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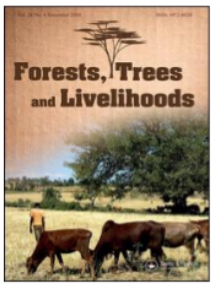

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ABSTRACT

The government of Indonesia is ambitiously planning for more expansion of social forestry with a target of 12.7 million ha of state land to be distributed to local communities through several permit-based social forestry schemes. To deliver the target, the central forest bureaucracy issued a new forest extension policy, which enables non-government organizations (NGOs) to get involved in government extension services. This short commentary analyses aspects related to the coordination and synergies between government agencies and NGOs to achieve their common goals in extension activities. NGOs possess strengths as an agent of community development programs with technical and organizational expertise and experience in mobilizing communities. However, given their contrasted characteristics in terms of organizational settings, goals and objectives, there are challenges facing NGOs when partnering with government institutions. They may face rigid and demanding bureaucratic procedures, and complex coordination.

KEYWORDS

Community forestry; land reform; rural development; poverty alleviation; forest extensions; NGOs; Indonesia

Introduction

Social/community-based forest management has been promoted as an innovative policy to tackle dual problems, i.e., environmental degradation and chronic rural poverty and economic inequalities (Sikor et al. 2013). In Indonesia, various forms of traditional community-based forest management have been practiced for generations by local/customary groups across the country. However, the practices are mostly negated in the country's forest tenure systems as specified in the forest law No. 41/1999), and are simply subsumed into the state forest zones (Myers et al. 2017; Herawati et al. 2017). The ruling of the Constitutional Court No. 35/PUU-X/2012, in which customary forests are no longer categorized as state forests, initially rejuvenated many forest users' hopes, but

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the recognition is so far limited (Myers et al. 2017; Maryudi 2017). There remains considerable uncertainty how customary groups can make claims under weak political will and incomplete procedures and information (Myers et al. 2017; Sahide et al. 2018).

Hence, social forestry in Indonesia continues in the direction of the government's permit-based regimes, which were trialled since the 1980s[1] and formalized the policy in 2007. The formal social forestry program has since stalled and only a limited number of formal rights/permits/licenses have been issued until the end of 2014. In hindsight, the administration of president Joko Widodo – elected in October 2014-, framed within his rural development visions of *Nawacita* to reduce economic inequalities, has been ambitiously planning for more expansion of the formal social forestry program with a target of 12.7 million ha (roughly 10%) of state forestland to be distributed to local communities through several schemes[2] (Maryudi 2017). Since 2015, social forestry in Indonesia has swiftly progressed. By the end of Widodo's first tenure in September 2019, more social forestry rights and licenses have been granted to local communities and customary groups than those granted by his predecessors, covering about 4 million ha[3] (PKPS KLHK 2020). However, this still falls short of his initial target.

The formalization of forest management rights and uses under the permit regimes of the social forestry program has been constrained by several factors including among others, complex bureaucratic procedures, dealing with a number of governmental agencies at different levels, and the use of forestry rationales requiring technical knowledge and capacities that local communities generally lack of (Erbaugh 2019). Furthermore, the license application processes often involved significant transaction costs (see Noer 2011). Quite often, local communities need technical assistance from external actors, including from the government forest extension service (Putraditama et al. 2019). Unfortunately, the government forest extension service is limited in terms of number and competence (see the next section). This is not aided by the recent forest recentralization policy introduced in 2014: authority over forest issues is taken back from the district government and is given to the province instead, implying that forest services are limited at the site level.

Against this backdrop, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, through the General Directorate of Social Forestry and Environment Partnership, issued Regulation No. P1/PSKL/KELING/Kum.1/1/2019 on the guidelines for the implementation of extension services. The regulation specifies the involvement of civil society groups/nongovernment organizations (CSOs/NGOs) and other parties (including local champions) to provide the extension services for local communities engaging in social forestry programs. The fact that some of the existing permit holders were initially, and are still, facilitated by NGOs (see Suwarno and Nawir 2009) may have also contributed to the thinking of the government in issuing the regulation. In Indonesia, NGOs with support from international donors have been working with local communities since the early experimentation of social forestry (see Peluso and Poffenberger 1989).

The new regulation specifies technical and competence requirements leading to the accreditation of interested civil society groups and organizational/bureaucratic links with governmental agencies at both local and national levels (details in Section Role of NGOs in new extension policy). It further details access to governmental budgets, monitoring, and reporting procedures. The regulation specifies how CSOs/NGOs operate in the government's extension program according to the strict government-styled procedures, which we refer to as 'bureaucratization'. This short commentary analyzes the aspects related to

the coordination and synergies between government agencies and civil society groups to achieve the state goals of extension activities. This is important as government and nongovernmental agencies generally have different organizational settings, goals, and objectives and are distinct in the way they operate (Garrison 2000; Laraswati et al. 2020; Hasyim et al. 2020). In fact, cases of disconnects and tensions between the two in community development projects are not uncommon (Swanson and Samy 2002). Although the policy of integrating NGOs in government forest extension projects has the potential to push forward social forestry policy in Indonesia, we argue here that it also brings in several challenges regarding technical and administrative coordination.

Government forest extension services

Current status

Forest-related extension services within the Ministry of Environment and Forestry are organized under the Directorate General of Extension and Human Resource Development Agency, which has one Extension Center at the central level. Forest-related services are also provided by local governments. In the past, district and provincial governments also had a forest-related service. Following the new Law on Regional Government No. 23/2014, forestry is now only under the organization of the province; district forest-related service and its extension arm had been abolished and the majority of human resources were transferred to the province. Despite some efforts to establish a district-level branch (Kantor Cabang Dinas), forest extension staff remain limited at the site level. The recentralization policy limits the outreach to people at site level. At the same time, the forest management units (Kesatuan Pengelolaan Hutan/KPHs)-expected to execute site-level management of forests- do not provide meaningful extension support and even block local social forestry initiatives (Sahide et al. 2016, 2018). For instance, KPH in Lampung does not assist social forestry permit holders when their permits were revoked (Herawati et al. 2017). In East Lombok, an application for HKm permits by local communities was blocked as the KPH insisted on the partnership scheme (KPSHK 2018).

In a joint meeting between the ASEAN Working Group on Social Forestry (AWG-SF) and the Center for People and Forests (RECOFTC) held in January 2019, forest extension was considered as a weak link in social forestry policy in several countries, including Indonesia (Galudra 2019). The weaknesses include limited personnel, skills, and knowledge. Both central and provincial extension services also lack personnel; they have a total of 3521 full-time civil servants (Pusluh BP2SDM KLHK 2019). The Ministry targets the assignment of at least one agent to each social forestry permit holder/village. Hence, the current figure is well below the target number of approximately 20,000 agents (Susetyo 2019). Riyandoko et al. (2016) indicated that the working area of an extension agent covers on average a subdistrict, covering tens of villages. Over the past few years, the Ministry has had an internship program for new forest graduates (known as *Bakti Rimbawan*), some of whom are assigned to assist the extension services. However, only a few are interested as it is based on a temporary contract.

Extension services generally aim to help people to assess the problems they are facing and develop strategies to solve them (Sim and Hilmi 1987). They require certain techniques, skills, and knowledge. The current government forest extension officers possess

a range of different levels of competence, but many of them are still lacking the necessary skills and knowledge to assist local communities to achieve organizational and business self-abilities (Martini et al. 2017). Many of the current officers have been taught in old-school fashions of extensions that might be less appropriate to the current challenges (Riyandoko et al. 2016). To alleviate this shortcoming, the central forest extension agency provides some training and extension modules and guidelines. Nonetheless, according to several sources from NGOs facilitating social forestry groups, the training falls short of the required competence, hindering the extension agents to make innovations.

Furthermore, the government forest extension services are constrained with limited budgets. As illustrated in the performance report of the Directorate of Social Forestry Preparation (2018), although almost all the governmental budgets and foreign grants for extensions were spent, the government achieved only approximately 63% of its planned targets of licensing processes. This clearly indicates that budgets are far from sufficient. At the field level, an extension agent is given a monthly operational budget of only about half a million rupiahs (approximately 35 USD), which is incredibly insufficient to cover all the extension programs as planned (Riyandoko et al. 2016).

Roles of NGOs in new extension policy

As previously mentioned, Regulation No. P1/PSKL/KELING/Kum.1/1/2019 specifies technical and competence requirements leading to the accreditation of interested civil society groups to get involved in the government's forest extension services for social forestry programs. First, they must be formally registered in a legal office and proposed by a social forestry applicant/permit holder. When the local groups do not request a specific NGO to be working with, the Social Forestry Acceleration Working Group (Pokja PPS) may also assign a certain NGO or a local champion, who are generally the Ministry's environmental and forestry cadres. The civil society extension agents are required to possess a university degree, communication skills, mastery of the local social–biophysical condition (including the local language), specific computer literacy, and interpersonal skills. They are required to work at either pre-permit or post-permit phases or both.

Pre-permit activities

- Providing information about government's social forestry programs
- Facilitating the formal institutional development
- Assisting the local communities in preparing permit application and general management plans
- Assisting the local communities in Inventory and identification of potential areas

Post-permit activities

- Assisting the local communities in forest gazettement
- Facilitating the local communities in preparing detailed forest management plans
- Assisting the local communities in forest restoration (planting activities)
- Empowering the local communities to generate appropriate technology
- Empowering and strengthening the organization capacities of permit holders to establish creative economic strategies

Their activities are closely monitored and evaluated by the government through the computerized Extension Information System (SIMPING), which is integrated into the national Social Forestry Information and Navigation System (SINAV). Through this system, they are also required to update the profile of the local group, with detailed digitized information on forest resource conditions, and the sociodemographic profile of the local group, including observations on markets and tenurial conflicts. They are further obliged to follow strict reporting procedures and administration on the governmental budgets used for assisting communities.

The strengths of NGOs in community development programs

With the aforementioned limitations of government forest extension services, support from other parties is crucial for achieving the targets of social forestry, not only granting permits but also assessing how communities are truly benefiting from the program. Involving NGOs would swiftly fill the numeric deficiencies. But more importantly, NGOs possess several strengths as an agent of community development programs with generally technical and organizational expertise and experience in mobilizing communities (Bryant 2001).

They are generally more able than government officers in approaching and interacting with the local communities through egalitarian and informal approaches. In several cases, NGOs adopt 'live in' strategies, together with the local communities, for identifying the problems and challenges and formulating the potential solutions (De Beer and Swanepoel 2000). This is important because problems and local needs fetched to a social forest program vary from place to place. More importantly, they generally emphasize a participatory approach, encouraging genuine participation of the local communities in decision-making processes and implementation of the program. In fact, failures of community-based forest initiatives are often associated with the limited degree of authority and autonomy of the local community to influence decisions on forest management and access to forest resources (McDermott and Schrekenberg 2009). This all implies the increasing importance of NGOs/CSOs in community development.

The way NGOs work is generally flexible; they can swiftly adapt and create innovations fitting with local situations. NGOs tend to employ more innovative extension methods than government officers who are generally strictly guided by government's rules and rigid bureaucratic administration (Arond et al. 2019). To stimulate social change, before providing advice and solutions, they encourage critical discussion aiming at raising awareness and based on local experiences. This differs from government forest extension models, which are often based on the classical approach of narrow and one-way knowledge transfer, in accordance with generic programs implemented in all types of biophysical and social circumstances (Swanson and Rajalahti 2010). Extensions are not mere knowledge transfer, but they also empower the local communities to organize themselves to solve their problems and foster human development (Ma et al. 2012).

Involving NGOs may further open windows of opportunities of wider networks and cooperation. Due to their flexibility, NGOs generally have good capacities to create networks. In several cases, they are trusted by donors to arrange assistance more than government institutions, which are often perceived as corrupt and lacking capabilities

(Cook et al. 2017). Due to their flexibility, they are connected with their fellow NGOs, academics, and researchers, which is fundamental for co-learning and knowledge-sharing to improve approaches for community development. This is quite different from government officers whose activities are strictly guided by specific tasks, responsibilities, and authority. Furthermore, NGOs are increasingly preferred by international donors and multilateral organizations to provide community services and implementation of specific policies (Ebrahim 2003). This can be crucial for achieving social forestry targets in Indonesia.

Building coherence between government and NGO systems

NGOs indeed have some strengths and may potentially contribute to accelerate the achievement of the government's social forestry targets. This may look simple, but challenges await to involve NGOs as partners for the government forest extension services. Social forestry-related government bureaucracies are fragmented and operate within specific structures, mandates, and responsibilities (Table 1). As mentioned earlier, social forestry is under the mandates and responsibilities of the Directorate General (DG) of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership, whereas the extension service is under the DG of Extension and Human Resource Development Agency. Nonetheless, several social forestry activities link with other bureaucracies, which may have different (even conflicting) policy priorities. For instance, the local arms of the DG of Forestry and Environmental Planning, which are mainly tasked with activities related to gazettement of forest areas, generally do not see social forestry as a policy priority as it is outside of its mandate and responsibilities. At the site level, as previously mentioned, the forest management units are not always supportive of social forestry policy.

Even when dealing only with the extension bureaucracy, the NGO's field agent may find it difficult to coordinate, because NGOs and government bureaucracies have contrasting operating systems and working styles. Quite often, NGOs emphasize the process, rather than the outputs. Their programs are typically based on the local needs.

Table 1. Complex bureaucracies governing social forestry policy.

Forest bureaucracy governing social forestry	Activities related to social forestry
Primary bureaucracy	
DG of Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership	Evaluation Supervision Proof area license Indicating prospective area
Secondary bureaucracy	
DG of Forestry and Environmental Planning	- Forest area gazettement - Forest plans
DG of Extension and Human Resource Development Agency	Extension services
DG of Sustainable Management of Production Forests	Provide regulation for community timber logging (Scheme HTR, or IUPHHK HD, IUPHHK HKm
Provincial Forest Service	To bridge FMU and social forestry management
Forest Management Unit (outside Java)/ Perhutani (in Java)	– Authorize social forestry management plan – Identifying new social forestry areas and facilitating the proposal of establishment of new social forestry
Technical Implementation Unit	Provide functional technical assistance

Their working styles are often seen by government institutions as too long and time-wasting. This is problematic considering that the government institutions in Indonesia are generally strictly guided by specific targets, even within a tight timeline. An easy illustration is planting activities. To the government, once the activities are fetched within the budgeting, the money must be disbursed in the corresponding year, overlooking the constraining biophysical circumstances (e.g., no rain).

They may also disagree on the specific social program scheme to which the local communities should apply for. This is indeed more substantive (ideological) issues, beyond operating systems and working styles. Based on the histories of land/forest use, tenure arrangements (or conflicts), and social/local rules, cases show that NGOs and local communities may consider the scheme of agrarian reforms, i.e., ownership, which are unlikely to be approved by the government.

Although NGOs' flexibility can be an asset on the one, it might be problematic on the other hand with regard to bureaucratic procedures of hierarchical management, with a number of administrative reporting and coordination with government institutions. In conducting the service, NGOs are required to follow the government's bureaucratic and hierarchical styles. The regulation also specifies close coordination and consultation with government officers and obliges them to report the activities on a regular basis, with detailed evidence and supporting documents. NGOs might not be accustomed to the rigid administration, which as a consequence leads to a huge burden. The experience of one of the authors, which is from an NGO, has taught that reporting to the government institutions is much more rigid and demanding (but less substance) than reporting to donors, for instance.

Furthermore, when NGOs function as part of an international network, because more and more funds are sent to NGOs from bilateral and multilateral organizations, they tend to expand (Kamat 2003). Many NGOs are well known to be highly dependent on their international donors and are required to adjust their strategy to match up to their international donors (AbbouAssi 2013). Engaging in the social forestry extension program, the NGOs would tend to be supported by the government instead of international donors, which may make them lose their independence and serve the government policies and outcomes (Pallas and Uhlin 2014).

Conclusions

The new forest extension policy could be viewed as a political will from the government to realize its commitments to rural development through social forestry programs. For years, the forest policy in Indonesia has been characterized by a government preference for large-scale business operations, neglecting the forest-dependent people who in several cases live in chronic poverty. The policy may also indicate the increasing government's acknowledgment of the crucial roles of other stakeholders, i.e., NGOs, granting them the legal space to be formally engaged and implement its policy. This formalized synergy between the government and NGOs has the potential to better achieve forest governance goals, as exemplified in the Indian Himalaya by Gupta and Koontz (2019). Improved and effective forest governance is indeed often achieved through inclusive involvement or participation of wider civil societies (Garrison 2000).

The strengths of NGOs in community development programs are evident. Several NGOs have already proved their success on their own social forestry extension program through their adaptive characteristics. The new forest extension policy clearly provides an avenue where the government and NGOs can blend together. Involving NGOs in extension programs may provide more benefits to both the government and the local communities, as they are used to swift services in emergency demands (Garrison 2000). However, given their contrasting characteristics in terms of organizational settings, goals, and objectives, there are challenges facing NGOs when collaborating with government institutions. In the new policy, NGOs face bureaucratic structural, power relations and the demand of complex coordination. They may not be interested to accept the strict and procedural style of the government forest extension program. To facilitate better synergies, current technical arrangements that are now rigid and overly-bureaucratic, should be revised. More adaptive and flexible mechanisms are needed to facilitate a true partnership between the government social forestry extension program and NGOs.

More generally, we think that the government should be more open to local initiatives to achieve its social forestry targets. As mentioned earlier, there are numerous community-based forestry activities that are well-practiced in state forests. In addition, tree planting and forest practices on private lands, locally referred to as Hutan Rakyat, are very much flourishing in the country, even without government support. Formal recognition of such local initiatives could ease the bureaucratic, technical and budgeting burdens of the government, while supporting the achievement of its social forestry targets: improving forest condition and local communities' livelihood.

Notes

1. Social Forestry was tried out in the 1980s and became formalized through the HPH Bina Desa Hutan, which obliged forest concessions in Outer Java to implement rural development programs. Around the same time, the State Forest Enterprise in Java (Perhutani) also trialled its own social forestry model, centred on temporal access to forest floor for agroforestry.
2. Hutan Kemasyarakatan (HKM)/Community Forest; Hutan Desa (HD)/Village Forest; Hutan Adat (HA) Customary Forest; Hutan Tanaman Rakyat (HTR)/Community Plantation Forest; Kemitraan Kehutanan (KK)/Forestry Partnerships.
3. Approximately 0.5 million ha in Java and 3.6 million ha in Outer Islands.

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PAGE 1

PAGE 2

PAGE 3

PAGE 4

PAGE 5

PAGE 6

PAGE 7

PAGE 8

PAGE 9

PAGE 10

PAGE 11

PAGE 12