. **Self-mobilization—**Independent initiatives by the local people are realized while advised and supported by external agents. They retain control over decisions and resource use; external agents facilitate them.

Informing, information gathering, and consultation are labeled the *participatory top-down approach*, as defined by Inoue (2000); conciliation, as the *professional-guided participatory approach;* and partnership and self-mobilization, as the *endogenous bottom-up approach* (Table 2). Partnership and self-mobilization can be categorized as *collaboration*, which refers to a wider spectrum of cooperation among concerned 1parties than does the term *partnership*. In any case, the participatory top-down approach should be avoided, because it is usually considered by local people to be nominal and fake.

References

Arnstein, S. (1969) A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of American Institute of Planners* 35:216-224

Hobley, M. (1996) Participatory forestry: The process of change in India and Nepal. In: *Rural development study guide 3.* Rural Development Forestry Network., London

Inoue, M. (2000) Participatory forest management. In: *Rainforest ecosystems of East Kalimantan: El Nino, drought, fire, and human impacts,* Edi Guharidja et al.(eds.). 299-307. Springer-Verlag, Tokyo

Pretty, J. N. (1994) Alternative systems of inquiry for sustainable agriculture. *IDS Bulletin* 25(2): 37-48

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2001) Empowering people: A guide to participation, December 2001, available at http://www.undp.org/csopp/paguide.htm

Wilcox, D. (2001) The guide to effective participation, December 2001, available at http://www.partnerships.org.uk/guide/main1.html

Appendix 3: Methodologies for consensus building

l   Source of citation: Barr, Julian J. F. 2001. Final technical report: Methods for consensus building for management of common property resources (DFID project number R 7562). Natural Resources Systems Programme, Strategy for Research on Renewable Natural Resources, Department for International Development

Table 3   The origins and purpose of consensus-building methodologies (Barr, 2001)

Approach	Context	Purpose
Alternative Dispute Resolution	Developed world, civic, environmental or planning disputes	Court avoidance, conflict resolution
Soft Systems Methodology	Corporate or any management system	Principally, corporate dispute management
Agricultural Knowledge Systems / Rapid Appraisal of Agricultural Knowledge Systems	Principally, agricultural extension in the developing world	Promotion of adaptable and synergistic networks for agricultural development
Alternative Conflict Management as "Managing Conflict and Building Consensus"	Community-based NRM projects in the developing world	Successful management and implementation of projects (training of project staff).
Future Search	Community or organisational change. Mainly, developed world urban situations.	Empower groups to develop action plans to achieve an improved future.