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by Muhammad Alif K. Sahide

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What conflicts possible: A new social forestry partnership policy in a National Park in Indonesia

A H P Fatimah¹ and M A K Sahide²

¹Magister Student at Forestry Faculty of Universitas Hasanuddin

²Forestry Faculty of Universitas Hasanuddin

Email: ahildaputri@gmail.com

Abstract. Partnership conservation is in the early stage implementation in Indonesia, which has a formal mission on reducing tenurial land conflict in conservation areas. Therefore, the pendulum analysis leads us to predict their future conflicts' form to see how existing tenure conflict is changed and transform. We deeply observe a case in a park in Indonesia that implements these experimental schemes by using three dimensions of conflict, such as substantial, procedural, and psychological. The results show that some informal tenurial arrangement could not be transformed into the formal's scheme. From this departure, we predict conflict was transformed into the relation with the park's management on fulfilling the formal goals that is still trapped with the previous land tenure conflict. The land distribution and management of partnership arrangement is also can be a source of possible conflict in the future

1. Introduction

Indonesia has massively implementing social forestry scheme as the policy tools on resolving complicated and complex land tenure conflicts in Indonesia. Applying this scheme into conservation areas and context is the very late policy comparing to social forestry schemes in protection and production forests. Conservation forests is widely known making hollow policies for local access and utilization [1].

After two years delaying the forestry ministerial rules on social forestry (P 83 of 2016), the particular ministry forestry's directorate responsible for conservation areas was finally issued the followed-up guideline for conservation partnership (P6 of 2018). It is jurisprudence avenue to making social forestry happen in conservation areas.

As other national park in Indonesia, Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park has faced complex land tenure conflict and asking for resolution [2]. Kadir et al. [3] stated that the problem that often occurs in the Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park area indicates that there are many interests, such as the interest of communities' demand land and the resource utilization, community, local (district) government income, as well as the interest of protection from the forestry ministry. The effort for making conservation partnership scheme in this park has attract interesting issues both for development conflict resolution practices and conflict management literatures. For the relevance in the development, it is interesting to investigate the link between existing conflict resolution program effort and the possible conflict happen.

This study will refer to three aspects including substantial (interest-based), procedural (legal jurisprudential) and psychological aspects. These three aspects are used to analyze problems in the Conservation Partnership program in Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park.

The sustainability of a program can be seen from the process of the work of stakeholders involved, if the program indicate that the system is not in accordance with applicable rules so



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that this research needs to be conducted to analyze potential conflicts in the conservation partnership program in the Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park. Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park was chosen as the research location because it was the first Conservation Partnership program management unit to sign a Conservation Partnership agreement in South Sulawesi and this was the basis of this research to analyze potential conflicts in the conservation partnership program in Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park that would occur in the future.

Based on the above problems, this paper aims to analyze the potential for conflict in the conservation partnership program that will possible occurred in the future, therefore related actors can make anticipation and management

2. Theoretical framework

Conflict can be interpreted as a fight between two or more parties, both individuals and groups that are usually caused by differences in values, views, activities, status, and scarcity of natural resources [4].

For political science, it is a big challenge to predict conflict. Other social sciences make projections of future conflicts using geography on a space and time scale qualitatively [5] [6] [7] and personality relationships [8]. However, in this study, attention was only given to the possibility of conflict, rather than making precise predictions. The situation of a dual fragmented legal system in Indonesia, whether it is forest areas or non-state forest areas [9] [10]. This study uses three dimensions in making analysis of possible conflicts, namely substance interests based, jurisprudential analysis and intervention program development process (psychological). There are similarities at the level of substance by Patel et al., [11] who found nine sources of decline felt by the community, relating to forest management and governance, in predicting REDD conflicts, these nine issues of conflict were not categorized, but in this study divided in three aspects of the issue of conflict, following and adapted from Walker and Daniels [12] and tools from Engel and Krof [13]. The three dimensions that source conflict can be from substantial interests struggling, procedural aspects, and psychological relation between the actors. We analyses within each aspect and we also see the interact among the three dimensions. The illustration of this framing can be seen in figure 1.

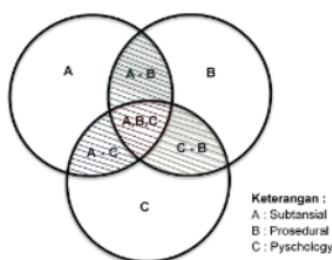


Figure 1. Linkage diagram between three dimensions of conflict resources

The form of conflict perspective, the Conservation Partnership program inside the forest area contains elements of conflict and community actions / reactions in response to the existence of the Conservation Partnership program. The elements and actions of the community are viewed from three aspects, namely substantial, procedural, and psychological. These three aspects are the background of the emergence of a paradigm shift in the community around the forest regarding the existence of a Conservation Partnership program in the Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park area. More information is presented in the following table 1.

Table 1. Framework: example of possible conflicts that categorized within the three dimensions of conflict resources

I	Substantial: contesting interests on conservation area management
a.	There is a big contestation among local people using forest resources (horizontal utilization interest)
b.	Communal claim of land ownership
c.	Communal claim of land resources utilization
d.	Individual elite claims of land ownership
e.	Benefit sharing interest struggle
II	Procedural: The treatment of legal jurisprudence formation, bureaucratic politics conflicts and multiple interpretation struggle.
a.	Intersectoral legal empower one bureaucracy and threaten local community
b.	Multiple interpretation leads to unfair to local community
c.	Hollow regulation, need detail implementation
d.	Contradiction to the up-level regulation
e.	Contradiction to the same level regulation in different bureaucracies
f.	Serving only particular actors' interest or proceed only certain procedural
III	Psychological dimension: trust, common perception and
a.	Distrust of field officer and institution: an absence of objective view and clients tend to react on the basis of their perceptions of the situation
b.	If bureaucracy dominant actor (who has coercion, information and incentives power) that dominated the process of making initiatives (partnership)
c.	If internal local community dominant actor (who has coercion, information and incentives power) that dominated the process of making initiatives (partnership)
d.	If mediator do not get trust from local community
e.	If mediator get only trust from local community
f.	If internal get only trust from government
g.	There is jealousy from the community because it gets a different conflict resolution program or initiative

3. Methods

We deploy three methods on collecting data such as observation, interview, and document analysis. This research was carried out on the Conservation Partnership program in the Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park in Maros Regency, in March-April 2019. Data collection was conducted in 6 Villages that carried out Conservation Partnership programs namely Barugae, Pattanyamang, Rompegading, Wannuawarua, and Labuaja.

We observed the implementation process of conservation partnership program in the Bantimurung Bulusaraung national park area. We also deployed in-depth interviews with relevant Governments, non-government organizations (NGOs), companies and forest farmer groups located in the conservation partnership area. List of respondent can be seen in table 2

Table 2. Interviews in the field

No	Respondent	Date of Interview
1.	Interview with officer of Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park	March 19 th 2019
2.	Interview with leader of Forest Farmers Group Banga-Bangae, Barugae Village	March 15 th 2019
3.	Interview with leader of Forest Farmers Group Sonrae, Desa Rompegading Village	March 14 th 2019
4.	Interview with Leader of Forest Farmers Group Bukit Harapan, Desa Labuaja Village	March 16 th 2019
5.	Interview with leader of Forest Farmers Group Patanyaman 1, Desa Pattanyamang Village	March 17 th 2019

6.	Interview with leader of Forest Farmers Group Patanyamang 2, Desa Pattanyamang Village	March 17 th 2019
7.	Interview with leader of Forest Farmers Group Wanua Deceng, Desa Wanuwani Village	March 18 th 2019
8.	Interview with leader of Forest Farmers Group Labongke, Desa Mattampawalie Village	March 20 th 2019
9.	Interview with Director of Tim Layanan Kehutanan Masyarakat (TLKM)	March 21 th 2019
10.	Interview with staff of PT. Adimitra Pinus Utama	March 23 th 2019

We also conducted document content analysis through literature from various results of research, book literacy, data and findings from relevant agencies, including general conditions of the region and other information related to this research [14]. We also analysis specific rules regarding conservation, social forestry and conservation partnership policies in Indonesia and local rules and guidelines in the local level. List of policy documents related to conservation and conservation partnership can be seen in table 3.

Table 3. Conservation and conservation partnership policies documents

No	National laws and forestry ministerial regulations	About
1	Law No. 5 of 1990	About Conservation. Article 32 states that the national park area is managed by a zoning system consisting of core zones, utilization zones, and other zones as needed
2	Law No.41 of 1999	About Forestry. Article 24 explains that the utilization of forest areas can be carried out in all forest areas except in natural forest and core zones and jungle zones in national parks.
3	Government regulations Republic of Indonesia No.108 of 2015	Regarding Management of Nature Reserve Areas and Nature Conservation Areas, Article 49 concerning Community Empowerment
4	Forestry Minister's Regulation No.P.19 / Menhut-II / 2004	About collaborative management in nature reserves and nature conservation areas.
5	Forestry Minister's Regulation P.83 /MenLHK /Setjen /Kum.1/10/2016	Social Forestry. Article 13, 14 and 15
6	Forestry Minister's Regulation P.43/MenLHK/Setjen /Kum.1/6/2017	Community Empowerment around Nature Reserve Areas and Nature Conservation Areas
7	Forestry Minister's Regulation P.85/Menhut/-III/2014	Organizing cooperation in the Nature Reserve Areas and Nature Conservation Areas
8	Forestry Minister's Regulation P.76/Menlhk-Setjen/2015	About the Criteria of National Park Management Zones and Blocks for the Management of Nature Reserves, Wildlife Reserves, Forest Parks and Nature Parks
	Local regulation	About
9	Maros Regency Regulation No. 4 of 2012	Maros Regency Spatial Planning of year 2012 - 2032

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Conservation partnership in a Bantimurung Bulusaruang national park

Soon after directorate general making solid guidance for the operationalisation conservation partnership in 2018. Local NGO (Yayasan Tim Layanan Kehutanan Masyarakat - YTLKM) and the Bantimurung Bulusaruang National Park discussing the possibilities to immediately applied this scheme into the park areas as the formal goal as the effort on resolving tenure conflict.

In short, after conducting several formal and informal meetings, it was decided to choose several villages and allow the villages' heads propose the sceme. The park received 6 proposals

from the 6 villages such as Labuaja, Pattanyamang, Barugae, Rompegading, Wanuwaru and Mattanpawalie (detailed can be seen in Table 4).

Table 4. List of areas that entering conservation partnership

Forest farmer groups' name	Sub district-District	Village	Main utilization	The amount of household	The amount of partnership location areas	Agreement number
Bukit harapan			The management of honey bee, bamboo,	37	42.47.00	PKS. 28 of 2018
Patiro bulu			livestock feed, palm sugar &	30	62.04.00	PKS.29 of 2018
Bulu tanete	Cenrana – Maros	Labuaja	<i>Porang</i> (Amorphophallus muelleri Bl.)	32	98.46.00	PKS.27 of 2018
Tunas muda				33	55.72	PKS.30 of 2018
Pattayamang 1	Camba – Maros	Patayamang	The management of pine sap & bamboo	48	151.04.00	PKS.36 of 2018
Pattayamang 2			The management of pine sap & bamboo	20	81.75	PKS.35 of 2018
Sonrae	Cenrana - Maros	Rompegading	The management of pine sap, palm sugar & honey bee	50	71.41.00	PKS.33 of 2018
Bangabangae	Mallawa - Maros	Barugae	The management of pine sap & candlenut	48	489.98	PKS.31 of 2018
Wanua deceng	Mallawa - Maros	Wanuwaru	The management of pine sap, MPTS plants, & honey bee	34	37.96	PKS.34 of 2018
Labongke	Lappariaja - Maros	Mattanpawalie	The management of pine sap & coffee	22	14.06	PKS.32 of 2018

The area of the six villages is in the traditional zone and has the potential for conflict, such as the existence of rice fields, fields and plantations in the area. At this time, the traditional zone in Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park is still a pro and contra debate for most of the surrounding communities who are definitely the biggest recipients of this appointment.

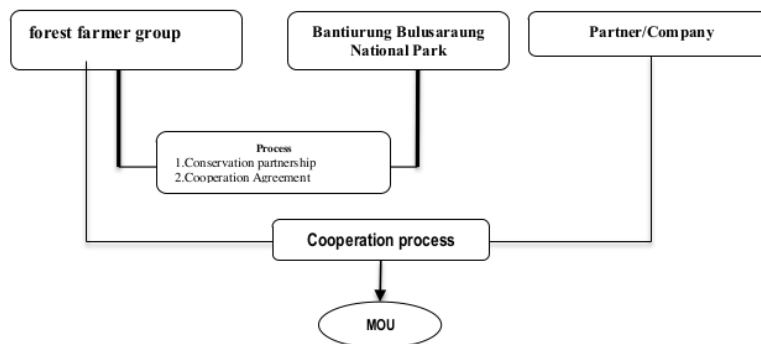


Figure 2. Stakeholder Relationship Pattern of Conservation Partnership

Figure 2 describe several actors on developing the idea and the implementation of conservation partnership in the area in the park. The formal fundamental principle of conservation partnership is the local community should become the supportive community that located around a conservation forest area formed in a forest farmer group and willingness to cooperate with national park and partners.

The management of the task implementation unit of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry is as the holder of the traditional zone management access permit, so that the utilization

of traditional zones can be carried out. While the involvement of private companies in this matter is limited to the work partners of forest farmer groups. This partner / company as a consumer, when forest farmer group has legal access in the utilization of conservation forest areas, so that NTFP collection such as pine resin can be purchased by the company's partners.

4.2. *The three dimension of conflict resources*

4.2.1. *Substantial.* Based on the results of the framework analysis 1a from interview 1 and observations, it was found that knowing the existence of a conservation partnership, the community was enthusiastic about managing the land, but some people did not knowing the existence of rules for management of the National Park area so that there were several interpretations among the partnership village communities such as land that had been worked on by individuals could become private land and the division of plots of work for each group was unknown. Framework analysis 1b, based on interviews 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 revealed that before the existence of the National Park, community had settled and acted. The appearance of P.6 / KSDAE / SET / Kum.1 / 6/2018 regulation implies that the areas in the traditional zone must be managed in groups, this condition makes the community think that the land that has been managed in the traditional zone feels disadvantaged. People who manage the land so far in the national park area do not want their land to be included in the area of group work in the traditional zone. This is because they perceived that they have their own traditional tenure arrangement e.g, community candlenut shifting cultivation management. Analysis of the framework table 1c, interviews 7.8 found an overlap of border areas between wanuwawu villages in Maros and mattampawalie regencies, Bone district in the traditional zone. This causes the mutual claims of management areas by the community which can inhibit the progress of the Conservation Partnership. The management area that mentioned above is a traditional zone area which is located in the intermediate border area between Bone Regency and Maros Regency.

The results of the 1d framework analysis based on interview 9 in the context of the Conservation Partnership in Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park have not found elite claims for ownership of land resources. The village head in this case as the village government opens space for the community to manage the traditional zone. Based on the framework 1e, interview 4, states that in the traditional zone there is no land claim made by the community. But there are interesting cases in the traditional zone in Labuja Village which has four forest farmer groups including Bulu Tanete, Pairo Bulu, Bukit Harapan and Tunas Muda, the four forest farmer groups joined in the Labuja partnership group and have an area of 259,0693 Ha. The Labuja partnership group was born to minimize the potential for conflict in the traditional zone of Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park. The groups were formed following the Community Forest group which was formed in 1999, and updated in 2018 by adding and subtracting several group members. The area managed by the group currently also follows the previous Community Forest area, although the managed area of Community Forest at that time of is larger, which is 500 Ha compared to the present. Analysis of the 1e framework from interviews 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and explain that the systems for profit sharing in the Conservation Partnership in the traditional zone does not exist, the community is still managing individually in the traditional zone. Benefits from Non-timber forest products such as honey, pine sap and bamboo are still felt individually and have no economic impact on forest farmer groups.

4.2.2. *Procedural.* Based on interviews and reviews of forestry regulatory documents related to partnerships. The framework analysis of 2a interview 1 did not find inter-sectoral regulations that could threaten the existence of local communities, in this case the Regional Government and Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park Institutions provided management access rights in the Conservation Partnership area. Interviews based on the framework of 2b interview 9 and observast 9 according to respondents that the rules of Perdirjen P.6 / KSDAE / SET / Kum.1 / 6/2018 do not accommodate equitably rights to land use. The results of field observations indicate that 5 of the 6 Partnership Villages consider that the land designated as a traditional zone provides opportunities for jealousy between groups and individuals in the group. For

example, there are group members who do not agree with the pattern of division of work area plots because they have previously managed / utilized land within the Conservation Partnership area, so that the members do not want to lose their utilized area. This is due to a lack of information and community participation in determining the area of utilization limits, both the boundaries of group work areas and individual utilization areas. While for the case of Rompegading Village, the local community does not have a utilization area so that the distribution of working area plots is evenly distributed, this condition does not cause jealousy between groups or between individuals to each forest farmer group.

Framework analysis 2c based on interview 9 and that the presence of the rules Perdirjen P.6 / KSDAE / SET / Kum.1 / 6/2018 has not been able to fully answer the problems related to the existence of communities around the National Park that have dependencies in special zones. The existence of special zones needs attention as mandated by Law No. 5 of 1990 (Article 32), Law No. 41 of 1999 (Article 24) and P.76 / Menlhk-Setjen / 2015 Article (10, and 16) and P. 56 / menhut-ii / 2006 (Article 6.7) state that the activities of community groups living in special zones as life support and the existence of facilities and infrastructures such as markets, telecommunications, transportation facilities and electricity greatly affect the life needs of the community, for that there is a need for rules regarding the management of special zones (the existence of local communities, including attention to cultivated land, which allows land needs to continue to grow from year to year, indicating the area bordering the other zone will be threatened). This is in line with the analysis of the 2d framework, interview 9 and observatory 9 that in Law No. 5 of 1990 about Conservation article 32 states that the National Park area is managed by a zoning system consisting of core zones, utilization zones, and other zones according to needs, then Law No. 41 of 1999 about forestry article 24 states that the use of forest areas can be carried out in all forest areas except in natural forest and core zones and jungle zones in national parks. This regulation indicates that other zones in the National Park such as rehabilitation zones, special zones, religious zones, culture and history are allowed to be managed as needed, while Perdirjen P.6 / KSDAE / SET / Kum.1 / 6/2018 states access rights which can be managed according to the rules, namely the traditional zone and utilization zone, this certainly illustrates the contradiction between upper-level regulations. This condition will certainly lead to multiple interpretations of access to zoning management by related parties both from the village government and the local community.

The results of a review / related regulation concerning the implementation of zoning system management based on framework 2e, interview 1, 9 and the absence of contradictory regulations with Perdirjen P.6 / KSDAE / SET / Kum.1 / 6 / either from regional regulations or village level regulations, but the existence of this directorate general regulations actually supports the Maros Regency Regional Regulation (PERDA) to build a space utilization as stated in PERDA No. 4 of 2012 about the general provisions of zoning regulations in the National Park area as referred to in paragraph (1) letter b, the activities permitted by conditions include traditional utilization activities by the local community which can be in the form of collecting non-timber forest products, traditional power, and traditional hunting is limited to unprotected species.

4.2.3. Psychological. The results of the framework analysis 3a from interview 8 and explain that some local communities are aware that the land they use belongs to the state, but the people who inhabit the conservation area still depend on the land they use, this requires the local community to manage the land to fulfill their needs. The distrust of field officers and institutions, the absence of objective views and clients tend to react based on their perceptions of the situation. Land conflicts involving local communities and Forestry Police generally occur due to the Forestry Police as field officers often get information that the community uses land in conservation areas. This creates a feeling of rejection of the Forestry Police which has resulted in the existence of land use carried out by the community which has triggered conflict. The conflict was caused by a lack of communication between forest security / Forestry Police, institutions with the community or inadequate socialization, so that the community understanding about the limits of the authority of the local government is still very lacking. One example, there is information that a forest police unit reacted quickly to taking agarwood in the

Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park area and during the search process did not get people who used gaharu. This made the forestry police conduct a search to the village of Mattampawalie and found a lot of arable land carried out by the surrounding community in Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park such as rice fields, cloves, and tapping pine resin. Forestry police who saw this condition then reacted by uprooting the community's clove plants to cause conflict. This incident certainly caused trauma to the community which led to the rejection of the forestry staff.

Framework 3b, interview 9 and suggested that the initiation stage of the Tim Layanan Kehutanan Masyarakat Institution had a very large role starting from the stage of socialization, assistance, and proposal of partnership villages. Beside TLKM, Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park has enormous importance in terms of management policies in maintaining forest areas so that at the administrative & technical verification process the Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park has a very large role, but conservation partnerships can be realized if partners in this case are farmer groups and Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park has the same understanding. The purpose of this view is to guarantee the rights to occupy, ownership of the right to use the population for a long period of time otherwise the conservation area is maintained and without reducing the function of the conservation area. Next, is the analysis on the framework of 3c interview 9 and, at the socialization stage, TLKM institutions and local communities are the actors who initiated the conservation partnership village. The socialization was carried out to provide information and understanding of access to land use to realize the interests of farmers in utilizing land in traditional zone areas. However, the concept of a conservation partnership only allows the taking of non-timber forest products (NTFPs) and the use of environmental services so that through conservation partnerships the interests of farmers can be facilitated. 3d framework analysis, interview 9 that the mediator will take steps to approach community leaders to provide an understanding of the existence of the Conservation Partnership program so that through this approach community leaders are able to provide the best understanding to local community.

Framework 3e, interview 9 convey that the initiation process of the Conservation Partnership involves multi stakeholders, including the central government, village government, community leaders, youth, and farmers. So that the potential for conflict is very minimal, while conflicts can occur if an agreement established in the Cooperation Memorandum of Understanding (NKK) has been violated by one of the parties. The agreement is that the First Party has the right (Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park Office: a) Obtains the benefits of second party forestry maintenance to improve land cover conditions and restore forest ecosystems. b) Obtaining the benefits of increasing regional sustainability. The Second Party is obliged to: a) Establish an institutional management of land, plants and livestock as an internal rule for managing the Partnership Forest that binds its members, with reference to national park management rules and policies. b) Implement Partnership Forest management programs in accordance with program directives and operational plans. c) Support the success of the Partnership Forest management program to realize the sustainability of forest areas and improve community welfare d) Assist the Second Party in planning, implementing and monitoring evaluation of the partnership forest management. e) Comply with applicable laws and regulations. The Second Party has the right (KTH): a) Manage and utilize regional land according to the area of use of each of the partnership villages that have been set in the Traditional Zone program direction and operational plan. b) Obtain economic benefits from the National Park Area in accordance with program directives and operational plans. c) Receive the benefits of developing community empowerment programs. d) Receive guidance and technical assistance in order to develop the capacity of the Partnership Forest management. If this understanding is violated in the future, the third party in this case the facilitator or village government can become a mediator.

Based on the framework 3f, interview 9 argued that the role of the mediator would later adhere to a system of equality in mediating conflicts between parties, so in this case TLKM as a mediator tried to unite opinions that were considered not in line with the objectives of conservation area management. The 3g framework, interview 1 and 9 and suggest the same thing related to the rule P.6 / KSDAE / SET / Kum.1 / 6/2018 has limited location in the use of

land by the local community on the concept of empowerment can only be partners in the traditional zone and utilization zone, so that people who use land outside the traditional zone and utilization cannot be facilitated by the concept of partnership conservation. This limitation of rules can lead to social jealousy among farmers. If this happens a mediator in this case the companion and the local government must mediate the relevant parties.

4.3. Predicting conflict

4.3.1. *Substantial – Psychology*. The community is enthusiastic about the access to management of conservation partnerships on the one hand, the community still attaches importance to individual interest and perception to keep managing land such as rice fields and plantations in traditional zones, because they perceived that the land is managed before conservation areas was designated. This shows that there is a contradiction between the desire of the community and the rule P.6 of 2018 which only allows non-timber forest products to be utilized. If this condition continues then the predisposition will be a vertical conflict between the community and the Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park. Besides, it was also found that there were mutual claims of areas access to use between the villages. (overlapping border areas of Wanuwawaru village, Maros regency and Mattampawalie village, Bone district), this conflict will have implications for granting access to utilization of work areas indicating that horizontal conflicts will occur. If the interests of the community for the land that their utilisation over resources cannot be regulated so that conflicts of interest still arise between individuals or between groups with individuals. This certainly indicates the occurrence of horizontal conflicts because they have similar social status or groups. If this horizontal conflict has not been resolved and is still occurring, other conflicts will emerge, such as unilateral land use claims. The area of land that is managed is now narrower and has an impact on other zoning. Indicate that what becomes a vision of a conservation partnership has not been reached to its full potential.

4.3.2. *Psychology – Procedural*. Local community still experience individual jealousy towards some people who use land in the traditional zone. This was triggered by the P.6 in 2018 which stated that the area in question was only limited to the traditional zone area. Certainly that, some people who do not have prior use have little access compared to people who have had prior access, this can also trigger individual conflicts. As Law No. 5 of 1990 concerning conservation of article 32 and Law No. 41 of 1999 states that the national park area is managed by a zoning system consisting of core zones, utilization zones, and other zones in accordance with the requirements, This regulation indicates that other zones in national parks such as rehabilitation zones, special zones and religious, culture and history zones are permitted to be managed as needed, while Perdirjen P.6 / KSDAE / SET / Kum.1 / 6/2018 states access rights which can be managed according to the rules, namely the traditional zone and utilization zone, this certainly illustrates the contradiction between upper-level regulations. This condition will certainly lead to multiple interpretations of access to zoning management by related parties both from the village government and the local community.

If rules or memorandum of understanding between parties are no longer binding rules between groups and individuals or between groups. This triggers a horizontal conflict caused by each community asking to work on the land according to their wishes.

4.3.3. *Substantial – Procedural*. There is still a lack of understanding regarding the legal access of conservation partnerships by some people who are members of forest farmer groups, so that local communities still want to manage the previous land without regard to the rules of Perdirjen P.6 / KSDAE / SET / Kum.1 / 6/2018. This is confirmed by the discovery of the community that manages the land so far in the national park area does not want the land to be included in the area of group work in the traditional zone. Differences in views from some communities, sees that legal access to conservation partnerships potentially resulting in disputes between the community and the Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park (Vertical Conflict). In addition, the presence of Perdirjen P.6 / KSDAE / SET / Kum.1 / 6/2018 has not been able to fully answer

the problems related to the existence of communities around the National Park that have dependency in special zones. Management of special zones (the existence of local communities, including attention to arable land, which allows land needs to continue to grow from year to year, indicating that the area bordering other zones will be threatened).

The vertical conflicts will possible continue if differences in perspectives on legal access continue to occur without meeting points. This difference in perspective also has the potential to lead to dispute between people who understand regulation and those who continue to claim land use in the traditional zone as private land (horizontal conflict). As a suggestion the Law of Perdirjen P.6 /KSDE/SET/Kum.1/6/2018 needs to be revised regarding the existence of special zones as mandated by Law No. 5 of 1990 (Article 32), Law No. 41 of 1999 (Article 24) and P.76 / Menlhk-Setjen / 2015 Article (10, and 16) and P. 56 / menhut-ii / 2006 (Article 6.7) that the activities of community that living in special zones as life support and the existence of facilities and infrastructures such as markets, telecommunications, transportation facilities and electricity greatly affect the life needs of the community.

5. Conclusion

Based on the framework design, it can be predicted that the community's interest in the land that has been traditionally managed has not been able to be transformed into a regulatory dimension of the partnership scheme. This will lead to the vertical conflict. Those community that accept the scheme is also potentially to be conflict due to the land distribution system of working areas is still confusing. This certainly indicates the occurrence of horizontal conflicts because they fell that they have similar rights but different outcome. If this horizontal conflict has not been resolved and is still occurring, other conflicts will emerge, such as unilateral land use claims. The area of land under management is now narrower and has an impact on other zoning. So that the vision of the Conservation Partnership has not been reached to its full potential.

The local community in general is not ready to accept the existence of a conservation partnership, caused by local community who do not want to acknowledge the state formal claimed that their land is in the traditional zone of the park, and indirectly arises a refusal that wants to continue to manage / utilize their land without paying attention to the traditional territory and other zones which are regulated that the function of each zoning in Bantimurung Bulusaraung National Park cannot be explained. The presence of the rules P.6 / KSDAE / SET / Kum.1 / 6/2018 has not accommodated the intent of Law No. 5 of 1990 about conservation of article 32 and Law No. 41 of 1999 states that the national park area is managed by a zoning system consisting of core zones, utilization zone, and other zones in accordance with requirements, this regulation indicates that other zones in national parks such as rehabilitation zones, special zones and religious zones, culture and history are allowed to be managed in accordance with the mandate delivered, while Perdirjen P.6 / KSDAE / SET / Kum.1 / 6/2018 states that access rights can be managed according to rules, namely traditional zones and utilization zones, This certainly illustrates the contradiction between upper-level regulations. This condition will certainly lead to multiple interpretations of access zoning management by related parties both from the village government and the local community.

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