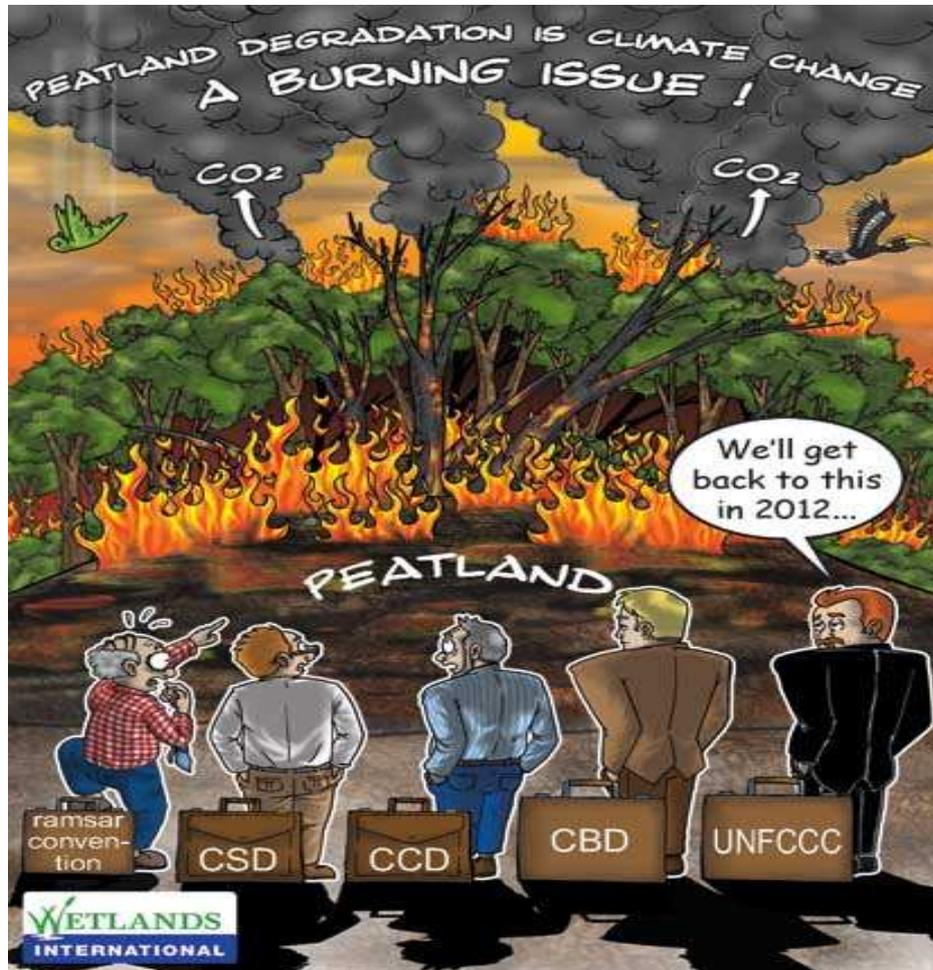


Domestic impact of transnational relations before and after 1992 in Indonesia

Comparative study of the designation of Ujung Kulon and Sebangau National Parks



© Wetlands International

Muchamad Muchtar

710527585040

Supervised by:

Prof. Dr. Bas Arts

MSc Thesis

Forest and Nature Conservation Policy Group



WAGENINGEN UR
For quality of life

July 2008

Domestic impact of transnational relations before and after 1992 in Indonesia

Comparative study of the designation of Ujung Kulon and Sebangau National Parks

Muchamad Muchtar

Supervised by:
Prof. Dr. Bas Arts

MSc Thesis
Forest and Nature Conservation Policy Group
Wageningen UR

SUMMARY

The rising substantial influence of non governmental actors and interest groups in global environmental politics, and domestic policy-making processes has been observed. Study on the political impact of transnational relations on the policy-making processes of the designation of national parks in Indonesia in recent situation, however, is still lacking. Therefore, the objective of this study is to gain knowledge about the political impact of transnational relations on the Indonesian government policy of designating nature conservation areas. To reach the above-formulated objective, the following research questions are formulated:

1. What is the trend of national parks development since its first establishment until today?
2. Is there any impact of transnational actors in policy decision-making processes that influence the above trend?
3. If any, who are the transnational actors involved in this designation processes?
4. What kind of strategies and when do they employ?
5. How were the domestic structure conditions of Indonesia before and after 1992?
6. How were the environmental-related international institutions before and after 1992?

This study employed two-case study of Ujung Kulon and Sebangau national park' designation processes to depict the influence of TNAs, their roles and strategies before and after 1992, respectively. A theoretical framework developed by Risse-Kappen (1996) was used. To analyse the impact of transnational on domestic policy-making, this framework suggests seeing the domestic structures and the degree of international institutionalisation of a state.

The findings of the study show the scientific community and the WWF were the prominent transnational actors that influence the designation of Ujung Kulon and Sebangau National Parks. Scientific community in both cases of Ujung Kulon and Sebangau National Parks plays a significant role in defining issues, providing information by publishing reports and conducting forums. The WWF with its international network helps advancing the information provided by the scientific community to be the agenda of the government. The WWF successfully got into 'winning coalition' by employing various strategies, among others, by doing advocacy and fundraising especially in western countries, and lobbying, executing projects in the fields and also recruiting officials from the Ministry of Forestry.

The considerable increase of the size and role of transnational actors in decentralisation era, however, is more relevant with those of in global politics than the function of domestic structure in filtering the access of the transnational actors. Both centralisation and decentralisation era has provided access to the transnational access. However, the domestic structure of New Order era demonstrates this function and can be considered "stronger" as proven in the case of the disbanding of IGGL. The access and impact of transnational actors are evident in the trend of national park designations, which shows the similar trend both in centralisation and decentralisation era.

Table of contents

SUMMARY	iii
Table of contents	iv
List of tables and figures	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vi
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Problem statement	2
1.3 Research objective.....	3
1.4 Research questions	3
1.5 Outline of the thesis.....	3
CHAPTER 2. TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE	5
2.1 Characteristics of transnational actors	5
2.2 Transnational relations and global environmental politics	6
2.3 Theory on transnational relations	8
2.4 Analytical framework.....	10
2.4.1 Domestic structure conditions and transnational relations	10
2.4.1.1 Agenda-setting.....	11
2.4.1.2 Policy formulation and decision-making.....	11
2.4.1.3 Types of domestic structures	12
2.4.2 International institution conditions and transnational actors	14
2.4.3 How do they influence?.....	15
2.5 Conceptual model.....	16
2.6 Reformulated research questions & proposition.....	17
CHAPTER 3. METHODS	19
3.1 Data collection.....	20
3.2 Data Analysis.....	21
CHAPTER 4. INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC STRUCTURES OF NATURE CONSERVATION.....	22
4.1 International Structure of Nature Conservation.....	22
4.1.1 International institutions on protected areas	23
4.1.2 International agreements governing protected areas	26
4.1.3 Indonesia's membership in international relations	28
4.1.4 Global civil society.....	29
4.1.5 Conceptualisation of Protected Areas.....	31
4.2 Domestic Structure	33
4.2.1 State structure	34
4.2.2 Civil society	35
4.2.3 State-civil society relation	37
4.3 Indonesian nature conservation policy	38
4.3.1 Forestry and national development.....	39
4.3.2 National park policy	40
4.3.3 National park development in Indonesia	42
CHAPTER 5. TWO-CASE STUDY.....	45
5.1 CASE STUDY I: Ujung Kulon National Park	45
5.1.1 Site description	45
5.1.2 Decision processes to the Ujung Kulon National Park.....	46
5.1.3 Transnational actors and the domestic situation.....	48
5.1.4 Transnational relations pattern before 1992	53
5.2 CASE STUDY II: Sebangau National Park	54
5.2.1 Site description	54
5.2.2 Decision processes in the Sebangau National Park	54

5.2.3 Transnational actors and the domestic situation	58
5.2.4 Transnational relations pattern after 1992	63
5.3 Comparing two patterns.....	63
CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION	65
6.1 Trend of national parks development	65
6.2 Transnational actors: Roles and strategies.....	66
6.2.1 Strategy to ‘winning-coalition’	69
6.3 Factors that facilitate and constrain the access and impact	71
6.3.1 Conceptualisation shifting	71
6.3.2 Foreign aids	72
6.4 Implication of transnational actors	73
CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION.....	75
Reflection and recommendation on the research methodology.....	76
Reflection and recommendation on the theoretical framework.....	77
REFERENCES.....	79
LIST OF APPENDICES	85
APPENDIX 1. List of national parks in Indonesia and their year of designation	85
APPENDIX 2. Interview guidelines.....	86
APPENDIX 3. IUCN Protected Area Categories and Management Objectives –1978 and 1994	87

List of tables and figures

Table 1. Types of domestic structures that link the political institutions and society structures after Risse-Kappen (1996).....	13
Table 2. Propositions about the policy impact of transnational actors as mediated by domestic structures (after Risse-Kappen, 1996).....	14
Table 3. Estimated areal coverage of protected areas per world region, 1985, 1997, and change (1985–1997)	22
Table 4. Major international initiatives recognising or designating specific sites relevant to Indonesia	26
Table 5. Indonesia’s membership in international environmental treaties and its ratifying regulation.....	29
Table 6. Changes in Indonesian domestic structure before and after 1998.....	38
Table 7. Number and extent of terrestrial protected areas in Indonesia up to 2006.....	42
Table 8. Transnational relation patterns before and after 1992.....	64
Figure 1 Conceptual framework of transnational relations impact on the policy-making processes of national park	17
Figure 2. Number of national park designated from 1980 – 2004	43
Figure 4. Total areas (million ha) of national parks from time to time from 1980 – 2004	44
Figure 5. Maps of Ujung Kulon National Park	46
Figure 6. Map of Sebangau National Park (Source: ditjenphka.go.id)	55

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MSc Programme at the Forest and Nature Conservation Policy Group. My intention to study on the influence of transnational actors to domestic policy of Indonesia has been growing since I observed myself the growing number and type of international conservation NGOs in Indonesia. Initially, I thought that the objective of my thesis was on domestic policy-making. After some time it was realised that my study was part of an international relation study, in particular transnational relations. This study was quite new to me, but with helps of my supervisor Prof. Dr. Bas Arts, this thesis was eventually finished. He provided me relevant literatures on the subject. Moreover, his stimulating suggestions and encouragement have developed my ideas, viewpoints and analyses. For that, I am very grateful for his supervision despite his busy time as the Policy Group Chair.

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who gave me the possibility to complete this study at the Wageningen University. I want to thank Ir. Hans Jansen, my study advisor with his cheerful and pleasant manners, has provided me guidance in advising the appropriate classes. I have furthermore to thank Dr. Willie Smits of the Gibbon Foundation, who have generously provided my scholarship and made my dream comes true. I want also to extend my gratitude to Iwan Setiawan, Ed Colijn, Dr. Bas van Balen, Piet Eggen, Marcel Silvius and Pak Wiratno and colleagues at PILI for their inspirations and encouragement to take my course here. Special thanks also go to the people who allowed me to interview them.

On a more personal note, I received a lot of support from family and friends. A special thank to my mother who tirelessly put me on her prayers. My thoughts and prayers are for her and my departed father. I also have to thank my brothers and sisters for have been sharing cheers and joyful. I will remember friends at PPI Wageningen, and WUR2006 who have made my stay here feel at home. Especially, I would like to give my special thanks to Yanti Nurwasliah, whose patient love and encouragement enabled me to finish my study. She has 'put one and one together and made three': Alisya Rahmah, Khaniza Nurussyifa and Shafiyya Zahra. They are always keeping me off loneliness. *Alhamdulillah.*

Muchamad Muchtar
Wageningen, July 2008

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Year 1992 is one of the milestones in the effort on world's environmental conservation. In June that year, the United Nations held the Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The event was considered the largest-ever meeting of world leaders that resulted in the signing of five international instruments including the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). The outcome of the Conference is suggested as reconciling the environmental protection and social-economic development that emphasized the sustainable development paradigm (CBD/UNEP 2004). Additionally, the outcomes of the Conference have "created a global forum where governments, non-governmental organisations, academics, the private sectors and other interested groups or individuals share ideas and compare strategies" (CBD, 2004).

Earlier in February that year, the World Conservation Union (IUCN) organised the 4th World Parks Congress in Caracas, Venezuela. In line with CBD, the importance of protected areas was reaffirmed, not only for maintaining biodiversity and ecological processes, but also for promoting economic development and sustainable use. The Congress also emphasized the need to build constituencies by recognising the interest and right of local people, as well as acknowledging the role of NGOs in the management of protected areas and conservation programmes (Durbin 1992).

The influences of the two events coincide with global development of protected areas. Globally, these have been expanding in the amounts and types of protected areas coverage. The number has increased more than ten times during the past three decades and more than double since 1992. The types of protection have been greatly developed since the establishment of Yellowstone National Park from the strict protection to the multi utilization purpose. Of the categories assigned by the IUCN, category II (national park) has recently gained the greatest extent, because of its larger areas that protected (Chape *et al.* 2003).

Indonesia is well-known as one of the major centres for biodiversity in the world. This rich and high endemic biodiversity is a highly valuable asset, and a great potential for the welfare of Indonesia's multi-ethnic population. However, the rate of forest loss appears to have been increasing to an average of 2 million ha per year since 1996 (FWI/GFW, 2002). Forest degradation occurs as a result of massive conversions into farmlands, settlements, and plantations especially in Java, which occurred during the Dutch colonial era; large logging concessions and illegal logging more recently especially in the outer islands of Java (Wiratno *et al.*, 2004). Indonesia's lowland tropical forests, the richest in timber and biodiversity resources, are mostly at risk. They are predicted to disappear in Sumatra by 2005 and Kalimantan by 2010, if the state of resource anarchy trend continues (Jepson *et al.*, 2001).

Efforts of Government of Indonesia (GoI) to curb the current forest degradation and biodiversity extinction have been deployed. One of those efforts was the

designation of protected areas. Protected area is not a new concept for Indonesia. Historically, the Netherlands Indies (Indonesia) was one of the first countries that designate protected areas. The first designated area was Gn. Malabar nature reserve in West Java in 1912 for the aesthetic (panorama) purpose (Jepson and Whittaker 2002). The protected areas development in Indonesia continues with their new conceptions and implementations that refer to global conceptions. Total current protected areas in Indonesia are approximately 22.7 million hectares or about 17% of Indonesia's total forested areas. Of these protected areas, national parks are the largest area about 60% of the total protected areas (MoF, 2007).

1.2 Problem statement

The national park is ambiguously defined and troubled in its implementation but it remains the primary institution for conservation for many countries (O'Neill, 1986). Despite conflicts (e.g. DTE, 2003) and criticism over the park as only representing elite special interests, constraining economic development and/or indigenous rights (Jepson and Whittaker, 2001), almost every year since 1980, Indonesia adds new or extends national parks. The number continued to rise especially after 1992 and culminated in 2004. In 2004, nine new national parks have been declared, five out of which were claimed to be proposed by international NGOs. Tesso Nilo and Sebangau National Parks were both claimed as yielded of "research and advocacy by WWF field staff helped the government decide to create the parks" (WWF, 2004a). Other national parks including Batang Gadis and Kepulauan Togean were proposed by the Conservation International, while Aketajawe – Lolobata by the BirdLife International. For all these new establishment of national parks, the WWF International presented GoI the "Gift to the Earth" award, the "WWF's highest accolade for a globally significant contribution to the protection of the planet" since it has exceeded WWF's target of establishing 700,000 hectares by 2008 (WWF, 2004b). It is interesting to question, how and why did they manage to influence the establishment of national parks? And who are the relevant actors that are involved in the establishment of national parks?

The magnitude and outcomes of the 1992 Rio Conference are considered to have influenced the global environmental issue. Two legally-binding conventions including UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity were parts of the outcomes. Together with the outcomes of the 4th World Park Congress, the designation of protected areas as well as the role of TNAs have been acknowledged. Does the international institutions also affect the designation of national parks in Indonesia?

The rising substantial influence of non governmental actors and interest groups phenomenon have been observed. This phenomenon was especially apparent after the end of the Cold War and the effect of globalization processes (Risse, 2001). These actors that work beyond border of states are known in the political science as non-states actors (NSAs) or transnational actors (TNAs). A number of case studies revealed that domestic policy-making of states on environmental realm have been increasingly constrained and co-shaped by the TNAs (Risse-Kappen 1996) and the internationalization of environmental politics (Schreurs and Economy 1997).

Study on nature conservation field in Indonesia especially on designation processes of national parks in particular on the impact of transnational actors is still lacking. Recent studies in Indonesia have been mainly focused on the effectiveness and implementation stages of national parks (e.g. Erdman *et al.* 2004). But at least, one study on the historical designation of protected areas during Dutch colonial time in Indonesia has been conducted (Jepson and Whittaker, 2002). Therefore, it is of relevance to study the political impact of transnational relations on the policy-making processes of the designation of national parks in Indonesia in recent situation. To see the impact of 1992, two cases study of the Ujung Kulon and Sebangau national parks are conducted.

This study is expected to add knowledge about the fact that decision-making processes of nature conservation in Indonesia are not merely relegated to the state actors in domestic level, but interlinked with international structure conditions. Considering the conflicts and criticism over the park (Jepson and Whittaker, 2001), the knowledge gained from this study can also be used to address the issues.

1.3 Research objective

The objective of this study is to gain knowledge about the political impact of transnational relations on the Indonesian government policy of designating nature conservation areas by investigating the role and strategies of transnational actors in influencing the decision-making processes of Indonesian national parks before and after 1992.

1.4 Research questions

In order to reach the above-formulated objective, the following research questions are formulated.

1. Trend of national parks development
 - 1.1. What has been the trend of national parks development since its first establishment until today?
 - 1.2. What does the trend before and after 1992?
2. Impact of transnational actors
 - 2.1. Is there any impact of transnational actors on policy decision-making processes that influence the above trend?
 - 2.2. If any, who are the transnational actors involved in these designation processes?
 - 2.3. How and why did they manage to influence?
 - 2.4. Do the international regimes influence the designation of national parks?

1.5 Outline of the thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter 1 contains background and problem statement of the study. It is followed by research objective and research questions of the study. These research questions are reformulated in Chapter 2 after discussing the theory of transnational relations and analytical framework that is used in this study. Analytical framework leads to the formulation of conceptual model that guide the study. Chapter 3 presents the methodology employed in this

study. Cases selection, data collection and data analyses are also presented in this chapter.

Chapter 4 focuses on literature study related to the components required in the analytical framework. It briefly discusses the international structure that governs the world nature conservation policy and the domestic structure of Indonesia in general and nature conservation governance in particular. This chapter includes the global and Indonesian protected area developments.

Two-case study, which depicts the policy designation processes of Ujung Kulon and Sebangau national parks, is presented in Chapter 5. This chapter presents the transnational relation pattern before and after 1992 and concludes with the comparison between the two cases. Chapter 6 discusses the findings with relevant literature in order to answer the research objective and research questions. This chapter discusses on what was the trend of national park development in Indonesia, what are the international and domestic structures that influence the trend, and also identifies the role and strategies of transnational actors. Chapter 7 concludes with the empirical findings and discusses the reflection on the methodology and theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 2. TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Historically, international relations with their activities and events were the results of decisions taken by central governments and heads of states. At the end of the twentieth century, however, these activities increasingly involve the variety of actors. These include not only states, and their leaders and government bureaucracies, but also municipalities, for-profit and not-for-profit private organizations, and international organizations (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Mingst, 2003).

This is also reflected on the ‘international’ term currently used in political science, which has been increasingly challenged over the past four decades. ‘International’ is no longer used synonymously with neither ‘*intergovernmental*’ (*interstate*) and nor ‘*transgovernmental*’. The former refers to the relation between the official representatives of sovereign states, and the later related to the relation of one branch of government in one state and a branch of government in other state. Hence, the current term of ‘international’ has included the ‘*activities between individuals and groups in one state and individual and groups in another state, as well as intergovernmental relations*’ (Archer 2001). Risse-Kappen (1996) defines this relation as the ‘*regular interactions across national boundaries when at least one actor is a non-state agent or does not operate on behalf of a national government or an intergovernmental organization*’ or known as ‘transnational relations’. With all this redefinition, the emergence of transnational actors (TNAs) in international relations is reflected.

2.1 Characteristics of transnational actors

Actors who operate in transnational relations are interchangeably mentioned in literatures as either non-state actors (e.g. Arts, 2003) or transnational actors (TNAs) (e.g. Nye & Keohane, 1971; Risse-Kappen, 1996; Risse, 2001). Term of non-state actors used by Arts (2003) is defined “*those actors that are not (representative of) states, yet that operate at the international level and are potentially relevant to international relations*” (Arts 2003). However, Willetts (in Tarrow 2001) asserts that the use of ‘non-state actors’ imply that states are only dominant actors in international relations, while others are secondary. Putting other actors in a single category is also confusing since other actors have very different structures, different resources and different ways of influences. Willetts suggests of using ‘transnational’ to represent that international relations are not limited to governments in the academic sense. In this paper I follow the latter for consistency with the framework used here i.e. Risse-Kappen (1996).

Risse (2001) differentiates TNAs more broadly into two dimensions depending on their internal structure and their motivation. Based on their structure, some TNAs have a formal organization such as multinational organizations to international NGOs. Others have a far more loose fashion, in term of ‘network’, which is defined by Keck & Sikkink (1998) as ‘forms of organization characterized by voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal patterns of communication’. This network is either group of individuals or group of formal organizations.

According to their motivation, TNAs are distinguished, firstly, as those are “primarily motivated by *instrumental* goals and try to promote the well-being of the organization itself or the members of the group” such as MNCs or transnational special interest groups. Secondly, those are “primarily motivated by promoting a perceived ‘common good’” such as INGOs, epistemic communities, or advocacy networks (Risse, 2001). Epistemic community was first coined by Peter Haas (1992 in Keck and Sikkink 1998), who defines it as “*network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area*”. Transnational advocacy networks was popularised by Keck and Sikkink (1998) who defined it as “*networks of activists, distinguishable largely by the centrality of principled ideas or values in motivating their formation*”.

In accordance with those categories made by Risse (2001), five groups of TNAs are generally distinguished which include Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs), International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs), Transnational Corporations (TNCs), epistemic communities, and a remaining general category that forms network - which include social movements, liberation movements, churches, the mafia, and terrorist networks (Arts 2003).

NGOs are one of the actors that have been increasingly playing important roles in global environmental politics particularly since the 1980s. They participate in setting the international agenda, influencing negotiations on regime formation, as well as helping the states in executing the international agreements. Chasek et al. (2006) differentiates three types of NGOs in the industrialised countries that involve in global environmental politics including:

- organisations which has a large, general organisations, with broad environmental interest but focus on domestic issue. Audubon Society and Sierra Club are the examples of this type that focus on U.S. issue but active on international issue. Their memberships, staffs and financial resources have considerably been growing since 1980s;
- organisations that focus primarily on international issues, that may be part of a larger international network or affiliated organisations;
- “think tank” organisations that less in membership but has great influence by focusing on research, publishing, and/or bringing lawsuits.

The second category, which is based on their motivation, is of relevant with the objective of this report. This paper will focus on INGOs, epistemic communities and advocacy network. However, relationship with other actors will certainly not be neglected.

2.2 Transnational relations and global environmental politics

According to Risse (2001), the phenomenon of transnational relations is not particularly new. At least they have been recorded dating back to the medieval era. But the number, size and professionalism, and the speed, density and complexity have grown dramatically in the last three decades (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). The transnational relations has been investigated in various issue-areas that include the international economy, international security, human rights, and environment (Risse-Kappen 1996).

In the environmental realm, the transnational relations have also been observed in parallel with the growing environmental concern. Until a few decades ago global environmental problems were regarded as low politics. Environmental issues such as whaling, trade in endangered species and the environmental protection of Antarctica were marginal to the national interests of many governments. They were merely relegated to scientific and technical experts. However the waning superpower competition and the emergence of new types of environmental issues have given the environmental politics a new status on world politics. The heads of states of Group of Seven (G7) put special attention on the global environmental problems at their summit meeting in Paris 1987, while other governments have begun to manoeuvre to claim credit for sponsorship on environmental initiatives (Chasek et al. 2006). The realization that environmental threats can have serious effects on socioeconomic and human costs, and that they cannot be solved by a unilateral decision of states, has forced international cooperation and also a new political force, i.e. “global environmental movement that undertakes increasingly effective transnational action on various issues” (Chasek et al. 2006).

The environment is no longer perceived as scientific and technical issues but is also viewed as inter-related with other central issue of world politics. These include the future of North-South relations, the international system of resource production and use, the liberalisation of world trade, and even related with the meaning of national and global security. In recent decades, the global environment has been perceived as the third major issue in world politics after international security and global economic issues (Chasek et al. 2006).

Caldwell (1990 in Economy & Schreurs, 1997) refers the 1972 United Nations Conference on Human Environment (the Stockholm Conference) as the turning point in the development of a new paradigm in environmental thinking. The conference has created a place for environmental issues on many national agendas where they had been unrecognized. Since then a number of international agreements have been growing. The United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) registered close to 200 multilateral environmental agreements and amendments to existing agreements. Edith Brown-Weiss (1992 in Economy & Schreurs, 1997) estimated that over 900 bilateral and multilateral environmental agreements were established by the early 1990s.

Economy and Schreurs (1997) suggested that at least three factors have played a role in the growing global concern of environmental problems in recent decades. First, there is a new understanding of the regional or global impacts of local activities. For instance, the coal-fired power plant in Beijing is understood to contribute not only to local pollution but also acid rain in Japan and global climate change. Second, the internationalization of the economy has intensified the degradation of ecological system in a certain region of the world. The high demand in ivory and hardwood in the North has contributed to the degradation of biodiversity in tropical countries in which the two resources originated, as an example. Third, an increasing scientific understanding leads to discovery of new kinds of environmental issue. The use of fossil fuels is understood as contributing to changes in average global temperatures or is widely known as global warming.

In addition to the 1972 Stockholm Conference, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) that held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 is also considered one of the milestones in the environmental area. The magnitude of the UNCED is obviously seen from the participants that attended the event: 187 participating countries with 102 Heads of State and of Government or their special representatives, 16 specialized agencies, 35 intergovernmental organizations and impressive number of non-governmental organizations. The UNCED has also triggered a series of large international conferences on global issues under the UN during the post cold war period. Five international instruments are generally considered as the outcomes of the Conference that include three soft-laws instruments such as Agenda 21, the Statement of Forest Principles and the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, and two hard-law or legally binding instruments including the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity. The outcomes of the Conference are suggested as reconciling environmental protection and social-economic development that emphasized the sustainable development paradigm (CBD/UNEP 2004).

However, on the implementation of the CBD, as it is legally binding, is not with constraints. The lack of appropriate knowledge to ensure the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity resources make the implementation of the Convention difficult. The centripetal forces of globalization (such as market trends, societies values and communication networks) and the centrifugal forces of fragmentation (of national and cultural identities, the erosion and affirmation of sovereignties) operating in a post-cold war world made it even more difficult (CBD/UNEP 2004). Nevertheless, the Convention has “created a global forum where governments, non-governmental organisations, academics, the private sectors and other interested groups or individuals share ideas and compare strategies” (CBD, 2004).

2.3 Theory on transnational relations

Theory on transnational relations has also been reported since eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Immanuel Kant has been claimed to first take up the idea of transnationalism through his 1795 ‘Perpetual Peace’, which conceived the causal relationship between economic interdependence and world peace (Risse, 2001). However the explicit analytical works on transnational relations started during the late 1960s and early 1970s that challenged the state-dominated perspective (Risse-Kappen, 1996; Risse, 2001).

There are many contending theories that developed by political scientists in order to understand the causes of events that occur in international relations and to answer the foundational questions in the field. There are three prominent theories including liberalism, realism, and radical perspectives whose origin lies in Marxism. As theory developed, criticisms over traditional theories have developed alternative approaches such as, among others, post-modernism and constructivism (Mingst, 2003). According to *liberal pluralist*, ‘*power elite*’ and *instrumental Marxism* growing in the 1960s and 1970s, governmental actors become the transmission belt of societal interest groups, elites or ruling class respectively. Both the liberalism and the critical-marxism on transnational relations of the 1960s and 1970s largely focussed on political economy and the

rise of multinational corporations (MNCs) in the post-World War II era. But INGOs and other transnational actors was not yet the subject of the study.

In 1971, Gilpin through his 'Transnational Relations and World Politics' had argued against the liberalism that MNCs were primarily an instrument of American foreign policy not the other way around that liberalism defended. This publication of volume and other literatures of the late 1970s and early 1980s saw a revival of (neo)realism. These literatures put emphasize on hegemonic stability theory that was the response to the liberal interdependence arguments (Risse-Kappen, 1996; Risse, 2001). They bring "the state back in". The late 1980s observed two developments that lead to transnationalism especially in the US and Europe: first, the beginning of constructivism or sociological institutionalism in international relations and second, the end of the Cold War and its impact on international relations theorizing. The 1990s saw the revival of theorizing on transnational actors that become a trend, which was followed further by the debate on 'globalization'. However, Tarrow (2001) suggests that state remains a dominant actor in domestic and international levels. In domestic level, state still controls its territory and exercise legal dominion within them, even if it becomes weaker in controlling capital flows. In international level, state still plays important role beyond its borders, for example in signing international agreements or interfering other (usually weaker) states and building international institutions.

Risse (2001) made an attempt to compare the characteristics of TNAs impact in world politics of the 1970s and the revival of 1990s:

1. the 1970s was largely concentrated on the transnational profit sector such as MNCs, whilst the 1990s concentrates more thoroughly on non-profit sector such as 'epistemic communities', value-based advocacy networks, INGOs, and cross-border social movements.
2. the recent literature is more about the *interaction* between states and transnational society than about *replacing* a state-centred view with a society-dominated perspective.
3. the recent works are focussing on transnational actors promoting and diffusing causal knowledge (epistemic communities) and norms (advocacy networks).

In addition, Arts (2003) suggests that three types of studies on transnational relations can be determined, which include:

- studies focus on the impact of transnational actors on the policies of governments at the domestic levels;
- studies focus on how transnational actors had an impact on global governance, including international organizations, institutions and regimes; and
- studies do both that analyse the 'multi-level game' in which transnational actors are involved and simultaneously operate at the domestic and international levels.

Controversy in terms of a 'state-centred' *versus* 'society-dominated' view of world politics continues to rise. Risse (2001), however, suggested studying the interactions and inter-penetration of transnational and interstate relations rather than analyzing them in zero-sum terms. Within context of this study, it is relevant

to pay more attention to the first type of aforementioned studies on how transnational actors co-shape the policy-making and policy outcomes of government at the domestic level and observe the *interaction* between state and transnational actors.

2.4 Analytical framework

A number of studies show that TNAs play important roles in global environmental politics and influence domestic political institutions and policy-making processes (Economy and Schreurs, 1997; Risse-Kappen 1996; Risse 2001; Chasek *et al* 2006). The case studies presented by Risse-Kappen and his colleagues (1996) show that the impact of transnational actors and coalitions on state policies exist in various issue-areas, actors involved, type of states and regarding their embeddedness in bilateral and/or multilateral institutions. The issue-areas investigated by Risse-Kappen *et al.* include the international economy, environment, international security, and human rights. Their studies look at the transnational actors involved that include transnational company (TNCs), international NGOs (INGOs), transnational and trans-governmental actors within international institutions, and loose alliances among societal groups.

The state responses to transnational relations impact vary between states and issues that involve. The variations of impact relate with 'state autonomy' that "depends internationally on the state's position in the distribution of power and its embeddedness in international regimes and organizations". And it is "domestically a function of variation in domestic structures, in particular state-society relations, and in socio-economic development" (Risse-Kappen, 1996). In brief, he concludes that in investigating the impact of transnational relations on foreign and domestic policies of a state, it is suggested to pay attention to:

1. differences in domestic structures, i.e. the normative and organisational arrangements which form the "state", society structure, and policy network of the two; and
2. degrees of international institutionalisation, i.e., the extent to which the specific issue-area is regulated by bilateral agreements, multilateral regimes, and/or international organisations.

2.4.1 Domestic structure conditions and transnational relations

Domestic structures "mediate, filter and refract the efforts by transnational actors and alliances to influence policies". Domestic structures include "the organizational apparatus of political and societal institutions, their routine, the decision-making rules and procedures incorporated in law and custom, as well as the values and norms embedded in the political cultures" (Risse-Kappen 1996). Decision-making of rules and procedures has been considered as an evolving process in a (chrono)logical sequence of discrete stages or phases (Jann and Wegrich 2007). A simplified and ideal-type model of policy processes would be, first, problem recognition, put on agenda for consideration and then developed, adopted and finally implemented. However, policy processes are dynamic and iterative processes, which will always "constantly be reviewed, controlled, modified and sometimes even terminated" (Jann and Wegrich 2007). Jann and Wegrich (2007) discusses on policy cycle that mostly applies in domestic situation, based on his extensive literature review. Within relevance of this paper,

only agenda-setting and policy formulation and decision-making cycles are discussed.

2.4.1.1 Agenda-setting

Agenda-setting phase includes problem recognition and put the recognised problem for public consideration (Jan and Wegrich 2007) or substages including: initiation, specification, expansion and entrance (Cobb, Ross and Ross 1976). It involves (major) actors within and outside government who seek to influence and shape the agenda to be seriously considered as policy problems (e.g. by taking advantage of rising attention to a particular issue, dramatising a problem, or advancing a particular problem definition). This policy problems depend on how the problem is framed by different actors involved based on their own norms, values and ideal. The actors have their tactical means and institutional venues to define issues to be policy problems. The next step, which is a crucial step, is putting the policy problems up to the formal political agenda. The political agenda is defined by Kingdon (1995) as "the list of subjects or problems to which governmental official, and people outside the government closely associated with those official, are paying some serious attention at any given time" (Jan and Wegrich 2007). The material conditions of the policy environment and the flow and cycle of ideas and ideologies determine whether the policy issue becomes a major topic of policy agenda.

2.4.1.2 Policy formulation and decision-making

Authors separate policy formulation (of alternatives for action) and decision-making (final adoption) phases, however, Jan and Wegrich (2007) treated these as sub-stages, as the two are inseparable phases. During policy formulation, the government which includes ministerial departments (and the units within the departments) and higher civil servants interact with organised interest groups, elected members of parliament and their associate as major players depending on the political system. According to Mayntz and Scharpf (1975 in Jan and Wegrich 2007) the interaction pattern of interdepartmental interaction usually follow more the type of negative coordination, i.e. sequential participation of different departments occur after the initial policy program has been drafted. The positive coordination is pooling suggested policy solutions as part of the drafting. The interaction with other actors, however, is, in more or less, an informal process.

Marsh and Rhodes (1992) develop typology of policy network, which works in a continuum between *policy communities* and *issue networks* characterised by closeness or looseness of relationship. The idea of policy networks is about bargaining of power and resources. In the policy community, all members interact by exchanging and bargaining of resources in which the power of the members are relatively balance, although not all members equally benefit. In the issue networks, there are many participants involved therefore the degree of interaction fluctuates and conflicts easily to occur. Unequal power relationship causes some groups have little access and sometime no alternatives. However, Sabatier (1991 in Jan and Wegrich 2007) suggests that a policy subsystem frequently consist of more than one network that each compete to dominate.

This policy formation process is suggested to strongly influence the "decision-making final outcome and very often shape the policy to a larger extends than the

final processes within the parliamentary arena”. This interaction and the results are determined by the power and resources of diverse actors, instead of rational choice among alternative policies. One of crucial aspects of policy formation is the role of (scientific) policy advice. In this policy advice, Wittrock (1991 in Jan and Wegrich 2007) describes technocratic (policy decisions depending on superior knowledge provided by experts) and decisions (primacy of politics over science) models. But dominant normative understanding favours a pragmatic and cooperative interaction, since the policy advice is not depending on single (scientific) study or report as its information and knowledge sources. However, the impact of policy advice has middle- and long-term changes of general problem perceptions and worldviews. In contemporary political studies, the roles of think tanks and international organisations are clearly visible who provides and communicating to (central) governments more knowledge and information in process of policy formulation.

From the above description, it is clear that decision-making is preceded by information and knowledge gathering and processing (analysis), and also most importantly conflict resolution within and between public and private actors and government (interaction). After those processes, the final adoption of policy is responsible and domain of the formal institutions of the governmental system mainly cabinet, ministers and parliament. Even in this sub-stage, however, the involvement of non-responsible institutions or actors, sometimes in the shadow of hierarchy, becomes a widespread pattern in policy-making (Mayntz and Scharpf 1975 in Jan and Wegrich 2007). This pattern exists depends on, among others, two major crucial factors including basic substantial parameters (scarcity of resources of either economic or political support) and the allocation of competencies between different actors (e.g. government) especially based on country structure either federal or decentralised or centralised country structures. Jan and Wegrich (2007) gives example on the policy-making of taxation in German that federal government is only dependent on the support of the Federal Parliament, but also on the consent of the Federal Council.

2.4.1.3 Types of domestic structures

In order to influence, the TNAs should leap over two obstacles. They have to gain *access* to the political system of their “target state”, and to generate or contribute to “*winning coalitions*” to change policies into the desired direction. Three components of domestic structures are defined as:

1. the state structure (centralization versus fragmentation);
2. the societal structure (weak versus strong); and
3. the policy network linking the two structures (consensual versus polarized) (Risse-Kappen 1996).

State structure or political institutions can be examined with regard to degree of centralization or fragmentation. It examines on how political institutions regulate the power concentration, the relationship between legislative and executive (parliamentary democracies versus presidential systems), and the political culture of the national government relating with the administration of regions and local communities. *Societal structure* or structure of demand-formation in civil society refer to the internal polarization in terms of ideological and/or class cleavages. It examines the correlation of political attitudes and beliefs about social and political

life with religious, ideological, or class cleavages. It measures to what extent can societal demands be mobilized for political causes, and how centralized is the structure of interest groups, societal coalitions, and social organizations? *Policy network* determines the institutions and norms that regulate the coalition-building processes. “Consensual polities are characterized by strong intermediate organization operating in a compromise-oriented decision-making culture, while polarized polities would emphasize distributive bargaining, often leading to decision blockades“(Risse-Kappen, 1996).

Table 1. Types of domestic structures that link the political institutions and society structures after Risse-Kappen (1996)

		Society			
		Strong		Weak	
		<i>Policy networks</i>		<i>Policy networks</i>	
		Consensual	Polarized	Consensual	Polarized
Political institutions	Centralized	Corporatist	Stalemate	State-dominated	State-controlled
	Fragmented	Society dominated		Fragile	

Risse-Kappen (1996) suggested that the differences of domestic structure conditions of certain states as depicted in table 1 will determine the policy impact of TNAs. *State-controlled* domestic structures are characterised by highly centralised political institutions with strong executive governments and a rather weak level of societal organization. The example of this type is many of the former Communist countries with centrally planned economies and various authoritarian Third World states. *State-dominated* domestic structure is distinguished from the *state-controlled* category because of the different nature of the policy networks. Policy network provides channel of societal demands into the political system and/or more consensus-oriented decision-making norms. It is so that the political culture and/or intermediate organizations counterbalance the power of the state as compared to the state-controlled type. In these types of domestic structures, transnational actors are to be likely difficult to gain access to the political system. But once they overcome the hurdle in gaining access, the impact might be profound. If powerful state actors are pre-disposed toward their goals, they can directly influence policies. In other hand, transnational contacts might serve to empower and legitimize the demand of social groups.

‘*Stalemate*’ domestic structures are characterised by comparatively strong states versus strong social organizations in a highly polarized polity and a political culture emphasizing distributional bargaining. Access of transnational actors might be little easier than in state-dominated case. However, the policy impact is rather limited, because the disfunctionality of the societal and political institutions to produce policy changes. If change occurs it is expected from domestic polity that alter the domestic structure during the process. India appears to resemble this type.

Corporatist type is characterised by the existence of powerful intermediate organizations such as political party in a consensus-oriented political culture resulting in continuous bargaining process geared toward political compromises such as occurred in Japan. If transnational actors succeed in penetrating the

powerful societal and political organizations, their policy impact can be as significant as in the state-dominated case. Since corporatist structure tend to institutionalise social and political compromises, the policy impact of transnational actors could last for a long time.

Society-dominated domestic structures are characterised by comparatively strong societal organization, but decentralized and fragmented political institutions. The examples of this type are likely the United States and to some extent Hong Kong. This condition of domestic structure gives easy access to societal and political institution. Given the fragmented political institution with a high degree of political mobilization and strong social organization, transnational actors are likely to demand much greater efforts to generate “winning coalitions”.

The last, *fragile* domestic structures combine fragmented states institutions, and weak on both societal mobilization and social organizations. The access for transnational actors might not be a problem in this fragile condition. However, it will be difficult to build coalitions within both societal and governmental institutions given their organizational weaknesses. If transnational actors succeed to achieve their goals in changing policies, the state is expected to be too weak to implement it. Many of African states and post-Soviet Russia are the examples of this fragile type (Risse-Kappen, 1996). Table 2 summarizes the relationship of domestic structure condition and policy impact of transnational actors.

Table 2. Propositions about the policy impact of transnational actors as mediated by domestic structures (after Risse-Kappen, 1996)

Domestic structure	Access to domestic institutions	Policy impact in case of access
State-controlled	Most difficult	Profound if coalitions with state actors predisposed toward TNA goals or empowerment of social actors
State-dominated	Difficult	Ditto
Stalemate	Less difficult	Impact unlikely
Corporatist	Less easy	Incremental but long-lasting if coalition with powerful societal and/or political organizations
Society-dominated	Easy	Difficult coalition-building with powerful societal organizations
Fragile	Easiest	Impact unlikely

2.4.2 International institution conditions and transnational actors

If domestic structures were assumed to mediate the policy impact of transnational coalitions “from below”, international structures of governance should also facilitate such policy influence in a similar way “from above”, since both represent structure of governance (Risse-Kappen, 1996). International relations are regulated by institutions, which is defined as “*persistent and connected sets of rules (formal and informal) that prescribe behavioural roles, constrain activity, and shape expectations*” (Risse-Kappen, 1996) or also known as international regime (Chasek et al. 2006). The international regime has been defined in two ways. The first, it may be applied to a wide range of international arrangements from the coordination of monetary relations to superpower security relations,

without any explicit agreement. The second is a set of norms and rules that are specified by a multilateral legal instrument among states to regulate national actions on a given issue. Convention is an example of this legal instrument that may contain all the binding obligations expected to be negotiated or may be accompanied by a more detailed instrument elaborating on its rules and regulations (Chasek et al. 2006).

Studies by regime analysts suggest that international institutions have substantial effects on government practices, both on policies and definitions of interests and preferences. They suggest that state autonomy and state control over policy outcomes are influenced by the degree of the state's embeddedness in international regime. International institutions provide forums and frequent meetings, which generate knowledge and information sharing usually by international institutions for the participants including trans-governmental and transnational actors. In other cases, international organizations such as the World Bank, the European Commission, and the Western developmental agencies, provide arena, and sometime actively encourage and (even finance), enabling regular interactions between transnational actors and state actors. The UN World Conferences in particular have served as important focal points for the activities of transnational advocacy networks. In these kinds of situations then international institutions are expected to facilitate the *access* of INGOs and trans-governmental networks to the national policy-making processes (Risse, 2001). "The more a particular issue-area is regulated by cooperative international institutions, the more are transnational activities expected to flourish and the less should national governments be able to constraint them" (Risse-Kappen, 1996).

2.4.3 How do they influence?

Access does not guarantee *impact* (Risse-Kappen, 1996). In order to influence the policy decision-making processes, TNAs need, directly or indirectly, to intervene. Arts (2003) discusses the strategies used by TNAs including lobbying, advocacy, monitoring, protest and participation. *Lobbying* refers to tacit, informal attempts to influence decision makers in the corridor of political arenas. *Advocacy* refers to open, often formally, accepted attempts of spreading information, views and ideas in political arenas, to influence decision-makers to change or adapt their preferences. *Monitoring* refers to 'watchdog role', which involves controlling whether governments comply with their own promises and policies. *Protest* refers to the open propagation of or opposition to certain ideas, institutions or measures, outside formal political arenas. *Participation* refers to formally being part of policy arrangements, as a relevant stakeholder, or even as a co-decision-maker.

Risse (2001) differentiates transnational actors influence on the international policy cycle in three phases, including agenda-setting, international norm creation, and norm implementation. In agenda-setting phase, there is undoubtedly that the influence of transnational advocacy networks has been greatest. They are playing a significant role in the paradigm shift since TNAs provide moral authority and knowledge. It is arguably that almost no new normative issue that has not yet been advocated by transnational advocacy coalition, INGOs, and epistemic coalitions. The protection of the ozone layer, global warming, deforestation, wildlife conservation is the example in the environmental issue.

Nevertheless, the impact of TNAs is less pronounced in norm creation and implementation phases, i.e. as they have to build “winning coalition” with and among state actors. During this stage, “while transforming principled beliefs or knowledge into concrete norms and rules prescribing appropriate behaviour enshrined in treaties and other instrument of international governance and accepted by international community”, they are likely to have considerable oppositions in domestic level (Risse, 2001).

Based on available evidence, Risse (2001) suggests three potential pathways by which TNAs influence multilateral negotiations:

- through lobbying activities in the domestic society of powerful states such as the US, thus exploiting ‘two level game’ mechanisms and changing state preferences;
- through coalitions with IOs thus pressuring states ‘from above’ and ‘from below’, this particularly seems to be pronounced in the EU;
- through coalition-building with smaller states by providing the knowledge and ‘informational power’.

In the implementation stage, transnational advocacy networks and epistemic communities assume centre-stage again by which states and their societies internalize international rules in their domestic practices. Risse (2001) suggests two reasons in relation with this, including:

- the legalization process if international norms drastically increases the legitimacy of those actors who demand compliance with them;
- IOs and state agencies must often rely on TNAs expertises and information gathering capacities, in particular in human right and environmental issues.

2.5 Conceptual model

The above literature study suggests that to describe the policy impact of transnational relations on the national park decision-making processes in Indonesia, it is necessary to carefully observe the interaction of domestic structures and international structures that affect the Indonesian environmental policy. The following model tries to depict the simplified decision-making processes that involve transnational actors. This model draws some assumptions concerning the TNAs impact on the designation processes of national parks in Indonesia:

- domestic structures facilitate (either allow or reject) access to the transnational actors to act in the ‘sovereignty’ area of Indonesia;
- international institutions (regimes and organizations) provide legitimating and financial supports to TNAs, in order to ‘help’ states comply with agreed norms;
- in order to influence the policy outcomes to their desired goals, transnational actors have to build a “winning coalition” that involve state actors in a policy network. In this stage, transnational actors provide information, knowledge and monitoring capacities.

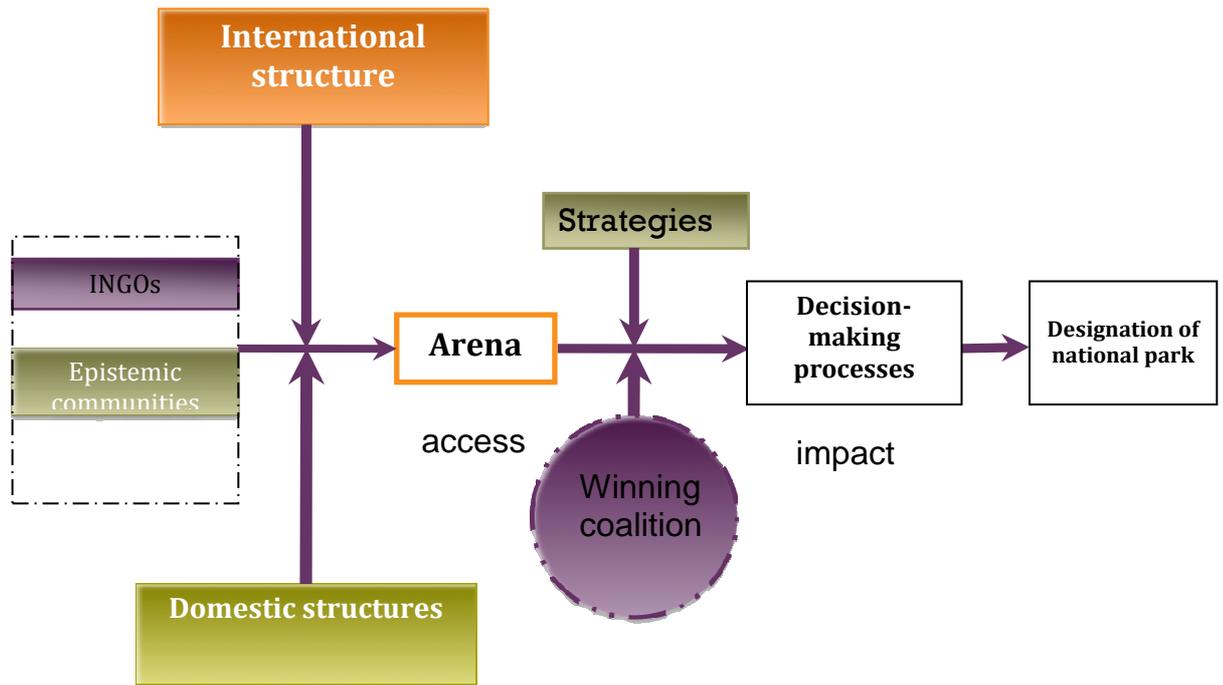


Figure 1 Conceptual framework of transnational relations impact on the policy-making processes of national park

2.6 Reformulated research questions & proposition

Based on the aforementioned literature study, assumptions, and the model, the research questions of this study are reformulated.

1. Trend of national parks development
 - 1.1. What is the trend of national parks development since its first establishment until today?
 - 1.2. How is the trend before and after 1992?
2. Transnational actors
 - 2.1. Is there any impact of transnational actors in policy decision-making processes that influence the above trend?
 - 2.2. If any, who are the transnational actors involved in this designation processes?
 - 2.3. What kind of strategies and when do they employ?
3. Factors that facilitate and constrain the impact
 - 3.1. How were the domestic structure conditions of Indonesia before and after 1992?
 - 3.2. How were the environmental-related international institutions before and after 1992?

Indonesia has been involved in several environmental-related international agreements and forums. Indonesia is also one of the signatory countries to several international regimes such as, among others, the Convention of Biodiversity and the UN Framework for Climate Change Convention. Transnational actors with

their expertise and information ‘help’ Indonesia in achieving compliance with such biodiversity-related conventions. In domestic level, Indonesia experienced a political transformation from a centralisation era in 1967-1998 to decentralisation era, marked by the downfall of Suharto. From the given assumptions, a proposition was drawn as follow:

“The designation processes of national parks in Indonesia are more influenced by the increasing roles and strategies of transnational actors after 1992 than those of before 1992, which take the advantage of domestic political system changes in 1998 and the growing international institutions after 1992.”

CHAPTER 3. METHODS

To meet the above objective of this research, a case study was conducted. Case studies tend to be frequently used for the policy research method, as they are usually quick, cost efficient, and allow room for impressionistic analyses of a situation (Majchrzak, 1984). In line with the objective of the study, which is seeking the cause-effect relationship about a contemporary set of events (or explanatory), the case study strategy is most likely to be appropriate for this study (Yin, 2002). When selecting a case for a case study, information-oriented sampling, instead of random sampling is often used.

Since the objective of the study is to compare the conditions of policy decision-making processes of national parks in Indonesia before and after 1992, it has been decided to use a two-case study or ‘comparative’ study. This case selection, nevertheless, is expected to offer contrasting situations between the two cases that will represent a strong start toward *theoretical replication* that supports or rejects theoretical framework. This is in contrast with *literal replication* that expects a possibility of similar result (Yin, 2002). The more multiple-case studies are selected, the more compelling results are expected, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust. However, multiple cases require extensive resources and time (Yin, 2002). Considering the time constraint, two cases would suffice.

The two cases have been selected out of the current fifty established national parks. First, a table of national park list containing the name and year designation based on the Ministerial Decree is compiled (see Appendix 1). The list is then categorised according to the year of designation and sorted out into two groups of those designated before, and those after 1992 accordingly. A preliminary assessment on whether there are any transnational actors working in the area or not was conducted. A quick assessment on the availability and accessibility of source information through the internet and WUR library catalogue combined with my own prior knowledge were conducted. In addition to the use of internet scientific catalogues such as *Scopus*, the *Google* and *Google Scholar* are used to compile local information. From the above steps, two national parks are selected out which include **Ujung Kulon National Park and Sebangau National Park**. Ujung Kulon is one of the five first declared national parks in 1980, and Sebangau is one of the nine latest declared national parks in 2004. From the preliminary assessment, both Ujung Kulon and Sebangau National Parks have been provided assistances of the WWF networks. Articles concerning Javan rhino indicate the involvement of the WWF in the conservation of this species in Ujung Kulon. While a press release and report of the WWF claimed the involvement of the WWF in the designation of Sebangau.

By selecting Ujung Kulon National Park, it is expected that the case depict the role, strategies and influence of the transnational relations to the policy-making processes before 1992. Sebangau NP case is expected to depict those situations after 1992. The Sebangau case was presumed to be domestically decentralised system and internationally more international institutions, in contrary with those of Ujung Kulon case.

3.1 Data collection

Literature study and elite interview (key informants interview) (Rubin and Rubin, 1995) were employed to collect the data relevant to the objective of the study. The data collection was conducted during February – April 2008. To gain reliability, multiple sources of evidence has been collected (Yin, 2002). Documents (such as letters, communiqués, announcements, administrative documents such as proposals, progress reports, formal studies or evaluation, newspaper articles, press release and journal articles) and archival records (such as organizational records, maps and charts, survey data) were examined.

A series of open-ended interviews of key informants (elite interviewing) were conducted to gain information about the related facts, their opinions. The informants were asked if they might have other relevant sources or informants. This ‘snow ball’ approach is hoped to enrich the data and information. “Elite” individuals are those considered to be influential, prominent, and/or well-informed people in an organization or community. They are selected for interviews on the basis of their expertise in areas relevant to the research (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). The key informants in this study were representative for the following sectors:

- Representatives of Government of Indonesia (Ministry of Forestry, Ministry of Environmental);
- Representatives of international NGOs;
- Representatives of national and/or local NGOs;
- Academia;
- Representatives of donor agencies and independent consultants.

To raise the reliability of the study, a case study protocol has been developed (Yin, 2002). It contains an overview of the case study, guidelines for case study questions and report (see Appendix 2). The guideline of questions contains:

- reason(s) of the designation,
- whether any non-state actor involvement exists or not,
- relevant actors that have been involved in the designation processes,
- strategies they employ,
- international factors that may facilitate and constrain the designation processes,
- domestic factors that may facilitate and constrain the designation processes.

The key informants were interviewed by means of email, telephone or face-to-face interviews. For email interview, questionnaires derived from the above guideline of questions have been prepared either in English and Indonesian, by using a form created with Microsoft Office processor, making it a respondent-friendly questionnaire. As far as possible, some of the key informants who have responded would be further interviewed by means of telephone, while those residing in the Netherlands would be interviewed face to face.

In sum, seventy-one respondents representing each sector have been questioned by means of email, telephone and face-to-face. However, out of 61 email-based surveys, only 7 (11.5%) answered the questions, 6 did not answer but recommend

others or relevant documents (in part offering snowball technique) and 5 bounced back. Together with 5 respondents contacted by phone and 5 interviewed face-to-face, in total 17 (24.3%) people have answered the questionnaire.

3.2 Data Analysis

Information on each case study concerning the decree of establishment, biogeographic information and chronological political processes leading to the designation of national park will be collected. From the political processes, the actors, their roles and strategies will be subtracted and analysed. From that step, the information collected will be interlinked with the international and domestic structure situation.

Analysis of questionnaire text:

All questionnaire texts have been coded and analysed for the purpose.

1. Questionnaire texts have been coded on the basis of text themes: (i) Ujung Kulon NP (UK) and (ii) Sebangau NP (SB).
2. Questionnaire texts have been condensed and coded reflecting theme/sub themes.
3. Subthemes have included: transnational actors, strategies, resources, international factors, domestic factors, (dis)advantage.
4. Afterwards coding of both themes and subthemes is undertaken according to data analysis flow.

Data and information from literature review and interview analysis were combined. This case study evidence was then be strategically analysed by *relying on the theoretical proposition* (Yin, 2002). The proposition would be a theoretical orientation guiding the case study analysis. It helps to focus attention on certain data and to ignore other data. Then a *pattern-matching* technique (Yin, 2002) will be used to compare the empirical patterns from the observation with the proposition patterns (see table 3). From this technique, it is expected that a conclusion, which answers the objective of this study, could be drawn. To increase the validity, Yin (2002) suggests to have the draft report will be reviewed by relevant key informants, of which the stage will be done wherever possible.

CHAPTER 4. INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC STRUCTURES OF NATURE CONSERVATION

4.1 International Structure of Nature Conservation

The conceptualisation, development and management of global protected areas are supported and delivered by a wide range of institutions, agreements and processes involving mainly the World Conservation Union (IUCN) and the United Nations bodies (in particular UNEP and UNESCO), together with multilateral and bilateral funding institutions, as well as global conservation organisations, especially during 1980s – 2000s (Zimmerer *et al.* 2004; Ravenel and Redford 2005). The effect of the protected area institutionalisation can be seen from the current global extents and types that increase in recent decades. Data from the 2003 *United Nations List of Protected Areas* reveals that the total number of PAs in 2003 is 102,102 from various types of categories covering more than 18.8 million km or about 12.65% of the Earth's land surface that include terrestrial and marine areas (Chape *et al.*, 2003).

A study presented by Zimmerer *et al.* (2004) shows that the expansion of global coverage of protected areas was particularly occurred between 1985 and 1997. Their study was based on 1985 *United Nations List of National Parks and Protected Areas* and 1997 *United Nations List of Protected Areas*. This global coverage was significantly increased from an estimated 3.48% (5.29 million km²) in 1985 period to 8.82% (12.24 million km²) in 1997 period. The highest coverage of protected areas during 1985 and 1997 was in the North America region. However the highest coverage change from 1985 to 1997 was occurred in Middle America, which includes Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean countries. Southeast Asia region was the 2nd percent-protected area coverage in 1985, but the increasing percentage to 1987 was lesser than other coverage (Table 3).

Table 3. Estimated areal coverage of protected areas per world region, 1985, 1997, and change (1985–1997)

World Region	1985 PA coverage (area in km ²)	1985 percentage protected	1997 PA coverage (area km ²)	1997 percentage protected	1985-97 PA coverage change (area in km ²)	1985-97 PA coverage change within region
North America	1 657 633	8.52%	2 941 547	15.25%	1 283 914	6.65%
Middle America*	68 024	2.50%	352 135	12.85%	284 111	10.37%
South America	689 258	3.89%	1 837 825	10.26%	1 148 567	6.41%
North Africa/Southwest Asia	60 352	0.44%	1 054 255	7.59%	993 903	7.16%
Sub-Saharan Africa	1 456 634	6.28%	2 056 816	8.91%	600 182	2.60%
Western/Mediterranean Europe	115 886	3.21%	496 883	13.41%	380 996	10.28%
Central/Eastern Europe	28 262	1.35%	126 947	5.72%	98 685	4.44%
Russia/Central Asia	145 099	0.65%	637 737	3.01%	492 638	2.33%
South Asia	203 042	4.53%	212 924	4.87%	9882	0.23%
East Asia	129 812	1.10%	883 220	7.49%	753 408	6.39%
Southeast Asia	336 109	7.48%	518 864	11.54%	182 755	4.06%
Australia and the Pacific	402 321	1.77%	1 123 200	4.94%	720 879	3.17%
TOTAL-WORLD	5 292 433	3.48%	12 242 353	8.82%	6 949 920	4.71%

Source: Zimmerer *et al.* 2004

* Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean countries

This sub-chapter briefly discuss the international institutions and organisations that influence the world nature conservation development and governance.

4.1.1 International institutions on protected areas

IUCN is probably the most influential international organisation on the development of protected areas globally. It was previously named the International Union for the Protection of Nature (IUPN) that was inaugurated in 1948 following an event sponsored by the UNESCO. The goal of IUPN was to establish “*national parks, nature reserves and monuments, and wild life refuges, with special regard to the preservation of species threatened with extinction*”. The name changed to be the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) at their 1956 General Assembly meeting, and later in 1990, the IUCN shortened their name to World Conservation Union but maintain International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (Ravenel and Redford 2005), however WCU name has no longer commonly used since March 2008 (IUCN 2008).

IUCN is a hybrid organisation that currently has 1,000 member organisations in 140 countries including more than 200 government and more than 800 non-government organisations (IUCN 2008). Members include World Wide Fund for Nature, the World Bank, the United Nations, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, and US Agency for International Development (Weeks and Mehta 2004). By this varied membership, the IUCN is in some fora is a BINGO (Big international NGOs, in others an IGO or ‘International Quasi Non-Governmental Organisation’ (Young 2002).

Current mission of the IUCN is “*to influence, encourage and assist societies throughout the world to conserve the integrity and diversity of nature and to ensure that any use of natural resources is equitable and ecologically sustainable*” (IUCN 2008). It serves as “a broker between national governments, local communities and the international environmental community by helping to draft environmental legislation and national conservation plans, supervising national and local level projects and designing environmental education campaigns “ (Weeks and Mehta 2004).

IUCN has several programmes and commissions including the Programme on Protected Areas. The programme was launched in 1958 by establishing the Provisional Commission on National Parks. The Commission was renamed in 1960 to be the Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas (CNPPA), and renamed again in 1996 to be the World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA). The mission of WCPA is clearly stated “*to promote the establishment and effective management of a worldwide, representative network of terrestrial and marine protected areas as an integral contribution to the IUCN mission*” (Ravenel and Redford 2005). The WCPA membership is by invitation and includes managers of protected areas, experts in relation to the fields of WCPA’s interests, academic specialists in areas relating to protected areas, resource economics, biogeography, wildlife management, marine conservation and other related fields, officials from relevant NGOs involved with protected areas, and members from key partner organisations. The WCPA publishes a *Best Practice Protected Area Guidelines* series and regularly hosts a World Park Congress once

every ten years (Lockwood 2006).

The importance of PAs was also acknowledged within the United Nations system since 1959. During its 27th Session held in 1959, the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) agreed a Resolution No. 713, which recognises ‘National Parks and Equivalent Reserves’ as an important factor in the wise use of natural resources and led to the compilation of the *World List of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves*. This resolution was emphasised by the adoption of a resolution at its 16th Session in December 1962 on ‘Economic Development and Nature Conservation’ and the publication of 1962 *World List of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves* (Harrison 2002) (Chape *et al.*, 2003).

Box 1. 1959 ECOSOC resolution No. 731 (Chape *et al.*, 2003)

“The Economic and Social Council,
Noting that national parks and equivalent reserves have been established in most countries which are Members of the United Nations or the specialized agencies, and that they contribute to the inspiration, culture and welfare of mankind,
Believing that these national parks are valuable for economic and scientific reasons and also as areas for the future preservation of fauna and flora and geologic structures in their natural state,
(1) Requests the Secretary-General to establish, in co-operation with UNESCO, FAO, and other interested specialized agencies, a list of national parks and equivalent reserves, with a brief description of each, for consideration by the Council at its twenty-ninth session, together with his recommendations for maintaining and developing the list on a current basis and for its distribution;
(2) Invites State Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies to transmit to the Secretary General a description of the areas they desire to have internationally registered as national parks or equivalent reserves; and
(3) Furthermore invites the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources and other interested non-governmental organisations in consultative status to assist the Secretary-General, upon his request, in the preparation of the proposed list.”

Box 2. 1959 ECOSOC resolution was reinforced and renewed by Decision 22/1/III of the UNEP Governing Council in February 2003

“[Agreed] that the United Nations Economic and Social Council resolution of 1959, subsequently endorsed by the General Assembly in 1962, needs to be renewed and updated.”

and

[Requested] the Executive Director, working in collaboration with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, to seek a renewed mandate for the United Nations List process from the Economic and Social Council/General Assembly that reflects the role of the United Nations Environment Programme and its agreement with the World Conservation Union on new partnership arrangements for the World Database on Protected Areas.”

By the endorsement of the resolution, the mandate to the publication of the UN

List is acknowledged. World Conservation Monitoring Centre (WCMC) of UNEP collaborated with IUCN's WCPA supported by several (international) NGOs and national and provincial protected area management agencies initiated the World Database on Protected Areas. This database linked to the UN List of Protected Areas (Lockwood 2006). The publication of the UN List continues until today with the latest publication in 2003. As mentioned by Chape et al. (2003) the UN List provides the basis for assessing:

- growth in protected area numbers and extent at national, regional and global levels, as well as sub-national (province, state) levels for a number of countries;
- application of IUCN management categories, and the trends in protected area establishment on the basis of management objectives at sub-national, national, regional and global levels;
- extent of global protection for the world's biomes;
- growth in international sites, and the extent of application of international conventions and programmes;
- gaps in the global system of protected areas, and future priorities for action.

Since its establishment, the UN has been playing important roles in promoting environmental concerns and policies and establishing agencies relevant to protected areas management in particular (Lockwood 2006). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established in 1945 with the main objective is to bring "peace and security in the world by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science, culture and communication". The UNESCO administers the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage which was adopted in Paris in 1972, and came into force in December 1975. The Convention provides for the designation of areas of "outstanding universal value" as World Heritage sites, with the principal aim of fostering international cooperation in safeguarding these important areas. The UNESCO also administers Man and the Biosphere (MAB) Programme that was launched in 1970.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was established in 1965 to address a series of objectives central to sustainable human development, poverty alleviation, environmental regeneration which includes the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) was established in 1972 as one of the outcomes of the UN Conference on Human Environment held in Stockholm, Sweden, in June 1972, a UN body specialised on environmental concern was established. In response, the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 2997 on December 15, 1972 concerning the establishment the UN Environment Programme (UNEP). The UNEP's Governing Council, composed of 58 nations elected for four-year terms by the UN General Assembly, responsible for assessing the state of the global environment, and establishing UNEP's programme priorities (UNEP 2008).

Another important institution is Global Environmental Facility (GEF). The US and northern countries found the needs for international cooperation to address the global environmental problems with global consequences leading to the establishment of the GEF in 1991. In Rio Conference 1992, the GEF was recognised to serve as a funding mechanism. It raises funds from donor countries

and then provides grants and low-interest loans for environmental projects in developing countries. It primarily supports the implementation of two conventions i.e. the Convention on Biological Diversity and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, but also collaborates closely with other agreements and treaties including the Montreal Protocol of the Vienna Convention on Ozone Layer Depleting Substances, the Convention to Combat Desertification, and a part of regional and international water agreements. As such, the Facility addresses five main issues of biodiversity, climate change, international waters, ozone depletion and land degradation. The GEF is managed by three implementing agencies namely the UNEP, the UNDP and the World Bank with a division task. The UNEP is responsible for scientific guidance and the UNDP is for technical assistance projects, whilst the World Bank oversees the investment projects and administration of the GEF trust fund (Lockwood 2006) (DtE 2001).

4.1.2 International agreements governing protected areas

There are several international initiatives that recognise and influence the development of protected areas globally. By the time of the UN's recognition on the importance of national parks and relevant reserves in 1959, the international agreements and conventions were not visible. There were two precursors that relevant to the nature conservation including the 1933 Convention Relative to the Preservation of Fauna and Flora in the Natural State known as African Convention, and the 1940 Convention on Nature Protection and Wild Life Preservation in the Western Hemisphere or Western Hemisphere Convention. But both conventions more emphasized on the protection of species and neither recognised specific sites. Since 1959 and the following decades, there have been a number of international agreements and conventions that concern with the protection of specific sites. Table 5 presents the list of major initiatives that recognise and designate specific protected areas relevant to Indonesia.

Table 4. Major international initiatives recognising or designating specific sites relevant to Indonesia

Initiative	Establishment year
UNESCO MAB Biosphere Reserves	1970
Ramsar Convention	1971
UNESCO World Heritage Convention	1972
Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES)	1973
ASEAN Declaration on Heritage Parks and Reserves	1984
Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)	1992
UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)	1992

Source: Harrison 2002 and Lockwood 2006 with additions

The UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Program (MAB) was launched in 1970. The original aim of the MAB was "to establish protected areas representing the main ecosystems of the planet in which genetic resources could be protected and research and monitoring could be carried out". Until today, over 480 biosphere reserves in more than 100 countries have been established constitute a World Network of Biosphere Reserves (WNBR). The WNBR is expected to contribute

to: reduce biodiversity loss; improve livelihoods and enhance social, economic and cultural conditions for environmental sustainability. Thus, it will be contributing to the pursuit of the Millennium Development Goals, in particular MDG 7 on environmental sustainability.

The Convention on Wetlands of International Importance Especially as Waterfowl Habitat was signed in Ramsar (Iran) in 1971, and came into force in December 1975. This Convention provides a framework for international cooperation for the conservation of wetland habitats. The Convention's mission is "the conservation and wise use of all wetlands through local, regional and national actions and international cooperation, as a contribution towards achieving sustainable development throughout the world" (Secretariat 1971).

The Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted in Paris in 1972, and came into force in December 1975 under the instigation of the UNESCO. Its mission is to: encourage countries to sign the World Heritage Convention and to ensure the protection of their natural and cultural heritage; to nominate sites within their national territory for inclusion on the World Heritage List; to establish management plans and set up reporting systems; providing technical assistance and professional training. It also encourage participation of the local population in the preservation of their cultural and natural heritage as well as international cooperation in the conservation. The Convention provides for the designation of areas of "outstanding universal value" as World Heritage sites (UNESCO 2008).

CITES aims at ensuring that international trade in specimens of wild animals and plants does not threaten their survival. It established on March 3, 1973, and came into force on July 1, 1975. The initiative came up at a meeting of members of IUCN (The World Conservation Union) in 1963 that concerned on the depletion of endangered species population caused by trade together with habitat loss. Current member states of the CITES is 173 Parties (CITES 2008).

The Declaration signed in November 29, 1984 which took place in Bangkok. The signatory countries which include ASEAN member countries agreed to establish a common cooperation in establishing national parks and reserves "including the setting up of regional conservation and management action as well as a regional mechanism complimentary to and supportive of national efforts at implementation of conservation measures" (Secretariat 1984).

The Convention on Biological Diversity was adopted in Rio de Janeiro on June 1992 during the UN Conference on Environment and Development and came into force on December 29, 1993. The Convention has three main goals including:

- conservation of biological diversity;
- sustainable use of its components; and
- fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from genetic resources.

The treaty includes efforts to maintain the biodiversity through the identification and monitoring of biodiversity and the promotion of *in-situ* and *ex-situ* conservation. The establishment and management of PAs were part of *in-situ*

conservation that clearly stated, in particular, in Article 8 (*In-situ* Conservation) in point a) and b) and m) points:

Each Contracting Party shall, as far as possible and as appropriate:

(a) Establish a system of protected areas or areas where special measures need to be taken to conserve biological diversity;

(b) Develop, where necessary, guidelines for the selection, establishment and management of protected areas or areas where special measures need to be taken to conserve biological diversity;

...

(m) Cooperate in providing financial and other support for in-situ conservation outlined in subparagraphs (a) to (l) above, particularly to developing countries.

There is a range of other recent initiatives that is relevant to the development of global protected areas. In September 2000, the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution No. 55/2, concerning the United Nations Millennium Declaration or known as Millennium Development Goals set to be reached by 2015. Progress to preserve biodiversity is measured by the proportion of protected area, defined as the surface areas of nationally protected areas (terrestrial and marine) as a percentage of total territorial area, as contained in (UN-MDG 2000):

Goal 7. Ensure environmental sustainability

Target 9. Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources

Indicator 26. Ratio of area protected to maintain biological diversity to surface area (UNEP-WCMC)

In 2002, UN again held a conference on sustainable development in Johannesburg, South Africa on August/September 2002. The conference was *World Summit on Sustainable Development* (WSSD), unofficially known as Rio+10, intended to review the achievements of Agenda 21 that have been made since the 1992 Rio Summit.

4.1.3 Indonesia's membership in international relations

Indonesia joined the United Nations in 1950, but in January 1965 it decided to sign out because of confrontation with Malaysia on the case North Borneo. Indonesia led the network of Asia and African countries and hosted the Asian-African Conference in 1955. These occasions took place during the Sukarno era. After Suharto came into power, Indonesia re-joined this international organization in 1966. By the growing internationalisation of environmental, Indonesia has been attached to several international agreements and conventions related to the environmental and nature conservation issues, including bilateral and multilateral agreements. The international treaties, in which Indonesia has ratified or been party to, are, among others, CITES, Ramsar Convention, CBD and UNFCCC. Table 5 presents the Indonesian membership to treaties related to protected areas and biodiversity conservation.

Table 5. Indonesia’s membership in international environmental treaties and its ratifying regulation.

Conventions	Year of ratification
Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES)	1978
Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage	1989
Ramsar Convention	1992
Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)	1994
UNFCCC	1994

Indonesia ratified the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) on December 28, 1978 and to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage on July 6, 1989. Indonesia signed the Convention on Biological Diversity on June 5, 1992 and ratified it on August 23, 1994 through the promulgation of Act No 5/1995. Indonesia had issued National Strategy on the Management of Biological Diversity, to be accompanied by Biodiversity Action Plan, which then both have been officially issued in 1993. These have provided guidance for the conservation efforts in Indonesia. The Ramsar Convention on Wetlands entered into force in Indonesia on August 8, 1992 by Government Regulation PP No. 27 of 1991 on Wetlands. This regulation addresses the use of wetlands for development purposes, and includes a regulation on the protection of deep peat swamps as water resource areas.

Recent international concern on climate change took shape by the adoption of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in June 5, 1992 and came into force on March 21, 1994. It was followed by the negotiation of a binding-treaty known as the Kyoto Protocol in December 1997. Indonesia is one of the signatory countries since the early, and ratified the Convention by the approval of the Act of Ratification of UNFCCC No. 6/1994 (Brown 1999). Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), defined in Article 12 of the Protocol, allows a country with an emission-reduction or emission-limitation commitment under the Kyoto Protocol (Annex B Party) to implement an emission-reduction project in developing countries. Such projects can earn saleable certified emission reduction (CER) credits, each equivalent to one tones of CO₂, which can be counted towards meeting the Kyoto targets. Within the mechanism it is suggested that almost 40 industrialised countries should reduce their carbon emission by 5% between 2008 and 2012 (UNFCCC 2005).

4.1.4 Global civil society

The roles of non-governmental organisations especially international conservation organisations in prioritising and management of global protected area have been acknowledged. Their roles have been “to push conservation to be included in the international political agendas, improve coordination between nations and assist in putting strategies into action” (Lockwood 2006). Their activities are significant in:

- initiating international conferences and meetings that bring together experts from around the world;

- placing the issue of conservation in political and legal arena by formulating and administering conventions, agreements and treaties;
- establishing commissions and working groups for collating information and research;
- monitoring the state of the global environment and disseminating the data;
- assisting national programmes directly and indirectly; and
- attracting funding for all these functions.

In biodiversity conservation and protected area management realms, authors commonly refer to the international NGOs as being the three largest organisations, namely World Wildlife Fund, The Nature Conservancy and Conservation International (Chapin 2004; Lockwood 2006). However, there are still others international NGOs that are becoming influential in the biodiversity conservation issue and the growing protected areas development and management. Apart from these three organisations, Birdlife International, The Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS), Wetlands International, Fauna and Flora International (FFI), in particular, are working in Indonesia. In recent years, Friends of the Earth (FoE), Environmental Investigation Agency (EIA), and Greenpeace have been playing an important role campaigning on relevant issues.

The *World Wildlife Fund* (WWF) is considered “the world’s largest and the most experienced independent conservation organisations” (Chasek *et al.* 2006). At the initial period of the establishment in 1961, the WWF was aimed at coordinating and raising funds from private sector for the IUCN, which was troubled by the lack of funds. Peter Scott, a British ornithologist, Guy Mountfort, director of a large advertising company and Max Nicholson, Director General of Britain’s Nature Conservancy were the founding father of the WWF by the inspiration of British biologist Sir Julian Huxley who wrote the article on the declining games in Africa (Young 1999; Chapin 2004; Lockwood 2006; WWF 2008c). The founder of WWF established the National Appeals that is known as National Organisations. From the small office shared with IUCN office, the WWF started rapidly growing in 1980s. In 1986, it changed the name into *World Wide Fund for Nature* to describe the change in working coverage, but in North America the name remained the same. Its mission is the conservation of nature by “protecting natural areas and wild populations of plants and animals, including endangered species; promoting sustainable approaches to the use of renewable natural resources; and promoting more efficient use of resources and energy and the maximum reduction of pollution” (WWF 2008). WWF claims “credibility and a global reputation for its science-based and rational approach, working through dialogue and partnership rather than confrontation” (Young 1999). Currently it has 40 primary offices and associates in over 40 countries. These offices are divided into two categories, which include: 1) those that can raise funds and carry out work autonomously, and 2) those that must work under the direction of one of the independent WWF offices.

The Nature Conservancy was initially focused in saving nature areas in the United States by a small number of scientists. Founded in 1951, they extend their coverage worldwide in 1990s “fuelled by fresh injections of bilateral and multilateral money, as well as corporate support” (Chapin 2004). TNC calls itself ‘Nature’s Real Estate Agent’, as its claiming approaches “preserving nature,

endangered habitats and species by buying the lands and waters they need to survive ... protecting land through gifts, exchanges ...debt-for-nature swaps” (Young 1999). Until today, TNC has protected more than 117 million acres of land, 5,000 miles of rivers and operate more than 100 marine conservation projects globally in all 50 states (of America) and more than 30 countries. Like WWF, TNC uses the science-based approach in prioritising its work that is aided by more than 700 staff scientists, working through non-confrontational, pragmatic solution to conservation challenges (TNC 2008).

Conservation International is a relatively recent organisation established in 1987, and is based in the US. CI employs over 800 biological scientists, economists and educators making it also a science-based approach organisation. CI has been rapidly growing from the start because of partly spin-off from international staffs of TNC, and was added from WWF staffs in 1989. By these well equipped staffs and networks, CI is able to do fundraising extensively and has become the envy of all of its competitors (Chapin 2004). CI’s mission “is to conserve the Earth’s living heritage – our global biodiversity – and to demonstrate that human societies are able to live harmoniously with nature” and claims to have been “saving more than 200 million protected hectares on land and at sea” (TNC 2008).

Apart from the above three NGOs, a number of international NGOs, indigenous people and local community networks are also increasingly involved in protected area issues. For example, Indigenous People’s Ad Hoc Working Group has facilitated various indigenous people to provide inputs to the World Park Congress and the Convention on Biological Diversity Conference of the Parties in 2003–2004. Via Campesina, a global network of peasants and World Rainforest Movement, an international forum that includes indigenous and local communities and support groups, also become active in protected area issues (Lockwood 2006).

4.1.5 Conceptualisation of Protected Areas

The conceptualisation of protected areas has been changing overtime that correlates with the development of human – nature relationship, in particular in Western world. These are clear in the PA management categories changes defined by the IUCN. The categorisation seeks to embrace terms used by countries which includes “a variety of different land management system – ranging from those without any human activity to those with industrial resource extraction” (Ravenel and Redford 2005).

The origin of ‘modern’ protected areas can be found since 1864 when the US Congress gave a small part of the present Yosemite National Park to the State of California for “public use, resort and recreation”. It was continued by the designation of Yellowstone as the true first national park in 1872 by the United States law “as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people”. Later, the creation of protected areas spread around the world with different purposes. During the twentieth century, large areas of game parks in Africa were created, while landscape protection in Europe was more common (Phillips 2004).

Since the categorisation between countries varied, early international categorisation of protected areas system had been sought since 1933 through the

International Conference for the Protection of Fauna and Flora of Africa in London. The categorisation, which were widely used by colonial powers in Sub-Saharan Africa including 'national park', 'strict natural reserve', 'fauna and flora reserve', and 'reserve with prohibition of hunting and collecting'. These were slightly different with those of presented by the Pan American Convention on Nature Protection and Wildlife Preservation in the Western Hemisphere in 1942 including 'national park', 'national reserve', 'nature monument', and 'strict wilderness reserve' (Brockman 1962 in (Ravenel and Redford 2005) (Phillips 2004).

Since the establishment of IUPN in 1948, effort to unify the different system was more systematically made. IUPN at that time was staffed by natural scientists from Europe and the USA and the Executive Board was controlled by Europeans from 1948-1959. This domination of Europeans has made the IUPN vulnerable to accusation of colonialism. This situation has caused relative lack of participation from former colony countries that sprang after the end of the World War II (Weeks and Mehta 2004). Earlier concept on preservationist policies to maintain pristine landscape for scientific, aesthetic and educational purpose, was, in fact, considered to not relevant with the many newly established countries that pursue economic development that base in natural resources. This situation heated debate between preservationists and conservationists in the organisation leading to the change name in 1956 from IUPN to IUCN (Weeks and Mehta 2004).

However, not until 1962 did the classification debate take place when C.F. Brockman presented his paper on it at the First World Congress on National Parks. It continued when the IUCN published the second version of the "World List of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves", following the 1962 List, which contained a simple categorisation system of protected areas including 'national parks, 'scientific reserves' and 'natural monuments' (Holdgate 1999 in Phillips 2004). Later on the IUCN General Assembly defined 'national park' in 1969 as "a relatively large area where one or several ecosystems are not materially altered by human exploitation and occupation" and suggested countries "not to describe as national parks" that did not meet the criteria (Phillips 2004).

In 1978 the IUCN published a report of the CNPPA Committee on Criteria and Nomenclature chaired by Dr. Kenton Miller. The report which was issued as "discussion paper" entitling *Categories, Objectives and Criteria: Final Report of the Committee and Criteria of the CNPPA/IUCN*. The categorisation included eight criteria. However, the categorisation has been seen to have some limitations (Phillips 2004), which include:

- It did not contain a definition of a protected area as such, so the 'universe' covered by the categories as a whole was not clear;
- The scope of what was to be covered by the system was not clear, because it used several terms to describe the entire suite of ten categories: 'categories for conservation management', 'conservation areas' and 'protected area categories';
- It included two international categories (IX and X), while acknowledging that many such sites might be classified under a previous category. As the categories were not always to be considered discrete, this was confusing;
- Some of the distinctions between the categories were unclear; and

- The system was terrestrial in its concepts and language; more explicit references to the marine environment were needed to make it universally applicable.

Considering the above points, CNPPA took efforts on updating the categories system. In 1994, IUCN and the WCMC published *Guidelines for Protected Area Management Categories* that adopt until today. According to the Guidelines, a *protected area* is defined as:

an area of land and/or sea especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and managed through legal or other effective means (Chape et al. 2003; Phillips 2004).

While *national park* that includes category II is defined as *natural area of land and/or sea, designated to:*

- protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generations,*
- exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation of the area, and*
- provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities, all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible.*

Phillips (2004) made some interesting points when comparing the category system of 1978 and 1994, as follows:

- Whereas the definitions etc. used in the 1978 system implied that human occupation or resource use were unwelcome or unacceptable in Categories I–IV, the 1994 system explicitly recognizes that some permanent human presence – albeit very slight in certain cases – may occur in all categories except Ia (Strict Nature Reserve) (Ravenel and Redford 2001).
- The 1978 system is fairly prescriptive about the type of agency etc. that would normally manage each category. The 1994 system allows for more flexibility in this sense.
- The 1978 system assumes all protected area categories as managed for the broader public good. The 1994 guidance recognises that the values of indigenous peoples and other local groups should also be taken account of.

However, as Phillips concludes that the protected area system continues to evolve, new categorisation will emerge in the future. The comparison of IUCN's Protected Area categories and management objectives between 1978 and 1994 is presented in Appendix 3.

4.2 Domestic Structure

In accordance with the analytical framework used in this report, institutional structures and political culture of Indonesia that affect biodiversity conservation and forest management will be briefly discussed. The next paragraphs will take a look at the state structure, civil society structure, and the relationship between the two as well as the political culture of the country.

Indonesia got its Independence in 1945 after being colonised by the Dutch for three and a half centuries. Hence, it is not surprisingly if one can observe many laws and regulations applied in the current administration that have been adopted from colonial times. In general, three major stages of political development since its Independence. During its first stage from 1945 – 1966 Indonesia was in a transition period that has been mostly hampered by political turmoil leading to an administration shift in 1966. This is known as the shifting era from Old Order to New Order¹ (Orde Baru). New Order regime was changed after the downfall of Soeharto in May 1998 by the Reformation (*reformasi*) era. Broadly, this report delineates two general phases namely before 1998 and after 1998 when the major political shifting happened.

4.2.1 State structure

Based on the 1945 Basic Constitution, Indonesia is a republic that consists of three bodies of government including executive, legislative and judicative. The executive is headed by a President who serves both as the chief of state and head of the government. The President is assisted by ministers, who manage the executive branch ministries and departments. The ministers are directly appointed by the President. The President is advised by the Supreme Advisory Council, whereas the State Audit Board exercises financial oversight.

The power, according to 1945 Basic Constitution, is held by the people and is represented by the People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* - MPR), the highest legislative body. Apart from electing the President, MPR has a principal legislative task, to approve the Broad Outlines of State Policy (GBHN – *Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara*), a document that theoretically establishes policy guidelines for the next five years. The draft is prepared by a government task force and is expected to be approved by consensus (Frederick and Worden 1993).

During the New Order era, the MPR consist of 1000 members, out of which 500 were member of the House of Representatives or *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (DPR). The other 400 members were representing delegations of parties, of regional, and of community groups, while the rest of 100 were from professional groups including those from army (ABRI) that were under directly appointment of the President. The MPR met once every five-year to elect the Presidents and Vice-president, and to approve the broad outlines of national policy, and also met annually to consider constitutional and legislative changes. Since 1999, the membership has been reduced to 700, consisting 500 DPR members, 135 Regional representatives, and 65 Group representatives.

The DPR consists of the 500 members to whom the President makes consultations for the enactment of laws and the budgetary process. Indonesia also follows a unitary system, in which the central government has direct authority over provinces and districts and delegating authority to the provincial and district government. During the New Order era, there were 27 provinces, and each was headed by a governor who was appointed by the president on the advice of

¹ This is a self-proclaimed term by Suharto when he came into power to distinct his administration with his predecessor Soekarno

Provincial Assembly (DPRD I). District Assembly (DPRD II) is presented at the local district, but it also cannot be overruled by the regent of the districts.

The judiciary was held by the Supreme Court, which was appointed by the President. The Court was responsible for the lower court system run by the executive. In the provincial and district levels, the court system was represented by the High Court and the State Court, respectively.

In the New Order era, the presidential system was strong. Despite the fact that the representatives' assemblies occurred at national, provincial and district levels, their roles were playing "little part in actual decision-making and acting more to provide endorsement of government actions." Although legally the power is on the hand of people, in practice the concentration of power was at the central government level, especially President and his inner circle, which marked Indonesia at that time as an authoritarian system (Frederick and Worden 1993; MacAndrews 1994).

The strong central government of New Order has successfully survived for 32 years (1967 – 1998). This authoritarian system is not uncommon in developing countries, but the uncommon situation in Indonesia is that because of its durability. MacAndrews (1994) suggests this remarkable durability because of powerful public figures, especially army, has succeeded to maintain political and economic stability throughout the country, and by ensuring that all components of society benefited from their extensive development policy. However, this development policy was not only to build private benefit, marked by high corruption, but also "to consolidate and enhance their political power". Richard Robison (1978 in (Frederick and Worden 1993) called it system of "bureaucratic capitalism".

In mid 1997 Indonesia was one of East Asian countries suffering from financial crisis. This financial situation led to the political crisis and massive demonstrations by students supported by NGOs and academician has forced Suharto to resign from his presidential post. As a result, Indonesia experienced dramatic changes in governance that include legislation and government restructuring known as reformation (*reformasi*). The Constitution was amended in 2001 to revise the electoral process and the structure of the legislative branch. In 2004, the President was directly elected by the people. The House of Regional Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* – DPD) was added to the legislative body. The *reformasi* era was also marked by the governance shifting that devolve authority to regional by the application of Law No. 22/1999 concerning Regional Governance and Law No. 25/1999 concerning Fiscal Balance between Central and Regional Governments which later were revised by Law No. 32/2004 and Law No. 33/2004, respectively. This era of *reformasi* and autonomy has meant loosening the authoritarian system.

4.2.2 Civil society

The concept of civil society in Indonesia becomes popular in early 1990s, when the openness (*keterbukaan*) was demanded by the elements of society. Although the activities of civil society had been seen since the colonial period till the early Independence period when several mass organisations of professionals tried to

affiliate themselves with political parties. MacAndrews (1994) distincts four major groups that have considerable influences in the New Order political system. These include administration, army, politicians and business community groups. While civil society represented by non-governmental organizations, student activists, media/journalists and other professional organisations were overshadowed by the four groups, due to some restrictions made by the government. However, in the environmental debates, MacAndrews (1994) observes that NGOs, students and press played more important, although in limited, roles than in the general political system, while army was generally not involved.

The group of business community was among the prominent group that influence the policy of the government. This group was predominated by the Chinese-ethnic, and later shared with the growing Indonesian ethnic *pribumi*. They enjoyed the privileges because of the lack of an indigenous class of entrepreneurs, but importantly because of their closed link with the army and with President Suharto (Frederick and Worden 1993). This privilege originating from the independence period when Chinese businessmen became suppliers to their army commands. In 1993, the business sector was dominated by only 200 conglomerates that held 4,000 companies, and controlled most aspects of the economy. By holding such a control, the business community had growingly influenced the policy decision-making processes and played a significant role in general development. However the impact that business community created had not got necessary enforcement when violation to regulation occurred.

Among the civil society components, NGOs are the most visible and vocal elements (Ibrahim 2006), shared with student movements who “represented a powerful and highly vocal element in Indonesian politics” (MacAndrews 1994), in the political development in Indonesia. NGOs were independent from government and political parties. During the New Order era, the government strictly controlled NGOs. One of them by the application of the 1985 Law on Social Organisation that in particular limited their political activities, required permits to form new organizations, and put strict conditions on accepting foreign assistance (MacAndrews 1994). By doing so, the government could easily monitor and disband any organisation that opposes the government’s development policies. Although the government heavily depends on foreign aids, those NGOs that were receiving unreported foreign funds or being directed by a foreigner could be disbanded. But, government treated NGOs ambivalence. They considered them also as partners to those who worked on community self-help projects, rice-roots mobilization for socially or economically useful purposes, and as alternative structures for small development programs (Frederick and Worden 1993) and on raising environmental issues (Nomura 2007). In brief, Suharto would not dismantle the NGOs “as long as they did not attack the regime and its policies directly, perhaps because he valued NGOs’ useful and inexpensive services for development” (Nomura 2007).

Ibrahim (2006) briefly discusses the development of civil society in Indonesia. NGOs first started to flourish in the beginning 1970s when the New Order started to rule. The NGOs employed a participation strategy with government by doing development activities. By late 1970s and early 1980s, environmental NGOs

(NGOs) started to grow as response to the increasing number of serious problems as consequences of rapid development and rapid growth (MacAndrews 1994).

NGOs first emerged in the late 1970s from nature-lover groups which is shifting from the environmental awareness and participation strategies to the advocacy strategy. As the result of WWF's orangutan protection project in Gunung Leuser, *Yayasan Indonesia Hijau* was established to conduct environmental awareness-raising projects (Nomura 2007). One of the milestones in the development of NGOs in Indonesia was the establishment of WALHI (*Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia* or Indonesian Forum for Environment) in 1980. The establishment of WALHI was facilitated by Dr Emil Salim, the first Minister of Environment in 1978, involving 130 people from 78 organisations. It was the largest NGOs forum whose members by mid-1980s reached 350, and by 2003 reached 445 (interview: ex-WALHI official, 2008).

WALHI enjoyed their growth under the authoritarian political conditions at the time because of two reasons: firstly, they successfully maintained good relationships with the government with the Dr. Salim's support from political oppression and secondly because their strategic choice. They worked on practical or participation strategy by raising environmental awareness and aesthetic issues until they changed their strategy into advocacy in 1992 by applying a first legal suit to a company polluting water (Nomura 2007). This shifting was caused by the key executive officer changing and the reflection that environmental problem in Indonesia was also a legal matter (interview: ex-WALHI official, 2008).

Period 1990s was marked by the growing global human right and democratization issues that also affected Indonesia. Several NGOs advocating the issues that deal with socio-economical rights on land conflicts, natural resources, culture, and gender equality were established. Other civil society components such as mass organisations, labour unions, and professional organisations were not considered playing an important role in this period.

4.2.3 State-civil society relation

As Indonesia has many diverse ethnics, religions and hence a diverse culture, as described in the national motto: '*bhinneka tunggal ika*' (unity in diversity), it was difficult to identify the common political culture. However, the government, since the Independence Day, has been successfully unifying this diversity into a national political culture set forth in national creed, *Pancasila* (Five principals) (Frederick and Worden 1993). However, during the New Order, the Javanese style, from which Suharto originates, became a dominant political culture. This refers to what is known as patron-client relationship. With the coercive support of army (ABRI), the style was applied in the political culture of government (Frederick and Worden 1993).

During the New Order era, the state organised and controlled the involvement of civil society in the political realm. The civil society has been growing from weak to strong, particularly since the early 1990s. Nevertheless, the political representation of civil society should be under the approval of the government. The representation is based on functionality units on specific categories such as

one labour union, one journalist association, one youth organisation etc, in which alternative organisations were prohibited. These various representation organisations that were designated by the state were aimed at channelling the political participation and at the same time concentrating the influence over the formation of public policy in the hands of the central governments. With its characteristics, this model was regarded as a corporatist system (MacIntyre 1994; Ibrahim 2006).

The reformation era, after the downfall of Suharto in 1998, has shown a considerable growth of and seen as the resurrection period for the civil society organisations. In the reformation era, the number of NGOs has multiplied, the union labour has grown from one to forty, and the number of media reached hundreds, and other professional groups have also grown significantly (Ibrahim 2006). Observer, however, sees two development of *reformasi* era. Suhardiman (2008) discusses this development. The optimistic viewers suggest that Indonesia has entered a transition phase from authoritarian rule to a new democratic system, which gives civil society a more prominent role (Hanneman and Schulte Nordholt 2004 in Suhardiman 2008). The less-optimistic observers, however, suggest that Indonesia is “transforming from a bureaucratic interventionist developmental state into a messy criminal crony state” (Siegel 1998 in Suhardiman 2008). Both dominant propositions, nevertheless, see the increasing role of the civil society in influencing the decision-making processes of public policies. Number of political parties is similarly growing, which are trying to represent the voice of public, leading to the polarised civil society – government relationship. It is secure to say that the domestic structure of Indonesia is increasingly more pluralist.

Table 6. Changes in Indonesian domestic structure before and after 1998

	Pre-1998 (from 1968 to early 1990s)	Post-1998
Policy institution	Centralised	Decentralised
Society	Weak to Strong	Strong
Policy network	Consensual	Polarised
Domestic structure	State-dominated Corporatist	to More pluralist

4.3 Indonesian nature conservation policy

Since the 1945 Independence, Indonesia has pursued economic development mainly through industrialized manufactures that were mainly based on natural resources extractions especially oil and gas, and forest products for the benefits of human welfare. The 1945 Basic Constitution Article 33 stipulates that

“the land, the waters and the natural resources within shall be under the powers of the State and shall be used to the greatest benefit of the people”.

Following the reformation era, four amendments on the 1945 Constitution subsequently took place in 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002. The amendment of Article 33 added two verses, which include the principles of justice and environmental

perspectives on natural resource management.²:

Article 33 (4) The organisation of the national economy shall be conducted on the basis of economic democracy upholding the principles of togetherness, efficiency with justice, continuity, environmental perspective, self-sufficiency, and keeping a balance in the progress and unity of the national economy.

The Act No. 5 of 1967 concerning *Basic Forestry* was the first existing statement of government policy and describes the purpose, supply, availability and use of forests. It has been later revised in *reformasi era* by the promulgation of Act No. 41 of 1999 concerning *Forestry*. The new Act distinguishes forest territories according to control and function. Under this Act state still control the forest management, but unlike Act 1967, the state should take into account the rights of *adat* community. The article 4 mentions state "*regulate and organize all aspects related to forest, forest area and forest products; assign the status of certain area as forest or non-forest area; and regulate and determine legal relations between man and forest, and regulate legal actions concerning forestry. Forest control by the state shall respect customary law, as long as it exists and its existence is recognized and not contradicting national interests*" (Rahmadi 2003).

During its management, however, article 70 states that Government is obliged "*to encourage people's participation through various effective and efficient forestry activities and to effect this participation through assistance from a stakeholder forum*". The Act also stipulates three basic goals on forest and nature management in Indonesia which include: to promote economic growth, to provide widespread and equitable benefits to society (livelihoods and poverty reduction), and to sustain environmental services and benefits (WorldBank 2006).

4.3.1 Forestry and national development

Before 1965 there had virtually no industry. Only after New Order came to power did a major transformation in development policy emerge. Throughout 1970s, tax revenues from the oil and gas extractions had helped boosted the national income. However tax revenues from oil declined in 1980s when the world's oil market price decreased leading to a policy switch to foster rapid industrial growth. By the mid-1980s, the production of steel, aluminium and cement was far more valuable than the produce of agricultural products (Frederick and Worden 1993). The GDP has continuously increased from 8% in 1965 to 21% in 1992 that surpass the agriculture industries at 19%, then moving to 24% in 1994 (Inoue, 1994).

Forestry sector was also one of the leading sectors for economical development. This New Order paradigm was in line with the Act no. 5 of 1967 mentioning that "the spirit of Forestry Act 1967 is not only to protect the forest for the sake of the forest, but also, or rather in particular, to utilise forests for the benefits of citizens" (Rahmadi 2003). The forestry contributes to the employment, the development of outer islands of Java, foreign exchange revenues, and other economic sectors. The forest management development in Indonesia can be seen from the locus and industrialisation shifting of forest management. Inoue (1994) differentiates the

² from US-ASEAN Business Council 2008: <http://www.us-asean.org/Indonesia/constitution.htm>

development of forest management in Indonesia during New Order era into three categories.

Before the 1970s, the forestry sector was focused on plantation forests of teak, pine and mahogany in Java, while in outer islands such Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua were mostly done by local communities. In 1970s, government started to issue concessionaire rights to state and private companies to exploit natural forest in outer islands. The logging production was booming. The log production in East Kalimantan in particular had been increasing from 300,000 m³ in 1968 to more than 7 million m³ in 1978. In 1980s, the Suharto government required all concessionaire holders to develop forest product processing plants such as plywood. They were also demanded their logs to supply domestic market, and gradually applied ban for foreign market. This policy has supported the growth of plywood industries for export market that contribute the national economy and employment increases. The plywood export was only 120,000 m³ in 1979 to over 3.5 million m³ in 1985 and to 9.6 million m³ in 1993.

By the late 1980s, government began to develop the industrial tree plantations (HTI) in outer islands as a result of the decreasing forest size. Those companies holding an industrial tree plantation concession (HPHTI) was obliged to planting trees on deforested areas that purpose particularly for pulps (Inoue, 1994). In 1999 Ministry of Forestry launched a Reform Agenda for Forestry and Estate Crops Sectors leading to a paradigm shift from timber-based to broader resource-based management, as part of the response to the 1997 monetary crisis (FAO 2002).

If previously the concession was in charge of the central government, after the *reformasi era* the Governor is able to issue forest concessions for area smaller than 10,000 hectares. Every forest concessionaire can only have a maximum area of 100,000 hectares in a single province, and an overall maximum of 400,000 hectares. This is stipulated in Government Regulation (GR) no. 6 of 1999, which replaced GR no. 21 of 1970. It also rules that every concessionaire should empower the communities in and around the area, and is required for doing environmental impact assessment.

4.3.2 National park policy

In addition to utilisations, the Act No. 5 of 1967 also provides stipulations for the protection of flora, fauna and water catchments. The Act defined protected areas network in Indonesia as follows (MacKinnon 1982):

- nature reserve or *cagar alam*, in which no management or human interference with the environment is permitted;
- game reserves or *suaka margasatwa*, in which the natural balance of the environment must not be disturbed but low levels of management, visitor use and utilisation are permitted;
- hunting reserve or *taman buru*, which is managed specifically for hunting and fishing;
- recreation park or *taman wisata/hutan wisata*, which is managed for outdoor recreational purpose.

The term 'national park' only officially emerges by the declaration of Act No. 5 of 1990 concerning the *Conservation of natural resources and their ecosystems*. The Act classifies protected areas into two main categories including:

- nature reserve areas (*kawasan suaka alam-KSA*) are area with distinctive characters, either terrestrial or marine functioning mainly to preserve plant and animal diversities and their ecosystem as well as a life support system. These include:
 - a. nature reserves (*cagar alam*),
 - b. wildlife sanctuaries (*suaka margasatwa*).
- nature conservation areas (*kawasan pelestarian alam-KPA*) are area with distinctive characters, either in terrestrial or marine, functioning to protect life support system, to preserve plant and animal diversity, and to sustainably use natural resources and their ecosystem. These include:
 - a. national parks (*taman nasional*),
 - b. recreation parks (*taman wisata alam*),
 - c. grand forest park (*taman hutan raya*) and
 - d. game reserves (*taman buru*).

The national park is designated for the protection of environmental life support systems and the preservation of species diversity, while also allowing the sustainable utilisation for the sustainable utilisation of living resources and their ecosystem. Hence, allowed activities in the park are research, recreation and the collection of non-timber forest product (Rahmadi 2003).

The revised Act No. 41 of 1999 reemphasises the classification of forest those of in Act No. 5/1967 and Act No. 5 of 1990. Forests are classified according to their major functions into conservation forest (*hutan konservasi*), protection forest (*hutan lindung*) and production forest (*hutan produksi*) (Article 6). Conservation forests are forest areas with certain distinctive characteristics, which have main functions for the preservation of plant and animal diversities and their ecosystems. These include:

- nature reserve forests (*hutan suaka alam*);
- conservation forests (*hutan pelestarian alam*), and
- game reserves (*taman buru*).

Processes toward the designation and declaration of national park in Indonesia are stipulated in Government Regulation No. 68 of 1998 concerning Conservation and Protected Areas. According to the Article 7 of Government Regulation No. 68/1998, Minister (of Forestry) designates a certain area to be a national park based on specific criteria set on the Article 31 in consultation of relevant Governor. An authorised delineation committee determines the actual boundaries on the field and subsequently prepares the report to the minister, on which the minister based on his decision-making to formally declare the national park. The management of national park is based on a zoning system, which is regulated in Minister of Forestry Regulation No. P.56/Menhut-II/2006 concerning the Directive for determining of zoning in national park. This zoning system includes:

- a. core zone, in which the zone is strictly protected and no human interference is permitted;
- b. jungle zone, which is purposed for supporting the core zone; and
- c. use zone, which is managed for recreational and tourism areas.

- d. Other zones, managed for traditional, rehabilitation, religious, culture and history, and special zone.

Indonesia's national parks are administered under the responsibility of the Ministry of Forestry through the Directorate General for Forest Protection and Nature Conservation (PHKA). PHKA's head office is located in Jakarta and is represented by provincial offices (SBKSDA). PHKA has an authority on the planning, designation and management of all terrestrial, wetland and marine protected areas, as well as of protected forests (Ministry of Forestry, 1993). For its daily operational, technical operational units (UPTs) take responsibility for the management of national parks.

4.3.3 National park development in Indonesia

Historically, the Netherlands Indies or Indonesia was among the first countries to designate protected areas, in which the Dutch colonial regime passed the legislation on protected areas between 1916 and 1933 (Jepson and Whittaker, 2002). At least 117 sites covering 3 million hectares had been established since then, and had readily adopted by the newly independence Indonesia government (Wiratno *et al* 2004). By 1997, before the downfall of Suharto, the protected areas network has expanded considerably to 365 sites, which covered 19.5 million hectares or 10% of the total size of the country, of which 1.5% were marine area. This total number excludes another 30 million hectares classified as protection forest (*hutan lindung*), which is aimed at protecting water catchments areas (MacKinnon 1997).

According to the official statistic issued by the Ministry of Forestry, the latest extent of sanctuary reserve and nature conservation areas in 2006 was totalling 23.7 million hectares, excluding protection forest areas at 31.6 million hectares (see Table 8). This extent is 17% of 137 million hectares total of forest and water areas that is recognised by the GoI through the Forestry Ministerial Decree (MoF, 2007).

Table 7. Number and extent of terrestrial protected areas in Indonesia up to 2006

Type	No.	Area (million ha)
Strict Nature Reserve	241	4.52
Wildlife Sanctuary	71	5.00
Nature Recreational Park	104	0.269
Game Hunting Park	15	0.23
National Park	50	12.33
Grand Forest Park	21	0.35
Total	502	22.70

Source: Statistik Kehutanan 2006

Despite the term of “national park” had long been coined since the establishment of Yellowstone national park, Indonesia only designated national park in 1980. Under the auspices of Ministry of Agriculture, Indonesia announced the first 5 national parks in 1980 namely Leuser National Park in Aceh, Mt. Gede Pangrango NP and Ujung Kulon NP both in West Java, Baluran NP in East Java and Komodo NP covering areas of 1,430,948 ha. Coincided with the 3rd World Congress on National Parks in which Indonesia hosted the occasion in 1982, Indonesia

announced further twelve national parks totalling areas covered was 3.4 million ha. These included Kerinci Seblat, Bukit Barisan Selatan, Way Kambas, Kepulauan Seribu, Bromo-Tengger-Semeru, Meru Betiri, Tanjung Puting, Kutai, Bali Barat, Lore Lindu, Bogani Nani Warta Bone, and Manusela.

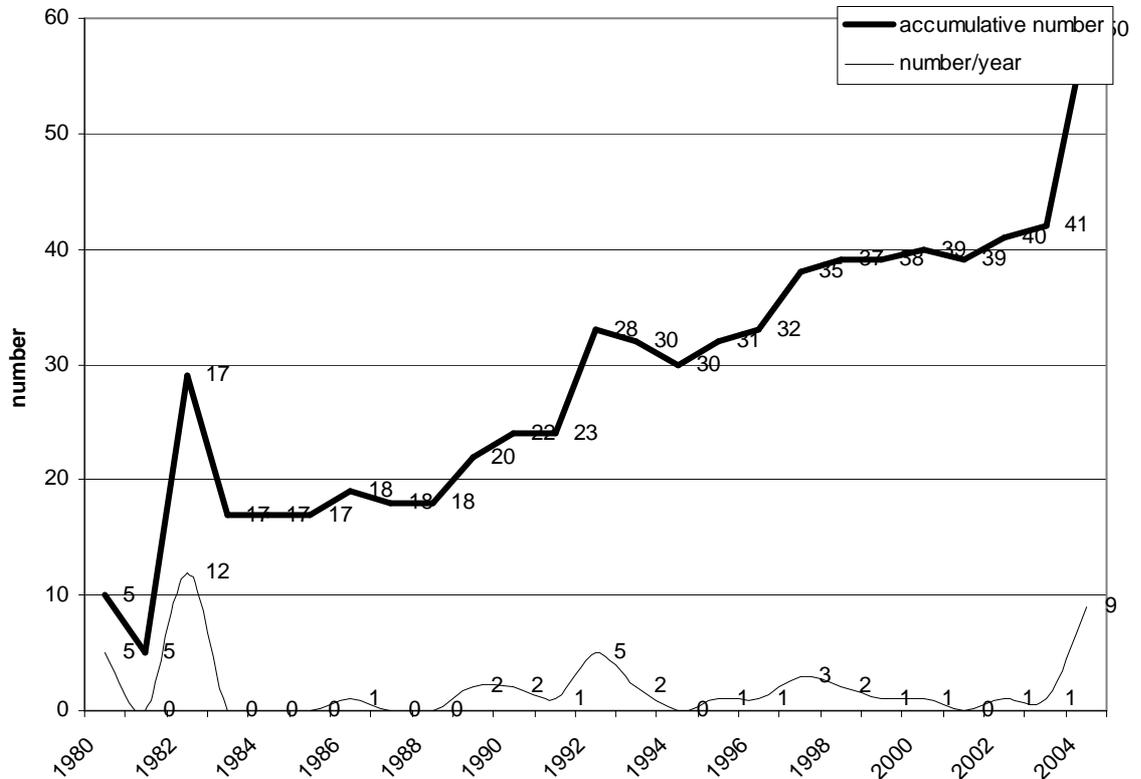


Figure 2. Number of national park designated from 1980 – 2004

Source: personal compilation based on data from Ministry of Forestry 2007

After 1982 the curve goes down, with only one national park was declared or designated i.e. Kepulauan Karimun Jawa national park. Since 1990 to 2004, almost every year Indonesia added new or extended national parks. After Rio Conference in 1992, five new national parks were established. The latest national parks were declared in 2004, which include Aketajawe – Lolobata, Bantimurung – Bulusaraung, Batang Gadis, Gunung Ciremai, Gunung Merapi, Gunung Merbabu, Kepulauan Togean, Sebangau and Tesso Nilo. To date, fifty national parks have been established representing the largest category of protected areas. It consists of 43 terrestrial national parks and 7 marine national parks covering 12,330,204.61 and 4,045,048.70 hectares respectively. The complete list of the designated national parks is presented in Appendix 1. Figure 2 depicts the development of areas designated to be national parks during the period 1980 – 2004.

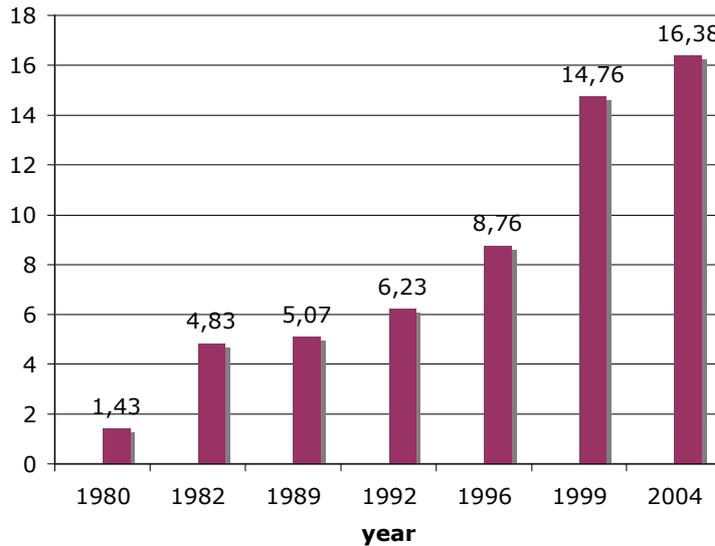


Figure 3. Total areas (million ha) of national parks from time to time from 1980 – 2004

Source: Wiratno *et al.* 2004 with addendum

In addition to national status, a number of national parks in Indonesia obtain recognitions from international organisations with their own programmes or agenda (MoF 1996). They include:

1. Ujung Kulon and Komodo national parks are declared as World Heritage Sites by the UNESCO;
2. Kerinci Seblat, Gunung Leuser and Lorentz national parks are declared as ASEAN Heritage Sites by UNESCO;
3. Berbak and Kayan Mentarang national parks are declared as Wetlands of International Significance in Ramsar Convention;
4. Gunung Gede Pangrango, Lore Lindu, Wasur, Tanjung Puting, Siberut and Komodo national parks are declared as Biosphere Reserves by UNESCO;
5. Betung Kerihun (Indonesia) – Lanjak Entimau (Malaysia) and Kayan Mentarang are designated as Transboundary Parks of Indonesia and Malaysia. A sub-set of TBPAs is the “Parks for Peace” established to promote cooperation for biodiversity conservation and peace through prevention and resolution of armed conflict;
6. Gunung Leuser, Alas Purwo, Gunung Gede Pangrango and Tanjung Puting national parks are declared as Sister Parks of Indonesia – Malaysia.

CHAPTER 5. TWO-CASE STUDY

5.1 CASE STUDY I: Ujung Kulon National Park

5.1.1 Site description

Ujung Kulon National Park is situated on the utmost western tip of Java Island, as Ujung Kulon literally means ‘west-tip’. According to the ministerial decree SK No. 284/Kpts-II/1992, the size of this national park is 120,551 ha consisting terrestrial and marine area. Java Island is regarded as the central or capital island of Indonesia. Not only because of where the Indonesian capital city of Jakarta is situated, but also Java has a fertile soil due to their volcanoes making it attractive to people from outer islands since a long time. With the number of population 121 million in 2000 (BPS 2008), Java is considered to be one of the most populated islands in the world. As a consequence of massive developments, based on study on 1990, no less than 10% of forests remained that confine to small patchy forest in lowlands and steep mountains (Smiet, 1990 in Nijman 2004). Ujung Kulon area is one the remaining lowland forests in Java, which is administratively located in District of Pandeglang, Banten Province. Banten Province is recently split from West Java Province in 2000 through the Law No. 23/2000 concerning the establishment of Banten Province (Setneg 2008) marking the needs for new developmental scheme of the area in the era of *reformasi*.

Ujung Kulon National Park represents the largest remaining lowland tropical rainforest even on Java, one of the most densely populated islands in the world. The area is the principal habitat for Javan rhinoceros *Rhinoceros sondaicus sondaicus*, although a smaller population of *Rhinoceros s. annamiticus*, and is unlikely viable, was discovered in and around the Cat Loc Nature Reserve in the Dong Nai region of Vietnam (Raloff 1999); (Massicot 2005). Current estimation of the surviving population in Ujung Kulon National Park is 54-60 individuals. Accordingly IUCN’s Red List categories the Javan rhino ‘critically endangered’ (ARSG 1996). Three types of ecosystem including marine, coastal and terrestrial ecosystem occur on the area. Although some areas have been modified by the forces of nature and human intervention, the majority of the forest area is considered still unchanged. For this significant profile, Ujung Kulon National Park along with Krakatau Islands Nature Reserve was also declared a UNESCO Natural World Heritage Site in 1992 under Decree No. SC/ECO/5827.2.409 (Clarbrough, undated; UNEP-WCMC, 1997).

The area holds rich biodiversity including flora and fauna. Over 700 plant species are recorded of which at least 57 species are classified as rare in Java, and perhaps the world (Clarbrough, undated). Even, *Heritiera percoriacea* (Fam. Sterculiaceae) is locally endemic to Ujung Kulon (Hommel 1987). In term of fauna, apart from the well-known last habitat for Javan Rhinoceros, other notable large mammals include leopard *Panthera pardus*, wild dog or dhole *Cuon alpinus*, leopard cat *Felis bengalensis*, fishing cat *F. viverrina*, Javan mongoose *Herpestes javanicus* and binturong *Arctictis binturong*. Two Javan endemic mammal species including Javan gibbon *Hylobates moloch* and Javan leaf monkey *Presbytis comata* occur in the area together with endemic silvered leaf monkey *P. cristata* and crab-eating

macaque *Macaca fascicularis*. The area is also home to the largest and most abundant population of banteng *Bos javanicus*. The diversity of avifauna is also high with over 270 species recorded.



Figure 4. Maps of Ujung Kulon National Park

Source: Encarta MSN Map online

5.1.2 Decision processes to the Ujung Kulon National Park

First record on western scientific activity on Ujung Kulon could be in the 1820's when botanists began collecting exotic tropical specimens during a colonial expansion and exploration (Clarbrough, undated). However other report suggests F. Junghuhn, a German naturalist, in 1846 was the first who revealed the richness and variety of flora and fauna of Ujung Kulon (Blower and Zon 1977). This was part of expeditions from the Organisation for Scientific Research in the Netherlands Indies. At the end of 18th century, Ujung Kulon, which still held abundant animals was popular as a big hunting game for Dutch officials from Batavia (Jakarta). As such many animal populations were decreased.

In 1909, the Dutch government issued an Ordinance for the Protection of (some) Wild Mammals and Birds (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indie* No 497/1909). This includes Javan rhino to the list of protection. By the recommendation of the *Nederlandsch Indische Vereniging voor Natuur Bescherming* (the Netherlands Indies Society for Nature Protection), the Dutch colonial government declared Ujung Kulon as *Nature Reserve* with Pulau Panaitan, an island nearby, in 1921. It was stipulated by the declaration of a *Staatsblaad van Nederlandsch-Indie* No. 60 in 16 November 1921. This was the first protection status for Ujung Kulon. Apart from the existence of Javan rhino, the Dutch colonial government typically would “readily grant a protected status to areas which were obviously devoid of any chances for civilized human habitation or conversion for development by means of the technology of the time”, considering the Ujung Kulon area was uninhabited after the great eruption of Mt. Krakatau in August 1883 and was considered as haunted by the local Sundanese. The Dutch colonial government also enacted the Ordinance on Nature Reserves in 1941 that provided legal basis for the protection of wildlife and their natural habitat (Rijksen 1990).

After the Independence Day, the two Ordinances became legal bases for the protection of wildlife and their habitat. The newly government immediately selected 117 areas for sanctuaries located in Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Bali and other smaller islands totalling approximately 3 million hectares. This selection was mainly based on criteria and designation that had been made by Dutch colonial administration (Wiranto *et al.* 2004). Ujung Kulon was among the appointed sanctuaries.

In 1950, an Office for Nature Protection Affairs (*Urusan Perlindungan Alam*) under the Forestry Office was established. One of the principal tasks was to investigate Javan rhino poaching in Ujung Kulon. It was followed by the transfer of responsibility of Ujung Kulon to Office of Forestry Service (Kantor Dinas Kehutanan) in Bogor (Wiratno, Indriyo *et al.* 2004). The period after World War II, the population of Javan rhino was decreased as heavy poaching continue unchecked, and until 1963/64 the killing still recorded. In 1958, the status of the Ujung Kulon was again Nature Reserve by the declaration of Minister of Agriculture Decree No. 48/Um/1958 of April 17, 1958 (UNEP/WCMC 1997).

With the technical and funding assistances of FAO/UNDP together IUCN/WWF projects, the Ujung Kulon was declared among the five first proposed national parks in 1980 the Minister of Agriculture Decree. Later, Halim and Kvalvagnaes (1980) proposed to extend the area seawards to include ocean and coral reef. In 1980, the nature reserves of Ujung Kulon Peninsula, Panaitan Island, South Gunung Honje, North Gunung Honje and the Krakatau Islands were declared a ‘proposed’ National Park based on Minister of Agriculture Decree.

On February 1, 1992, the Proposed Ujung Kulon National Park complex and the Krakatau Islands Nature Reserve were declared a World Heritage Site under Decree No. SC/ECO/5827.2.409. This declaration followed the inscription of the sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List in December 1991 ([UNEP-WCMC](#)). On February 26, 1992, the nature reserves and a substantial addition to the marine reserve were formally combined and declared to be Ujung Kulon National Park under authority of the Minister of Forestry, Decree No. 284/Kpts-II/1992. The

area contains 76,214 ha of terrestrial and 44,337 ha of surrounding reefs and sea totalling 120,551 ha.

5.1.3 Transnational actors and the domestic situation

The work of researchers has been significant in defining problems that are faced by the Ujung Kulon, namely the poaching that lead to the declining population of Javan rhino. This problem has always been the main management issue in Ujung Kulon (WCMC/IUCN 1991). Hoogerwerf, who studied Javan rhino in Ujung Kulon between 1945 and 1960, was one of the transnational actors and, was influential in providing the knowledge base of Ujung Kulon. His work, which was published on his report entitled “The Land of the Last Javan Rhinoceros” in 1970, is of great significance in the process of establishment of Ujung Kulon national park. One academian interviewee emphasizes it:

“the data of what Hoogerwerf has provided, as a researcher, has to be acknowledged to be a significant foundation as a ‘knowledge base’ [to the establishment of Ujung Kulon national park] (interview March 2008).

The significance of Hoogerwerf’s work was also emphasised by Blower and van der Zon (1977) who prepared the proposal of the management plan of Ujung Kulon national park. They acknowledged the work of Hoogerwerf as the foundation of their proposal, and mentioned that he was a ‘father’ of Indonesian conservation in commemorating his demise. Later in 1972, Hoogerwerf was appointed to survey and set up ‘a crude programme for modest technical assistance’ of few major areas in Java, including Ujung Kulon.

Another scientist who has defined the importance of rhino in Ujung Kulon was Lee Talbot. He and his wife Martha surveyed the status of Javan rhino in West Java in 1963-64 under the auspices of IUCN. With funding support of the US government, IUCN also appointed Oliver Milton to survey the ecological status of the Sumatran rhino and orangutan in Aceh (Schenkel and Schenkel-Hulliger 1969). Interestingly, communist ideology’s influence was quite strong and Indonesia applied non-Western politics, at that time. However, both were provided accesses, despite they were American biologists. Coincidentally, in a subsequent year, an Indonesian revolution, allegedly support by the US undercover politics and funds, took place and shifted anti-Western to be pro-Western politics in 1965/1966 (Rijksen 1990).

Since the early establishment of the New Order, the Indonesian politics shifted to be pro-Western. Indonesia became one of the developing countries, which attracted donor countries to provide technical and financial aids for its development, especially when seeing the political stable thanks to policy applied by the New Order government. Apart from that, the forestry sector became one of the leading sectors for the economical development of New Order government. It is different with those of in Sukarno era, which had paid little attention on forest and the forestry sector. Rijksen (SOCP 2004) told: “... partly that was because in the old days everybody in the big cities considered that there was so much forest and the forest wasn’t really exploited and so nobody really cared about what the inland had or didn’t have.” The impact of this economical development to the forest as habitat of big animals in particular has been of the international focus.

“During the 1960s the relationships internationally with Indonesia started again and also of course the relationships with the ex-colonial country like the Netherlands were improving slightly, slowly”. (Interview of Rijksen with SOCP, 2004).

Since then several foreign cooperative programmes have been established. In relation with nature conservation that lead to the designation of protected areas system including national park, two major cooperative projects namely with IUCN and WWF for 10 years and the Food and Agriculture Organisation/ United Nations Development Programme (FAO/UNDP) for 8 years could be noted (Whitten 1987). These projects *“had provided a systematic identification of high conservation value area, ... that they had a system in which they were classifying different natural areas in Indonesia according to a ranking system giving points different biodiversity values. Based on that system, recommendations were made for protection and were noted by PHPA, MoF. So in that sense FAO/UNDP and WWF/IUCN projects have laid the foundation of the entire protected areas system”* (interview with Silvius 2008).

Before the formal 10 years IUCN/WWF conservation agreement with GOI, there were precursor activities made by scientists and the newly established WWF, under the auspices of the IUCN. In 1966-67, IUCN sent his representative from Belgium who had experiences on conservation in Belgium Congo, Dr. J. Verschueren. His task was proposing a research and technical assistance programme for the conservation of Ujung Kulon. One year later, World Wild Fund Switzerland National Appeal established a special Committee for the Protection of Ujung Kulon in 1968. WWF appointed Dr. Rudolph Schenkel with his wife Lotte Schenkel-Hulliger in 1967 – 1969, who studied the ecology and behaviour of Javan rhino and suitability of Ujung Kulon as a habitat. His assignment was also *“to assist the Indonesian authorities in their effort to save the species”* in order to develop a management based on ecological survey. Based on his insight, Ujung Kulon was urgently to reinstate the guard system. With financial support from WWF, by providing field technical equipments and guard techniques, including shooting training, the guard system was reinstated. Schenkel & Schenkel-Hulliger recommended that the fate of Javan rhino in Ujung Kulon depend on a strict protection and sufficient food supply (Schenkel and Schenkel-Hulliger 1969).

At the same time, WWF Switzerland paid the same interest in Sumatran rhino and subsequently sent Dr. Fred Kurt in Aceh. His work, in fact, drew the international attention toward the fragile fate of Sumatran orangutan (Rijksen 1990). The WWF continued their works in Java and Sumatra ever since. These two works marked the first involvement of WWF activities on the conservation of large mammals and led to the protection of habitat of these species in Indonesia by signing a conservation agreement with GOI.

By the above interests, the IUCN and WWF signed two five-year conservation agreements with Government of Indonesia (GoI) since 1977 to 1986. These agreements have supported 37 WWF/IUCN projects totalling US\$1.5 million in the first phase, which is considered *“more than in any other country”*. In the second phase, the project supported 20 projects worth similar amount resulting in

“a network of 196 protected areas covering 4 percent of the total land area of Indonesia”. The agreement was signed by Dr Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri (Secretary-General of Ministry of State for Development Supervision and the Environment), Dr Lee Talbot (IUCN Director-General), and Charles de Haes (WWF Director-General). De Haes addresses “[This] Indonesia's conservation initiative is a model for other nations. ... and is based on the objectives of the World Conservation Strategy to ensure that conservation programmes will yield distinct benefits to the Indonesian people.” (WWF/IUCN 1982; Pasca 1983). This cooperation was in line with the focus of IUCN at that period, which was the establishment of a worldwide network of protected areas.

At first three-year of its establishment, the WWF acted as the subsidiary funding agency of the IUCN. To raise the money, WWF launched two campaigns that were related to Indonesia. First, the Tropical Forests Campaign was launched in 1975 and subsequently launched the 2nd campaign in 1982 during the World Park Congress 1982 in Bali, Indonesia. This was aimed at supporting the establishment and management of national parks and nature reserves of tropical rainforest areas in Central and West Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia. Second, Save the Rhino campaign, was launched in 1979 which successfully raised over \$1 million to combat the rhino poaching (Parnes 2008). Ujung Kulon, as a habitat of rhino, was one of the first field projects of WWF who had provided \$600,000 in support since 1966 to 1991 (WCMC/IUCN 1991).

The main objective of the second phase of the IUCN and the WWF project was also to link with other development activities. In this case the World Bank launched a project that links National Parks with Development Project (WWF/IUCN 1982). An example was a World Bank's \$71 million irrigation project in Dumoga Bone Sulawesi which included \$1 million to create the 3200 km² Dumoga Bone National Park (Fitzgerald 1986). However the project was not yet a policy of the World Bank in disbursing their loans. Only did in June 1986 the World Bank formally released a document that expresses their policy to acknowledge the importance of conservation areas in their funded projects. The policy also encourage the involvement of national and international NGOs, “particularly in helping survey biotic and ecological resources,” as well as ecologists in recommending “projects that could infringe upon prized natural areas in developing countries” (Fitzgerald 1986).

The Netherlands Commission for International Nature Protection (*Nederlandsche Commissie voor International Natuurbescherming*) is another actor who was involved in the nature conservation of Indonesia. The Commission was established in the Netherlands by the inspiration of a lawyer and biologist Dr. Pieter Gerbrand van Tienhoven, in 1925. The Commission aimed at gathering data on endangered species and transmitting such data to conservation organisations in other countries. Netherlands-Indies was one of their focus of interests, by doing so the Commission was suggested to have considerable influence on nature conservation in Netherlands-Indies (Rijksen 1990). The Commission had members such as influential scientists, politicians, travellers and businessmen (Protection 2008). Their first interest in Indonesia after the Independence was to support the fundraising for the campaign made by WWF Switzerland on orangutans, which found difficulties. The Commission took over

the initiative and subsequently established a Netherlands Gunung Leuser Committee in which the orangutan population was presented, together with Netherlands National Appeal of WWF. Having re-established a good relation with Indonesian forestry staffs, they soon extended the programme by setting up a “crude programme for modest technical assistance” focused on a few major conservation areas in 1972. This time, Andries Hoogerwerf was sent back to survey the area of Meru Betiri, Baluran and Blambangan – Alas Purwo in East Java and Ujung Kulon in West Java (Rijksen, 1990).

In October 1974, FAO/UNDP signed a cooperative relation with the Directorate General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation (PPA) of Department of Agriculture to assist the formulation of comprehensive conservation plans and programs throughout Indonesia until 1982. The project was namely “National parks and wildlife management in Indonesia (INS/73/013)”. The goal of the project was “to provide technical assistance on the development of effective systems for management in national parks and nature reserve areas”. The subject areas covered by the FAO/UNDP programmes had main focuses on protected area management, training and institution building (Olembo 1982) (Wiratno, Indriyo et al. 2004).

The areas of focus were Ujung Kulon, Baluran, Kutai, South Sumatra, Alas Purwo and Komodo areas. This project involved a team led by John Blower in 1974 that “integrated much of the Netherlands’ involvement and funds” together with the Dutch experts, Jan Wind and A.P.M van der Zon and later followed by other international WWF programme experts from several countries. Their programme set out to draft management plans of all existing major reserves and propose new conservation areas, including Ujung Kulon Nature Reserve (Rijksen 1990) (Wiratno, Indriyo et al. 2004).

Having assessed the area, they readily proposed and drafted the management plans of Ujung Kulon. Blouwer & van der Zon (1977) highlighted the importance of Ujung Kulon by stating that the area is “certainly one of the most valuable – and best known-conservation areas in S.E. Asia”, as a consequence the area was suggested to be one of Indonesia’s first national park. The legal status of the area was Nature Reserve (*cagar alam*), which prohibits entry by public and no ‘management’ of habitat, but *de facto* situation was otherwise. They proposed new legislation as ‘National Park’ that allows tourism and habitat management by drafting a zoning system in the area. The proposed total land area was 57,500 ha including:

- Ujung Kulon, Peucang Island, and Handeuleum Island (approx. 30,500 ha.);
- Panaitan Island (12,034 ha.) and
- Gn. Honje Reserve with the adjoining of Protection Forest (15,000).

The second phase of FAO/UNDP project, namely “National Park Development Project (INS/78/061)”, was conducted under the leadership of the an ecologist John MacKinnon. The project prepared the establishment of major ecosystem reserves in each bio-geographic regions of Indonesia, by selecting areas with high conservation value for conservation and development priorities. The projects resulted in the publication of a series of National Conservation Plans in 1981 –

1982, which consists of eight volumes of proposed major ecosystem reserves in six bio-geographic regions. The Plan “outlines government policy and strategy for conservation, clarifies the need for conservation in Indonesia and outlines recommended methods for planning, surveying and managing conservation areas” (MacKinnon 1982). This project also included the identification of marine resources of the Ujung Kulon and eventually recommended extending the area seawards to include the surrounding ocean and coral reef.

This Plan was adopted into the Third Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita III 1979 – 1983) and the National Forest Land-Use Plan or *Tata Guna Hutan Kesepakatan* which set a target of protecting 10% land area in national parks and nature reserves. By the adoption of this Plan, Indonesia became one of the first tropical countries, which adopted the systematic conservation planning into national policy (Jepson *et al.* 2002). The training project included capacity building of senior staffs of the PPA by providing fellowship for pursuing higher study abroad, trainings and study tours. This training project expected a number of capable human resources in managing the protected area network had been established by the project.

The New Order administration, which focused its economic development policy based on natural resources, observed the growing forestry issues that should be paid attention to. Apart from the above adoption, the structural change in the New Order administration that dealt with forestry affairs was evident. During the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita IV, 1983 – 1988), President Suharto founded the Ministry of Forestry in March 1983. Prior to this establishment, the forestry affairs were managed under a Directorate General level of Ministry of Agriculture. It was then transferred to Ministry of Forestry in which nature conservation issues were managed by a Director of PPA, and the national park issue was under the National Park Office. During the Repelita IV, ten national park offices representing management authority were established including Gunung Leuser, Bukit Barisan Selatan, Ujung Kulon, Gunung Gede Pangrango, Baluran, Bali Barat, Pulau Komodo, Tanjung Puting, Kutai and Dumoga Bone (MoF 2004).

Nevertheless, since its first declaration in 1980, the national park had not have yet a legal basis. The FAO/UNDP project also included institution building that provided advice on formulating policies and approaches to nature conservation in general, and national parks and protected areas in particular. This project has resulted in drafting an Act concerning *Nature conservation and wildlife management*. The role of expertise under auspices of FAO/UNDP was “to meet individual country situations, with inputs from both lawyers and resource managers, and reference to relevant international conventions and norms” (Olembo 1982). But it was not until 1990, when the prepared draft became the backbone of Act No. 5 of 1990 concerning *Conservation of natural resources and its ecosystem* (Wiratno *et al.* 2004). This newly Act revised the Act No. 5 of 1967 concerning *Basic Forestry* and subsequently stipulated and became the legal basis for national park. This marked the institutional changes on nature conservation policies in the New Order administration.

5.1.4 Transnational relations pattern before 1992

The Ujung Kulon case shows that the role of international organizations in the designation of national park, in particular, and protected area networks, in general, was prominent. The international bodies in the UN system, which included FAO, UNDP, UNEP and UNESCO were among the pioneers. Together with IUCN, they had played a catalyst role in planning and establishing Ujung Kulon national park and protected area network in Indonesia.

Nevertheless, the scientists were the precursors to the works of international organisations. When the Independence Day in 1945 came, some of the Dutch researchers were back home and some continued their research. Despite the non-Western politics applied by Sukarno and subsequently Indonesia pulling its membership out of the UN in January 1965, researchers still were provided access. After the government shifting which happened in 1965/1966, Suharto pulled this isolation out and opened to foreign or international influence. Since then scientists attached to the international organisations, which have cooperative programmes, were flourishing, as the above case shown.

The WWF was the international conservation NGOs that was involved in the designation of Ujung Kulon. At the first stage, WWF supported the programme of IUCN by providing financial support gained from campaigns they made in western countries. But later WWF had also own field projects focusing on large endangered mammals including Sumatran orangutans and Javan and Sumatran rhinos. The signing of conservation agreement between the IUCN/WWF and GoI is really a 'winning coalition' that provide access to the policy-making process. With the financial and technical supports of the WWF, the proposal for establishment and management of Ujung Kulon national park was successfully established. The designation of Ujung Kulon to be national park was taken advantage of the previous status of the area, which had been designated 'nature reserve' since the Dutch colonial times in 1921. This previous status of the area made the policy formulation and decision-making processes easier.

From the above description, the transnational relations pattern during the New Order can be drawn as easy access and profound impact. Despite the domestic structure situation during the New Order or before 1992, which can be depicted as continuum from State-dominate in early New Order to Corporatist type in early 1990s, Indonesia was accessible for the transnational actors. These transnational actors include the scientific community and the main existing international conservation NGOs at that time i.e. the WWF. The political impacts of transnational actors who take advantage of their attachment to the international institutions including IUCN, FAO/UNDP were profound. The impacts of the WWF are evident and long lasting as shown from the agenda-setting, to policy formulation leading to the designation of national park and even to the implementation stage until today. Furthermore, the WWF has contributed into institutional and structural changes that are responsible for nature conservation management in Indonesia, together with IUCN and other international organisations.

5.2 CASE STUDY II: Sebangau National Park

5.2.1 Site description

Sebangau National Park (NP) is an area sized *ca.* 568,700 ha that is administratively located in the Central Kalimantan Province covering regencies of Katingan, Pulau Pisang and city of Palangkaraya. Central Kalimantan Province with sized of 153,564 km² is inhabited by 1,957,861 in 2005. The major habitat in Kalimantan is wetlands that comprise peatlands, freshwater swamps and mangroves. Peatland covering the lowlands of Kalimantan is approximately 6 million ha, of which three million hectares (25% of the total province) lie in Central Kalimantan Province (Rieley *et al.*, 1996 cited in (Boehm and Siegert 2001). The area between Sebangau and Katingan riverine area is considered to be one of the largest unbroken tropical peatlands in the world (Boehm and Siegert 2001).

The Park is geographically situated at the upper catchment of Sungai (river) Sebangau which is part of a very large peat-covered landscape between Sungai Katingan to the west and Sungai Kahayan to the east covering area of approximately 9200 km² (Morrogh-Bernard, Husson *et al.* 2003) or also known as the Ecosystem of Sebangau. The area serves three watersheds including Katingan, Sebangau and Kahayan watersheds (see figure 5).

Records of flora in this national park are 166 species including commercial and Indonesian protected tree species of *Gonystilus bancanus* (ramin), *Dyera costulata* (jelutung), and *Shorea belangeran* (belangeran). Fauna recorded in this park is at least 106 species of birds, 36 species of fishes, and 35 species of mammals (Forestry 2004) (notes from WWF 2008) including endangered or threatened mammals, such as agile gibbon (*Hylobates agilis*), maroon langur (*Presbytis rubicunda*), sun-bear (*Helarctos malayanus*), leopard cat (*Felis bangalensis*) and marbled cat (*F. marmorata*) (Morrogh-Bernard, Husson *et al.* 2003). Most importantly, Sebangau NP is considered to be the largest habitat for estimated population of approximately 6.900 orangutan (*Pongo pygmaeus*) (Singleton, Wich *et al.* 2004).

5.2.2 Decision processes in the Sebangau National Park

Sebangau and the surrounding areas are a good example of the changing interests of both central and local governments in wetlands management. Two opposing views of peatlands management in Indonesia, either for preservation or for development purpose, have complicated the formulation of peatlands use policy since the Dutch colonial time. According to Notohadiprawiro (1998) there are two striking similarities between colonial and Indonesian administrations that peatlands were managed for regional development objective that combine agricultural production, which was motivated by rice shortage at respective times, with population redistribution (transmigration programme).

In early 1980s, the words of wetlands in general and peatland in particular was still not common in Bahasa Indonesia representing lack of awareness on management needs and conservation value of the wetlands area. Despite of the

fact that the Ramsar Convention has been signed since 1972, Indonesia only ratified it two decades later in 1994 by the declaration of Act No.6 of 1994. One of the major influences was caused by the establishment of Asian Wetlands Bureau in October 1986, which later proposed the use of 'lahan basah' word for wetlands (interview: Silvius, 2008). Currently, wetlands and peatlands (*lahan gambut*) have become buzzwords resulting in growing international concern on the function of wetlands and peatlands in carbon sequestration which affects the climate change issue.

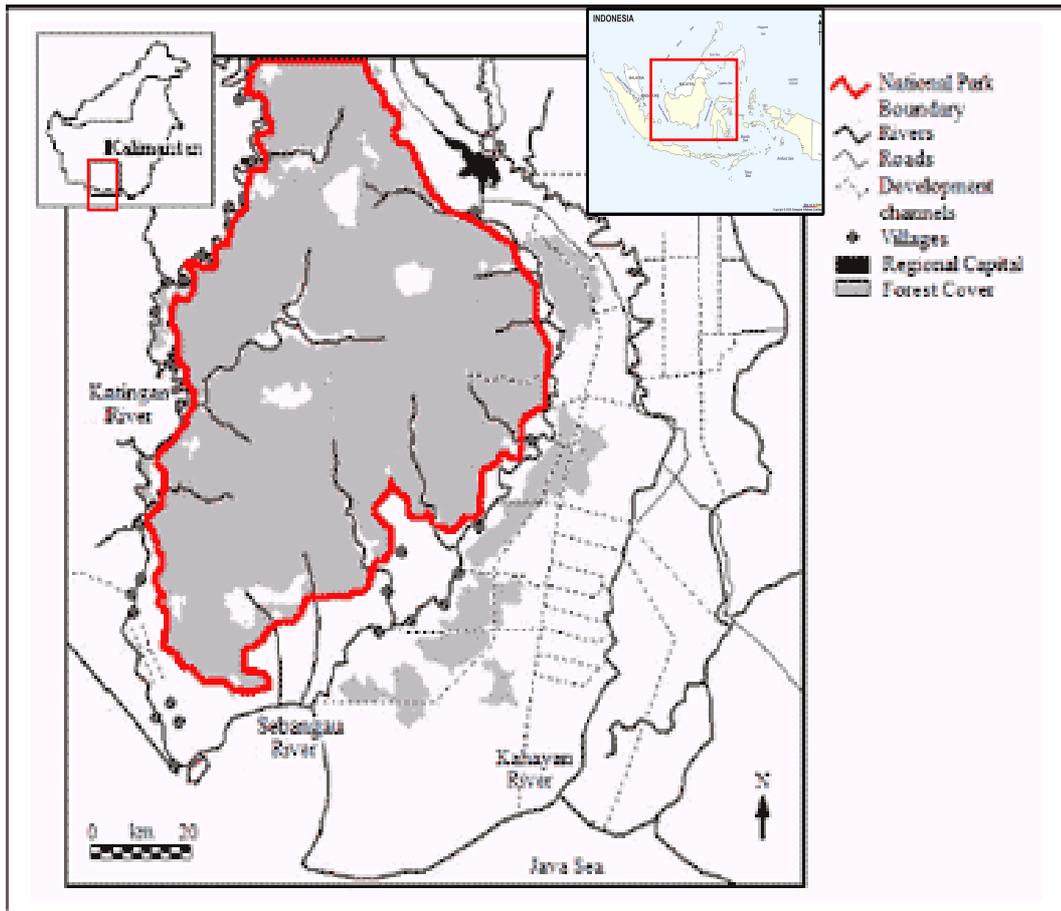


Figure 5. Map of Sebangau National Park

(Source: orangutan.org.au)

The next paragraphs elaborate the land use shifting management of peatland area of Central Kalimantan in general and Ecosystem of Sebangau area in particular, from the late New Order era (1980s – 1998) leading to the establishment of Sebangau national park.

Government Developmental Projects

Between 1995 and 1998, the Central government initiated a so-called Mega Rice Project or *Proyek pengembangan lahan gambut sejuta hektar* (PLG) in the area. The project sought to converse the total area of 1,457,100 ha peatlands into rice fields in an attempt to pursue a national self-sustained rice production programme. The project also incorporated the transmigration project that had migrated 200,000 people of Java.

This project was considered to be one of the ambitious projects of New Order government (Notohadiprawiro 1998) that was legally emphasized by the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 82/1995, with the official title of the project was *Pengembangan lahan gambut untuk pertanian tanaman pangan di wilayah Propinsi Daerah Tingkat I Kalimantan Tengah seluas satu juta hektar* (The development of one million hectare of peatlands for food crop production in the Province of Central Kalimantan) or known as Mega-Rice Project (MRP). Given the fact that peatlands contain extreme acidity of soil and soil-associated water that may not be suitable for agriculture, the project was suggested to over-simplify and over-confident decision that has been hastily made (Notohadiprawiro 1998; Muhamad 1999). The decision was made in dealing with the situation in which the self-sustained rice programme that was achieved in 1984 through the implementation of green revolution project has gone since 1993. Indonesia received a FAO award for achieving once importing to become a major rice exporting country in 1984.

Nevertheless, the fields had never been yielding. The construction of a network of massive canals that cut some domes of peatlands has in fact drained the proposed rice field area and its surrounding forest during the dry season and flooded it during wet season that gave the reason to abandon the project. The project was accused to only take benefits from harvesting the valuable timbers leaving an entirely bared peatland area (Notohadiprawiro 1998). This situation has opened the previously inaccessible area of the interior of the peatland for people to exploit residual timber, mostly in illegal logging basis and using fire to do it (Boehm and Siegert 2001).

Not only forest degradation and biodiversity loss did the Mega Rice Project result in, but also famine over the area was reported during September/October 1997. Having wide spread and strong discontentment among academics and NGOs with the Project, the State Minister/Head of the National development Planning (BAPPENAS) decided to re-evaluate in 1998 (Notohadiprawiro 1998). During the project, Central government had disbursed state-budget totalling IDR 1.6 trillion (€119 millions) in 1996/1997, and IDR 1.435 trillion (€107 millions), IDR 161 billion (€11 millions) in 1998/1999 and 1999/2000 respectively (Bisnis Indonesia). With such as failure, the Mega-Rice Project is considered as “perhaps the largest and most destructive agricultural conversion project in the world in recent time” (Singleton *et al.* 2004).

Having influenced by the economical and political crises in 1997 leading to an administration shifting, governments suspended or cancelled many development projects instigated by New Order government including the Mega Rice Project. The Project was eventually cancelled by President B.J. Habibie on April 26, 1999 by the revocation of two Presidential Decree No. 83 of 1995 and 74 of 1998 (Bisnis Indonesia). President Habibie was the successor of President Soeharto who initiated the project after his ouster in 1998. However, his administration continued with establishing a giant project by launching Integrated Economic Development Zones (*Kawasan Pengembangan Ekonomi Terpadu - KAPET*) through the declaration of Presidential Decree No. 170 of 1998. The Central Government selected thirteen of 55 special zones in Eastern part of Indonesia or of 111 special zones in the total of Indonesia to help boosting the economic development. *Daerah Aliran Sungai* (Watershed) Kahayan, Kapuas and Barito (KAPET DAS KAKAB), in which Sebangau areas is nearby was one of the KAPET zones (DPKTI 1997). These *Kapets* were formed to attract the private sector to invest in these areas such as palm oil plantation (Pemda Tk I Kalteng, 1999).

Palm oil and illegal logging

The recent international issue on bio-energy, which is causing a rise in international demands, helps the development of oil palm plantation. Crude palm oil is highly promoted as a source of 'bio-diesel' suited by countries such as Japan and Europe, that less in emitting carbon, in an attempt to comply with the Kyoto Protocol (Colchester *et al.* 2006). The area of oil palm plantations in Indonesia has increased from 120,000 ha in 1968 to approximately 4.1 million ha in 2002 and approximately 5 million hectares as of 2005. President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono, announced in July 2005, is committed to push Indonesia in a bid to be 'world largest oil palm plantation', to overtake Malaysia's current the world's largest producer title (Colchester *et al.* 2006).

The Ministry of Agriculture proposed that there are approximately 27 million hectares of 'unproductive forestland' that readily available for oil palm plantations. Despite the criticisms of the Ministry of Forestry, Regional Representative Council of Kalimantan and NGOs, the plan is seemingly continued to be facilitated (Colchester *et al.* 2006). One of the areas projected to be palm oil plantations is the peatlands area of Central Kalimantan. The areas of deep peatland of southern Mawas and northern Katingan have been proposed by several companies for oil palm plantation, despite the fact that oil palm grows badly on peatland (Singleton *et al.* 2004). Apart from causing visible forest degradation, the establishment of oil palm plantation is assumed as "simply bogus excuses to harvest profitable timber" (Singleton *et al.*, 2004). According to Sawit Watch, during the past 25 years no less than 18 million hectares of forests have already been proposed for palm oil, but in fact only 6 million hectare of forests have actually been planted out. The World Bank's report in 2001 estimates about 40% of Indonesia's 'legal' timber supply came from land clearance for conversion to plantations (Colchester *et al.* 2006).

In Greater Sungai Sebangau area, illegal logging has been rampant since the economic crisis in 1997 to 2004. According to study by Indonesian NGO's

Greenomics, the economic value losses of the Sebangau forest caused by illegal logging could reach IDR3.4 trillions (Indonesia 2004). Hundreds of canals which were built by local inhabitants and illegal loggers to transport the logs to sawmill before smuggled it to Malaysia. Interestingly, canals, with width about 0.5 – 8 m in width and up to 25 km in length, were built privately and commercialised to those who transported the illegal logs (Sodikin 2004).

Forest fires

Peatland is characteristically combustible especially in a dry situation; as such fires occur frequently in Borneo. In recent decades, El Nino-Southern Oscillation (ENSO) engulfed Borneo Island in 1994, 1997 and 2002 causing extended dry seasons up to eight months. Studies on the effect of peat and forest fires in Central Kalimantan during ENSO 1997 show that 32% of 2.5 million hectares of study area, of which peatland areas accounted for 91.5% had burnt. Their study estimates that about 0.19-0.23 gigatonnes (Gt) of carbon from burning peat and 0.05 Gt from burning vegetation were released to the atmosphere. They extrapolated to the whole Indonesia resulting about 0.81-2.57 Gt of carbon were released to the atmosphere contributing to 13-40% annual global emission of fossil fuel (Page *et al.* 2002; Page *et al.* 2004). These peatlands and forests burning have put Indonesia on the third-largest CO₂ emitter in the world. If these burnings are excluded, however, Indonesia comes on 21st.³

The effects of the fires had been suggested to be transboundary and costly. The haze had been covering neighbouring countries for several weeks leading to protests from leaders of Singapore and Malaysia (Haze_SEA 2006); (Susan E. Page, Florian Siegert *et al.* 2002). Report of the Economy and Environment Program for Southeast Asia (EEPSEA) and the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) presented to the ASEAN Environment Minister meeting in 1998 estimates the haze cost of US\$4.5 billion (\$3.1 billion for fire damage, and \$1.4 billion for haze costs), while Asian Development Bank (ADB) estimates US\$9 billion in the region in total. The actual figure is likely larger as it was based upon conservative assumptions, not to mention health costs, the consequences of increased erosion and deterioration of water supplies, and possible species loss (Haze_SEA 2006). Rough estimation of 8,000 orangutans which lived in the area might have been lost (Singleton *et al.* 2004).

5.2.3 Transnational actors and the domestic situation

International interests on global warming have been significantly growing since the early 1990s leading to the signing of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in June 1992. Tropical peatlands as a source of carbon emission become one of the researches of interest. The Central Kalimantan Province which has 3 million hectares of peatlands becomes a concentration of projects taken by international research institutes as well as international NGOs. STRAPEAT Project and RESTORPEAT Project run since 2001, each for a period 3 years respectively, were funded by the European Union under the INCO-DEV

³ CKPP.org FactSheet

program⁴.

INCO-DEV program is an EU's International Cooperation with Developing Countries aimed at transferring knowledge on science and technology between the European Union country members with those in developing countries in order to promote the sustainable development. The projects funded by INCO must contribute to the solution of specific problems faced by third world countries through equitable partnerships and should contribute to link them to the global commitments, in particular the fight against poverty, the EU Water Initiative and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) and subsequent Plan of Implementation agreed upon at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD)⁵.

To meet the requirements of the INCO program, the STRAPEAT and RESTORPEAT projects were aimed at promoting a sustainable use and rehabilitation of tropical peatlands as well poverty reduction. The projects involved 12 partners of research institutes and universities from European countries, Malaysia and Indonesia, and lately Vietnam, which includes Alterra, University of Nottingham, University of Leicester, Remote Sensing Solutions GmbH (Kalteng Consultant), University of Helsinki, University of Palangka Raya, Gadjah Mada University, University of Sriwijaya, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, Stesen Mardi Sessang, and the Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology (BPPT) with two additional partners for the RESTORPEAT project namely Can Tho University in Vietnam and the private company VAPO Oy in Finland. Outputs of the projects are, among others, a number of publications, graduated students, and a series of national and international workshops and conferences in the related countries (Wösten 2005).

Other projects that have been implemented in Central Kalimantan are Climate Change, Forests, and Peatlands in Indonesia (CCFPI) and Central Kalimantan Peatland Project (CKPP). Since August 2001 to June 2005, the CCFPI project had been implemented by Wetlands International - Indonesia Programme, Wildlife Habitat Canada, the Global Environment with funding supports of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) through the Canadian Climate Change Development Fund, with co-funding from the Global Environment Facility (through the Integrated Management of Peatlands for Biodiversity and Climate Change Project), and the Global Peat Initiative. This project was implemented in Jambi, South Sumatra and Central Kalimantan⁶, while CKPP is the specific Central Kalimantan project currently run by a consortium of 6 members aimed at protecting the remaining peat swamp forests and restoring the degraded peatlands in Indonesia⁷ for climate change mitigation, biodiversity conservation and poverty reduction (WWF Brasil 2008). The members of the consortium are the Central Kalimantan Peatlands Project (CKPP), involving CARE International-Indonesia, WWF-Indonesia, BOS-Mawas, the University Palangka Raya, the Central

⁴ STRAPEAT website: <http://www.strapeat.alterra.nl/> and RESTORPEAT website: <http://www.restorpeat.alterra.wur.nl/>

⁵ INCO website: http://cordis.europa.eu/inco/fp6/index_en.html

⁶ Peat Portal <http://www.peat-portal.net/newsmaster.cfm?&menuid=40&action=view&retrieveid=494>

⁷ CKPP website: <http://www.ckpp.org/>

Kalimantan province planning agency (BAPPEDA) and Wetlands International with funding support of the Dutch Directorate General for International Cooperation (DGIS).

The above projects have been and are being implemented in areas known as Mawas (Block E) and the Block A/B ex-Mega Rice Project area. These areas neighbour to the Sebangau Ecosystem area that has been successfully designated as a national park. The project in Sebangau Ecosystem itself has been conducted since 1993. A collaborative research between University of Nottingham, University of Leicester and University of Palangkaraya was conducted to study the hydrologic, ecologic and biodiversity aspects of peatlands and tropical forest ecosystem in the Sebangau area. In 1995, at the first international peatlands conference participants of all over the world attended and it was held in Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan. The conference saw the importance of the research on the site by the establishment of CIMTROP (*Centre for International Cooperation in Management of Tropical Peatland*) in 1997, an international consortium of University of Palangkaraya, Research and Application of Technology Agency (BPPT Indonesia), University of Nottingham (Britain), University of Leicester (Britain), University of Hokkaido (Japan) and Kalteng Consultants (Germany). On July 9, 1999, CIMTROP was granted a protected peatlands forests in north part of Sebangau catchment area to become a permanent research site by the Ministry of Research and Technology. This site, which was used to be an area of Setia Alam Jaya logging concession, is namely Natural Laboratory for the Study of Peat Swamp Forest (*Laboratorium Alam Hutan Gambut*)⁸.

The study on orangutan population in 1995 – 1996 by Orangutan Tropical Peatland Project (Outrop) revealed that about 5671 (± 955) and 8951 (± 1509) individuals existed in the Greater Sungai Sebangau catchment area sizing 920 km². If the maximum estimation is true, it may be the largest population in the wild (Morrogh-Bernard *et al.* 2003; Buckley *et al.* 2006). This was a new record at that time, since the workshop on orangutans in 1995 had not included this population, only estimated 15,000 individuals in total.⁸ Considering the largest population, they readily recommended that:

1. conversion planning of the area to be agriculture should be cancelled;
2. effective law enforcement on illegal logging and poaching on the area to be implemented
3. rehabilitation of habitats from the effects of ex-MRP project and illegal logging is implemented.

“Ultimately, ... the Greater Sg. Sebangau area needs to be designated as a National Park for the conservation of orang-utan” (Morrogh-Bernard *et al.* 2003).

In an attempt to raise the importance of the area, Outrop met the WWF Netherlands, which also inquired for site for an orangutan conservation project. Later the WWF Netherlands disbursed funding and staffs for WWF Indonesia.⁸ In collaboration with CIMTROP, University of Palangka Raya, AIDEnvironment,

⁸ Outrop website: <http://www.orangutanrop.com/aboutus/aboutus.html>

and BAPPEDA (Provincial Development Planning), WWF Indonesia started their work on orangutan conservation projects on October 2001 to September 2004 in Sebangau catchments area. The goal of the project was “to effectively conserve 650,000 of the orangutan habitat” and promoting a sustainable development on the peatland ecosystem (WWF 2002⁹; interview: WWF 2008). According to the statement made by WWF Indonesia (2008), WWF provides inputs and information that accommodates socio-economic development to the Governments of Districts/Municipality and Province in Central Kalimantan. Additionally, WWF Indonesia facilitated activities and meetings towards the establishment of a conservation area.

Earlier in 1999, a feasibility study on combining conservation and sustainable development was made in a collaboration of Golden Ark Association, CIMTROP and AIDEnvironment. The outcome of the study was a proposal for an Integrated Conservation and Development Project (ICDP) to conserve the Sebangau Water Catchment’s Area. The study emphasized the significance of the area in terms of its high value conservation biodiversity and its carbon sequestration function. The Sebangau Water Catchment’s Area “contains all the endangered fauna elements of Borneo's structure of biological diversity, and is the most valuable, largest remaining (lowland) refuge for a significant population (i.e.> 5,000 individuals) of the critically endangered (officially protected orangutan, as well as other mega-fauna components (including the Sumatran rhino, the sun-bear and the clouded leopard).” These areas also “are the most efficient perpetual and sustained Carbon sinks in the world. These forests transform CO₂ and accumulate more than 10 times as much Carbon as any other natural vegetation pattern” (GAA/CIMTROP/AIDEnvironment 1999 cited in Muhamad 1999).

WWF Netherlands and WWF Indonesia followed up the proposed concept. On December 14, 2002, a meeting initiated by WWF Indonesia to develop the Sebangau Area Developmental Concept and integrate it into provincial spatial planning (RTRW) was conducted. According to WWF (2008), the participants agreed upon the sustainable development concept to be implemented in Sebangau area and sought to integrate the concept into RTRW of districts/municipality of Palangkaraya, Katingan and Pulau Pisang and province of Central Kalimantan.

Yet, the city of Palangkaraya rejected the idea of the national park designation. An ex-official from the Indonesian Forum for Environment (WALHI) Central Kalimantan, stated: “*The strategy of the WWF is laid on their lobby power to the Ministry of Forestry. They used the MoU with the Ministry to access the policy-making at local level, from the provincial level to district level. Not a long time ago, they entered to the (policy-making of) spatial plan of the city of Palangkaraya. The city rejected the option (that the area) to be national park. Until now, the spatial plan has not accomplished yet.*” (interview March 2008).

The meeting then continued with a series of workshops held in relevant cities involving stakeholders of the area. The workshops concluded that:

- Sebangau Area which lies between Sungai Katingan and Sungai Sebangau is expected to be Sebangau Conservation Area.

⁹ WWF Indonesia: <http://www.wwf.or.id/admin/file-upload/files/FCT1145957438.pdf>

- preparation for the Designation and Management of Sebangau Area would be facilitated by the Working Group on the Establishment of Management Unit of the Sebangau Area.
- the Working Group would prepare term of references and mechanisms towards the establishment of Sebangau Conservation Area within 6 months.

In March 2003, the revised spatial plan included Sebangau area into conservation area with formal recommendation from the heads of the districts of Pulau Pisang and Katingan, and head of BPPLHD (Environment Management and Conservation Unit), together with the endorsement of the head of DPRD (district parliament) and Governor of Central Kalimantan (Palangkaraya Post, 2003; Annual report WWF 2004). During a side event of COP7 of the CBD in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, which was held by the World Wild Fund (WWF) Indonesia in February 2004, GoI announced:

“The Ministry of Forestry is planning to establish 12 new protected areas in Indonesia, amounting to about 1 million hectares in the year 2004, which include Tesso Nilo and Sebangau. This is part of our commitment to fulfilling our obligations under the Convention on Biological Diversity,” said Ir. Koes Saparjadi, Director General of PHKA, Ministry of Forestry, Indonesia (WWF Indonesia & MoFRI, 2004).

On September 8, 2004 Dephut announced that Sebangau area among twelve conservation areas being assessed to be designated national parks, as well as assessing two grand forests, one recreational park, and one wildlife sanctuary (MoF 2004b). The Park was declared a national park on October 19, 2004 by the issuance of Forestry Minister Decree number SK.423/Menhut-II/2004. The Decree stated that Sebangau NP is representing a unique and relatively remained intact peat-swamp ecosystem that contains high biodiversity. According to the decree, the Park includes the area that was originally purposed for production forest amounting 510,250 ha and for production forest available for conversion amounting 58,450 ha (MoF 2004b; MoF 2004c). Together with Sebangau, WWF networks also succeeded to influence the designation of Tesso Nilo in Sumatra.

Despite endorsements to the establishment of Sebangau national park, there were discrepancies over the idea from stakeholders. Recommendation letters from the Governor of Central Kalimantan, the Head of Districts of Katingan and Pulau Pisang, as required by the regulation, had been obtained. However, the Secretary of District and the Head of Environmental Office District of Katingan have been questioned over the implementation plan that conflicted with the district spatial planning. This inquiry was related to the road building plan that will cut off the conservation zoning of the national park (KaltengPos 2005).

Director of the CIMTROP, in which its research concessionaire area in the Sebangau ecosystem, considered the designation of shape and size of the national park was tend to be based merely on a desk study. He alleged that proposed maps made by the WWF was directly agreed by the Minister without any proper ground checking (KaltengPos 2006). Concerning the policy-making processes, an ex-Walhi official state: *“The processes still are not participate, and top down.*

Although there were consultations to the local government, however, the processes are hardly ever being participative to local community. If compared with the New Order, the pattern is still similar, which is top down, yet the processes are softer without any repression. The deceptively participative processes cannot be achieved if the position (of the actors involved) are not equal.”

5.2.4 Transnational relations pattern after 1992

From the above description, the designation of Sebangau national parks was a complex situation involving many actors and interests. In decentralisation era, there have been several projects that were applied both for economic development by both central and local governments, and for scientific and conservation efforts by international research institutions and international NGOs. Conflict of interests is proven as shown by the discrepancies over national park after the decision taken by Minister of Forestry.

The role of scientists who expose the importance of peatlands ecosystem in term of high biodiversity value, hydrologic and carbon cycle was important. Their role was also significant in enhancing the problems facing this vulnerable ecosystem. Unsustainable development projects, conversions and (illegal) logging lead to the deforestation and fires are the issues brought by the international scientists and conservation NGOs. In line with international concern on global warming and climate change, Central Kalimantan peatlands ecosystem attracted a number of international projects and transnational actors. A number of international NGOs and international research institutions supported by international funding agencies have been operating in Central Kalimantan. The case of the designation of Sebangau national park shows the considerable influence of transnational relations (see the above case).

In addition to campaign and advocacy strategy by the WWF Netherlands especially in Europe, the WWF Indonesia was actively engaged in policy-making processes. As required by new Government Regulation No. 68/1998 regulation, the WWF Indonesia was involved in developing the Sebangau Area Developmental Concept and integrating it into provincial spatial planning. Nevertheless, lobby to central government cq. Ministry of Forestry was also employed. By the announcement of GoI plan to establish a number of national parks, including Sebangau, during the COP 7 of the CBD show that the WWF have successfully got into ‘winning coalition’, leading to the establishment of Sebangau national park. In this sense, the WWF networks exercised the international arena to achieve their goals.

5.3 Comparing two patterns

From the above two case studies, the pattern of transnational relations before and after 1992 as brought about in the proposition of this study can be drawn. In general, transnational relations in the case of Ujung Kulon national park designation pre-1992 are lesser in amount and less complex than those of post-1992. Only the WWF and epistemic community were involved in the designation of Ujung Kulon national park. The access of the WWF to domestic institutions can be considered ‘easy’. This easy access was evident by the successfully signing of agreement with the GoI to perform the ecological survey, preparing planning

management, designation and management in Ujung Kulon national park. Nevertheless, this access was obtained by taking advantage of the WWF's attachment to the IUCN. The policy impact of this network of transnational actors and international institutions is considered profound, as it is evident in the successful designation of Ujung Kulon national park, and the involvement of the WWF to the management of national park until today. Moreover, the political impact has been seen in the institutional and structural changes of nature conservation management in Indonesia.

In the case of Sebangau national park, the transnational relations are more flourishing than in the Ujung Kulon case. The decision-making process, which took place in the decentralisation era, is more complex because of many actors and interests involved, and conflicting interests of the central government and the local government. The growing interest of the climate change and global warming issues in global politics has made the area become a place for international projects for research and conservation efforts. Taking advantage of this situation, the access of transnational actors to the domestic structure is easily accessible. To influence the policy-making processes, the transnational actors should establish relations with multi points, both in central and local level. It contrary with the situation during New Order era, which was centralised, the transnational actors should gain 'winning coalition' only in central government.

Nevertheless, the policy impact of the transnational actor networks focusing on the area is significant, but in continually bargaining particularly for the implementation stage. The fragmented government can lead to the ambiguity of responsibility. In one hand, the authority on nature conservation management, including the designation of national parks, is still the privilege of central government of the Ministry of Forestry. On the other hand, the local government, at district and provincial levels, expects the utilization of forest area itself as it is evident in the building road taken by Katingan district that is claimed encompass an area belongs to the conservation zone. By that argument, the policy impact of transnational relations post 1992 is considered incremental. The comparison between two patterns of the case study is presented below (Table 9).

Table 8. Transnational relation patterns before and after 1992

	Domestic structure	Access to domestic institutions	Policy impact in case of access
Pre-1992	Corporatist	Easy	Profound
Post-1992	Pluralist	Easier	Incremental

The two cases show similar patterns with those in the work of Risse-Kappen *et al.* (1996), on which this proposition of the study is based. The propositions developed by Riss-Kappen were derived from a comparative study on transnational relations in a series of countries that made the comparison is distinctive. The access to domestic institutions both during the centralisation and decentralisation is not different, but the policy impact of transnational is quite different. The factors that are influencing the difference pattern of policy impact are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION

6.1 Trend of national parks development

Figure 2 of the sub-chapter 4.3.3 shows the trend of national park development in Indonesia from 1980 to 2004. The general trend shows the increasing trend during the early 1980s but decreasing during the mid-1980s until 1990. It shows an increasing trend again in 1992 and steadily continued and culminated in 2004.

During the New Order era (1967-1998), Indonesia has designated 10% of the terrestrial land area into protected areas including 38 national parks. Indonesia became one of the first tropical countries, which has systematically prepared the guidelines for the designation of protected area network by the adoption of National Conservation Plan into national development plan. Indonesia clearly set the target and goal of conservation strategy into the Five-year Development Plan (*Repelita*). The first incorporation was in *Repelita* III 1979-1984 and since then Indonesia designated protected area in a systematic way. After the resignation of Suharto, the new administration changed the term of *Repelita* to be Proenas (National Development Programmes) 2000 – 2004 during which four presidential has been changing. Crises in 1997 have made the national budget for nature conservation management decreased. Interestingly, the number of designated national parks during the crises was constantly increasing.

The increasing number of designated national parks during 1980s shows a similar pattern with the study conducted by Zimmerer *et al.* 2004. Their study was based on the data from the 1985 and 1997 UN List of National Parks and Protected Areas. The global coverage of protected areas showed a significant increase and widespread (see Table 3). In period 1985, Southeast Asia was one of the three world regions (North America and Sub-Saharan Africa) with the protected area coverage was above the average. It has the second highest percentage areas protected following the North America. In 1997, protected area coverage was sharply differentiated but Southeast Asia region remains at global average.

Zimmerer *et al.* (2004) suggests that the expanding coverage of protected areas in the developing countries were influenced by global conservation organisations, and “such globalisation-related processes as geopolitical and development aid channels”. Zimmerer *et al.* (2004) suggests that there are correlation between high percent coverage and the existence of the strongest global conservation organisations. Global conservation organisation includes the international NGOs, and international institutions ranged from the UN’s MAB programme to the CBD. While the latter can be seen on the widespread programme that had global-scale impact to the protected areas, such as USAID’s Biodiversity Support Programme and Integrated Conservation and Development Project (ICDPs). Most of the programmes were, in the sense of, funding or financial aids for protected areas associated with biodiversity conservation.

Interestingly, the North America and Western Europe countries were the regions with high percent-coverage protected areas in period 1997. In contrary with those in developing countries, the development in developed countries are also

“favoured by conditions such as conservation awareness, less poverty, and a well developed infrastructure of diverse government agencies as well as NGOs that were favourable to the expanded designation of protected areas” (Zimmerer *et al.* 2004).

6.2 Transnational actors: Roles and strategies

From both cases, the transnational actors in Indonesia have been observed since the shifting administration to the New Order in 1965/1966. The scientific community and international NGOs are the transnational actors that have been involved and continually influencing the nature conservation management in Indonesia. The proliferation of international institutions, especially after 1972 Stockholm Conference, has provided arena for the state to interact with the transnational actors.

Nevertheless, the predecessors to these transnational relations were the scientists who did research in Indonesia since the Dutch colonial administration. During 1950s and 1960s, the global conservation movement was the realm of naturalists and ecologists who defined the agenda-setting in the policy processes of the designation of Ujung Kulon national park. They constantly maintain the importance of and threats to the rare and endangered species and their habitats. In the case of Ujung Kulon, the declining population of Javan rhinoceros *Rhinoceros sondaicus sondaicus* and other big mammal species became focus of attention for the scientists.

The involvement of international organisations was still lacking, but the IUCN played a significant role in keeping up the conservation agenda on to the UN system. The IUCN became a nexus of naturalists and ecologists who continually developed lesson learns from successful and unsuccessful approaches to conservation all over the world (Sayer 1995). Their knowledge and experience were mostly taken and exchanged from their ex-colonised countries of the tropical countries. An example of experts exchange can be seen from the case of Ujung Kulon in which the IUCN sent Dr. J. Verschueren to Indonesia, who had experience in Congo to apply his approach for Javan rhino at the Ujung Kulon. This problem definition was taken up by the *World Wild Fund Switzerland National Appeal*, which subsequently established a special Committee for the Protection of Ujung Kulon in 1968. During the 1970s, the WWF also launched an international campaign on “Save the Rhino” which has rapidly raised US\$ 1 million to combat rhino poaching.¹⁰

The *World Wildlife Fund* played an important role in supporting the programmes conducted by the IUCN. During their initial period, the WWF have been making campaign and fundraising for the projects taken on behalf of the IUCN. But later the WWF executed several projects, which included the appointments of their researchers. In addition to campaign on ‘flagship’ species, the WWF started campaigning the protection of habitat of these ‘flagship’ species, which are mainly located in the tropical countries. The term of “tropical deforestation”, however, only became apparent in international politics term in 1970s (Keck and Sikkink 1998). The term used before was habitat protection. This term appeared

¹⁰ WWF International history <http://www.wwf.fi/english/international/history/>

because of the decision of the Brazil government, which decided to accelerate the colonisation and development projects in the Amazon in 1972. This issue had been taken up by the IUCN and WWF, which sent a consideration letter to the Brazilian President. Apparently, this situation also occurred in Southeast Asia. To deal with the situation, UNESCO launched the first project on Man and Biosphere programme at the Amazon area. Additionally, two international meetings of scientists, government and international organisation representatives were held in Caracas in February 1973 to discuss the problems in South America, and in Bandung in May 1973 on the deforestation problems in Southeast Asia, and established guidelines for economic development in two regions. These meetings were cosponsored by a number of the UN agencies and the Organisation of American States at the urging of NGOs. The IUCN and the WWF immediately considered tropical rainforest “the most important nature conservation programme of the decade” (Keck and Sikkink 1998). The WWF immediately launched the Tropical Rainforest Campaign in 1975 to draw international concern and funds, mostly western countries. Three years later, the IUCN and WWF engaged in a conservation agreement with the GoI.

The role of the scientist groups was also significant in the case of Sebangau national park. Two British universities, which collaborated with a local Central Kalimantan university, have been the predecessors in agenda-setting of the decision-making processes of Sebangau national park. The results of their activities were published in international journals as well as through a series of scientific meetings at international and national level. At national level these meetings have been significantly influenced by the information and knowledge of policy makers, since they have been invited to be the participants at those kinds of meetings. One of the influential problem definitions was the high abundance of orangutan population in the area, which is considered to be the largest population in one block area. At the same time, they also observed the increasing threats to the habitat of the species by several problems as described in part 4.5.2. One of the recommended solutions to the problems was: “*Ultimately, ... the Greater Sg. Sebangau area needs to be designated as a National Park for the conservation of orang-utan*” (Morrogh-Bernard, Husson et al. 2003).

These information and knowledge concerning the high biodiversity value and ecosystem function area were followed up by the WWF Netherlands. At that time, the WWF Netherlands coincidentally looked for a site of the orangutan conservation project. According to their website, Outrop, the project of orangutan research, was actively contacting the WWF Netherlands in an attempt to advance the issue. The peatlands ecosystem for habitat and high population of orangutan were two important ‘saleable’ issues both for donor and international institutions that concur with the international growing attention on climate change and global warming. In addition, the effects caused by forest fires to ecology and socio-economics have been successfully used by the WWF to campaign the issue. They presented the report on this effect to the ministerial meeting of ASEAN countries. Not only did the Greater Sebangau area become the aggregation of projects for climate change mitigation, biodiversity conservation and linking to poverty reduction, but also the surrounding areas in the Central Kalimantan which hold peatland ecosystem. The areas became the proliferation of international actors, which have established a consortium and actively provided information and

knowledge to the policymakers. However, the establishment of this consortium was not a covered issue in this study, whether it was a strategy to attract donor agencies or to influence the policymaking.

Haas (1992 *in* Keck and Sikkink 1998) called the group of scientists as the epistemic community, which has technical expertise and information to convince policymakers of the importance of policy problems. Those two cases in this study show similar patterns of political influence that moves forward from the epistemic community to the international NGOs. The international NGOs, do not just rely on the information provided by the epistemic community, but they interpret and strategically use it. In the case of Sebangau, the actors successfully dramatised the problems and put them into the agenda setting of the government. In these two cases, both transnational actors confirm their roles in “simultaneously helping to define the issue area itself, convince target audiences that the problems thus defined are soluble, [and] prescribe solutions” (Keck and Sikkink 1998).

The two cases also illustrate the different involvement of scientists. In the case of Ujung Kulon, naturalists and ecologists played a greater role, while in the Sebangau case, social scientists working together with both in influencing the policy. This situation occurred because of the shifted conceptualisation of national park, which put attention on the social aspects of local people living inside and around the areas, as one of the sustainable development aspects. The involvement of ecologists and social scientists is not without problem. In relation with the issue, van Helden (2004) suggests that both fields of study and practice have a different expertise system and different focus. Conservation ecologists tend to put emphasis on the needs of nature, in this case biodiversity, while social scientists often aim to represent the needs of local people.

At international level, the role of naturalists and ecologists has been significantly influenced by the recognition of national parks and relevant reserves importance by the United Nations system in 1959. It was readily adopted by the agencies in the UN system that was mandated in the ECOSOC Resolution that “*Requests the Secretary-General to establish, in co-operation with UNESCO, FAO, and other interested specialized agencies...*” This recognition marked the institutionalisation of the importance of national park and relevant reserves to the UN system. The UN Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) and UNDP were among the prominent international organisations in the designation of national park in Indonesia. During 1970s – 1980s, the FAO was the UN specialised agency whose mandate included executing United Nations-funded projects and programmes in national parks and protected areas. In Indonesia, FAO conducted two five-year cooperative projects with GoI with financial support of the UNDP from 1973 – 1982. During their terms, the FAO had three main focus areas. On protected area management issues, they conducted ecological survey, identified potential areas, preparing planning management, designation and management. Because of its adoption to their programmes, the FAO, UNEP, UNESCO and IUCN were so-called the members of Ecosystem Conservation Group (Olembu 1982). Indonesia’s membership to the UN has provided access for international organisations such as FAO/UNDP to operate within the boundaries of Indonesia.

6.2.1 Strategy to 'winning-coalition'

The principal access of WWF and other international NGOs to the issue-area of nature conservation management in Indonesia is Ministry of Forestry and related ministries. The activities of international NGOs in Indonesia are regulated by Act 37 of 1999 concerning International Affairs under the auspices of the Foreign Affairs Ministry. The Ministry verifies the application made by the international NGO through inter-departmental consultations, which include other government apparatuses such as Internal Affairs Ministry, State Intelligence Agency, DG Immigration Affairs of Laws and Rights Ministry, Supreme Attorney, National Police Department and relevant ministers.¹¹ International NGOs, which intend to conduct activities in Indonesia should meet the criteria which are:

1. originated from country that has a diplomatic affair with Indonesia;
2. not allowed to do political activities in Indonesia;
3. not allowed to do religion-spreading activities in Indonesia;
4. not allowed to do profit-making activities;
5. not allowed to do fund-raising activities in Indonesia.

Those who meet the requirements and verifications of Foreign Affairs Ministry oblige to sign a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with relevant ministry/institution with consent from the State Secretary. In the cases of forestry and biodiversity conservation NGOs, the MOU is made with Ministry of Forestry, in particular DG Nature Protection and Conservation. The memorandum of understanding (MOU) becomes a 'ticket' to enter the arena in domestic structure.

Krasner (1996) suggests that the institutional structure of transnational actors must reflect the institutional environment in which they operate. States are the most important institutions in the environment of transnational actors. It provides arena and also influence the character of transnational actors. According to the institutional perspective, in which Risse-Kappen based on his framework, transnational actors should conform to the institutions within which they function, in order to survive. By becoming isomorphic to the institution, it enhances legitimacy and access to resources (Krasner 1996). The cases of Ujung Kulon and Sebangau show how transnational actors gradually become isomorphic to the environment in which they function. In these cases, the WWF is not only becoming isomorphic to domestic structure but also to the international structure. It is evident in the gradual shifting of their goal and mission to be isomorphic to international structure and subsequently changing their structure to be isomorphic to the domestic structure.

In the case of Ujung Kulon, during 1960s and early 1970s, the focus attention of the WWF in Indonesia was only protection of endangered species of Javan and Sumatran rhinos and Sumatran orangutans. This WWF's mission was in accordance with the previous goal of the IUCN i.e. '*... with special regard to the preservation species threatened with extinction*'. During the three first years of establishment WWF was only doing coordinating and fundraising activities for the implementation of projects of other organisations. In addition to IUCN, the

¹¹ Deplu 2008: http://www.deplu.go.id/?category_id=24&news_id=2772&main_id=13 ; Depdagri: 2008: [\\SCOMP0227\much001\\$\My Documents\01_Thesis\much001\Local Settings\Temporary Internet Files\Content.IE5\LVGYHAST\lsm_asing_depdagri.doc](\\SCOMP0227\much001$\My Documents\01_Thesis\much001\Local Settings\Temporary Internet Files\Content.IE5\LVGYHAST\lsm_asing_depdagri.doc)

WWF also provided funding for other organisations focused on nature conservation such as the International Council for Bird Preservation (now Birdlife International) etc. (Parnes 2008). Subsequently, the WWF became independent while continually maintaining special relationship with the IUCN and executes field projects and runs offices in several countries. The WWF took advantage of its attachment with the IUCN which developed a conservation agreement with GoI in 1977 to 1986.

In the case of Sebangau, the WWF's approach was shifting. It was not only "to effectively conserve 650,000 of the orangutan habitat" but also promoting a sustainable development on peatland ecosystem. This sustainable development goal became apparent in international politics especially after the World Conservation Strategy and the ratification of the CBD. Ecosystem management is suggested to be the key in achieving sustainable development. The needs for protection of and sustainable development of the wetland ecosystem were required under the Ramsar Convention (Maltby 2006) and the UNFCCC. The 'ecosystem approach' was readily adopted by the WWF in Sebangau area by considering activities that meet environmental sustainability, economic prosperity and social well-being.

Since its first involvement of the projects in Indonesia, the WWF run Indonesian Programme office until April 1998 when it changed into WWF Indonesia. It is to be an Indonesian legally registered foundation. It is interesting to mention that the shifting to be Indonesian legal foundation was taken place before the Reformation era in May 1998. This shifting can be understood in two ways. The first, WWF considers Indonesia to be an increasingly interesting focal point of activities, and the second, to strategically adapt to or become isomorphic to the domestic structure.

Firstly, Indonesia becomes one of the WWF global conservation priority-setting sites. Indonesia has 18 of the Global 200 ecoregions. The "Global 200 ecoregions" is a "science-based global ranking of the Earth's most biologically outstanding terrestrial, freshwater and marine habitats. It provides a critical blueprint for biodiversity conservation at a global scale"(WWF 2008). Currently, WWF Indonesia has 3 bioregional offices including Sundaland, Wallacea and Sahul offices with 23 project sites in 16 provinces. This sort of prioritizations was also applied by other international NGOs. Conservation International put Indonesia two of the world's 25 'hotspots', while BirdLife International has 24 of 218 'Endemic Bird Areas'. "Hotspots" refer to the richest and most threatened reservoirs of plant and animal life on Earth, while "Endemic Bird Areas" refers to those regions in the world where two or more endemic bird species that have restricted ranges, i.e., less than 50,000 km², overlap (Rhee, Kitchener et al. 2004). Secondly, by becoming Indonesian legally based foundation, WWF Indonesia is able to do fund-raising in Indonesia, as regulated by Act 37 of 1999, but moreover it will pave the way to the access of decision-making.

In the case of Sebangau, WWF Indonesia employed the active Forestry Ministry officer that was appointed to be project manager of the orangutan programme prior to the declaration of national park. After the Sebangau had been declared national park, he was immediately appointed as the park manager. Apart of the

campaign, the project manager would consequently provide the access to decision-maker more accessible. This is what Risse-Kappen (1996) suggests as the 'winning-coalition'. Similar strategy was applied by WWF India which employs 'retired civil servants and military men' (Young 1999).

This particular strategy is becoming noticeable to several international NGOs working in Indonesia that either employs active or retired officials from the Ministry of Forestry or the State Ministry of Environment. This particular strategy is expected to be a mutual relationship between the transnational actors and the state officers. The Ministry of Forestry expects a capacity building and knowledge and information transfer, while international NGOs obtain access and eventually the 'winning-coalition'. A Ministry of Forestry official responded on this matter: *"The appointment of civil servants [in ministry of forestry] to a number of international NGOs has been started in 2000. It aimed at knowledge upgrading. However, NGOs will not easily admit the officials. It requires those who have experiences and internal networks to the ministry of forestry, so they are expected to bridge the communication. By appointing him [in the case of Sebangau national park], it certainly will make him easier in handling the tasks as he has been already familiar with the problems and the potential sources to be developed... In the other hand, data and information of the area gathered by WWF are easily accessible to the ministry. The expectation of park managers could gain benefit from the collaboration with international NGOs vary; some are happy with transfer knowledge and experiences, but some expect [immediate] monthly incentive cashes"* (interview May 2008).

6.3 Factors that facilitate and constrain the access and impact

6.3.1 Conceptualisation shifting

Despite recognition of the UN on the importance of national parks and nature reserves in 1959 leading to the publication of the first *World List of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves* in 1962, the significant change that influenced the environmental awareness of many countries occurred after the UN Conference on Human Environment in 1972. For the first time, the Conference has brought political leaders and conservationists in a formal intergovernmental negotiating setting. The outcomes of the Conference were, among others, the establishments of UNEP and ministries of environment in many countries. Indonesia created the Ministry of State for Development Supervision and the Environment in 1978. Dr. Emil Salim was appointed as the minister, whose responsibility was "to find a path of sustainable development on which economic development could be combined with protection of the environment" (Salim 1997). This establishment coincidentally met the domestic situation in which environmental problems caused by the implication of rapid development based on natural resources was clearly seen. Land degradation and extensive deforestation are common especially in the outer islands of Java where forest concessionaires and development projects occurred (MacAndrews 1994).

The "sustainable term" becomes a notion for many countries with the basic message that "conservation and development are compatible and indeed mutually supportive" (Sayer 1995). This term was emphasised by the publication of the World Conservation Strategy by the IUCN/WWF/UNEP and re-emphasised in the

1992 CBD. This conceptualisation shifting has helped the idea of national park was accepted by many of the developing countries. In the first conceptualisation of Yellowstone national park, national park was generally considered to be a natural area where the influences of humans were minimal. This idea was mainly rejected by many of developing countries during the 1950s – 1960s (Weeks and Mehta 2004). The developing countries, such as Indonesia, were pursuing economic development that was mainly based on their natural resources at that time. Accordingly, the traditional national park approach was no longer sufficient to meet the social and economic development needs. This recognition was clearly demonstrated in the case of Sebangau. Despite the fact that the definition problems were the high population of orangutans and the importance of peatlands ecosystem, the WWF was also brought about the sustainable development issue that met the donor and local government interests.

6.3.2 Foreign aids

Although Suharto applied authoritarian system in domestic policy, he made a pro-Western foreign policy. This strategy has proven effective for attracting financial and technical aids from international financial institutions and countries – bilateral and multilateral agreements. These foreign aids both financial and technical have provided access for international NGOs and the scientific community. This phenomenon has also occurred in many of developing countries as presented by Princen (1996) in the case of Kenya.

There has been special funding focused on the nature conservation programme. In the case of Ujung Kulon, the funding was provided by the IUCN/WWF and the UN agencies and the focus during 1960s and 1980s was the establishment of a worldwide network of protected area networks. After the 1982 Bali Parks Congress, the focus of international assistance shifted from PA network planning and designation to park management and the Global Environment Facility (GEF) has been a key funding mechanism for this purpose since 1992 under the CBD scheme (Rhee *et al.* 2004). Since the economical and political crises in 1997, government has decreased funding for conservation. In the other hand, funding by multilateral development banks and bilateral has increased significantly. In addition to development funding, these donor institutions also provided the major share of funding for protected areas. Most donor agencies, however, require substantial government counterpart funding to disburse their funding. To attract this funding, GoI allocated more budgets to national parks, although “these budgets were not always well spent.” These funding were mostly allocated for supporting the effectiveness of national parks and protected areas that are recognised by the international institutions (see pg. 44) (World Bank 2001 in Rhee *et al.* 2004).

In addition to special funding for nature conservation, there has been funding for economic development purposes. During the first era of the New Order government, foreign aids were immediately institutionalised by the arrangement of a consortium namely *Inter-Governmental Groups on Indonesia* (IGGI). The IGGI, founded in 1967, is a consortium of 15 nations of major source of foreign aid including grants and loans for Indonesia’s economic development. This consortium included the United States, Japan, Australia, Britain, Germany, France, Canada and the Netherlands, and four international aid agencies including

International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and International Finance Corporation (Kyodo 1991). In 1992, President Suharto dissolved the IGGI in response to criticism by the IGGI chairman, Jan P. Pronk of the Netherlands's minister for development cooperation, over human rights, land rights and the environment issues, particularly the Timor Timur case in 1991. Shortly afterwards, however, Indonesia succeeded to form new consortium coordinated by the World Bank excluding the Netherlands (Sukma 1995).

This incident shows how the domestic structure of Indonesia at that time has filtered the transnational actors. An interviewee describes the immediate situation after the disbanding of the IGGI:

“In 1992, my visa was not extended anymore, but there was no transparency of New Order on the reasons. That was no transparency during New Order era. But it could be, among others, related to JP Pronk strong statement on New Order policies in 1992. Most of the Dutch people had to leave the country and put them on the black list. On the last day before I had to leave the country because I was thought that I could stay I was managing a lot of projects financed by other countries such as England and Australia and other funding sources. I think several people at Setkab (Cabinet Secretariat) didn't really like it that I could stay and let me know more or less in conversation, that they would find a way to get me out. Also they didn't make friends himself in Setkab because I always refused to pay bribes for visa. We were working on visa dinas regulation. I got two weeks notice before I leave the country. I have built a team to executive the projects mainly by Indonesian staffs, but still few expatriates stay there, but we have a policy to decrease number of expatriate staffs to build up the Indonesian team capacity.” [interview March 2008]

From these cases, it is evident that the domestic structure of the New Order has been proved to accommodate or refuse transnational actors to maintain their sovereignty, despite Indonesia ties to the multilateral donor countries. Nomura (2007) suggests that the environmental issue in Indonesia was not considered as threats that would challenge the continuation of the New Order government. Thus, as long as the transnational actors did not 'touch' over the sovereignty of the regime, the transnational actors would be provided access.

6.4 Implication of transnational actors

The implication of the approaches conducted by the transnational actors reflected on the management of local people living in and outside of the national parks. The notion of 'exclusion' was still common in the implementation of national park until 1969 as it was expressed in the IUCN Guidelines. Originally, the management of national parks was strict preservation and seeing local people as threats, as such they should be excluded. According to Rothberg (1999) the application of such an approach was appropriate in Western countries that had lower population and socio-economics pressures. Additionally, people have been separated in rural area. In contrary, the local people dependency to the forests in Indonesia is still high. Indonesia “had (and has) serious and legitimate needs for land and natural resources for national development”. Rothberg also suggest the high funding needs for the strict preservation that requires especially human resources and equipment to patrol the boundary of the parks.

In recent years, efforts “to link between global conservation constituency with those of local people in areas of high biodiversity has led to a range of methods that are invariably labelled as ‘integrated’, ‘community-based’ ‘joint’, ‘co-’, or ‘participatory’” (van Helden 2004). Van Helden (2004) also suggests that the increasing involvement of social scientists in conservation agencies has led to an increasing number of organisations involved in the field of conservation and development. This phenomenon is demonstrated in the Sebangau case. Current coalition of international NGOs that focused on the conservation of peatlands, is not only those working on biodiversity issue, but also on social issue. The example of this international NGO is CARE international.

The conflict with local people in both cases, however, was not prominent. The designation of Ujung Kulon is relatively less in conflict since the area had been uninhabited for long after the eruption of the Krakatau volcano, and selected as the *naturemonument* by Dutch colonial government (Rijksen 1990). In the Sebangau case the area was uninhabited as well. Nevertheless, the negative response came from WALHI, who states that the designation processes of Sebangau national park was not ‘participative’, top-down approach, with the less involvement of local community. WALHI also suggests that it also would limit the access of local people to the resource. In a broader sense, the perception of ‘exclusion’ is prevailing until today. It is proven by the recent rejection of the declaration of Gn Merapi national park that ended up in the lawsuit by WALHI.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

The findings of this study confirm the research question that the transnational relations have influenced the designation of Ujung Kulon and Sebangau national parks in Indonesia. The transnational relations have been observed since the New Order era until recently. Despite the fact that the 'centralisation' was applied by the New Order government (1967-1998), the transnational actors, which were still limited in number, had been provided access together with the international organisations. This coalition of transnational actors with the international organisations has had a profound political impact. These political impacts were not only influencing the designation of first national park but also influencing the institutional and structural changes on nature conservation policies of Indonesia.

The transnational actors after *reformasi* era have been seen as more flourishing. The Sebangau case demonstrates the aggregation of international projects related to the conservation and sustainable development of peatland ecosystem in the Central Kalimantan Province. These international projects, which are mostly associated with the climate change and global warming issues, have been the access for transnational actors. It is proven by the fact that those projects were mainly executed by the transnational actors ranged from the international NGOs to the international research institutes. Nevertheless, the impact of transnational actors during the decentralisation era was incremental, as seen in the conflicting interests of the central government and the local government. The decision-making is more complex because of many actors and interests involved.

The scientific community in both cases of Ujung Kulon and Sebangau National Parks plays a significant role in defining issues, providing information by publishing reports and conducting forums. The WWF with its international network helps advancing the information provided by the scientific community to be the agenda of the government. In the case of Ujung Kulon, the transnational actors in Indonesia were still limited to the WWF. It is dramatically changed in the case of Sebangau. Almost all of the major international conservation NGOs and international research institutes presented in the surrounding area working on the peatlands ecosystem in Central Kalimantan. The WWF Indonesia and its international WWF network remain the most influential actors in the designation of Sebangau national park.

The WWF successfully got into 'winning coalition' by employing various strategies. These strategies include lobbying, advocacy, monitoring and participation. The implementation of these strategies can be done, among others, by doing advocacy and fundraising especially in western countries, executing projects in the fields, capacity building of senior staffs and also recruiting officials from the Ministry of Forestry.

If the relationships before 1992 were in term of cooperative agreements to international organisations like those of IUCN/WWF and FAO/UNDP that not is legally binding, after 1992 the relationships became more institutionalised in a number of regimes. The 1992 CBD and 2002 UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG) clearly state the target of national park development. These international

regimes and international organisations have provided venue to monitor the achievement of those targets through a series of meetings. In this protected area fields, IUCN through its World Park Congress which was held every 10 years and Conference of the Parties meeting have been actively monitored and evaluated the target. The countries of members were obliged to report their achievement during the past 10 years, and set the new goal and target for the next 10 years ahead. In these international institutions, the changing conceptualisation and implementation of national park in the field occurred that paved the way to the GoI to accept the idea. The above description confirms the proposition suggested by Risse-Kappen (1996) that the institutionalisations of the inter-state relationship have a strong effect on the transnational relations. Indonesia's cooperative agreements to regime and international organisations as described in sub-chapter 4.1.3 have proven why the transnational actors get access to the domestic policy making.

From the aforementioned arguments, the findings of this study conclude to partly reject the formulated proposition. The proposition states:

“The designation processes of national parks in Indonesia are more influenced by the increasing size and role of transnational actors after 1992 than those before 1992, which take the advantage of domestic political system changes in 1998 and the growing international institutions after 1992.”

The considerable increase of the size and role of transnational actors in decentralisation era is more relevant with those of in global politics than the function of domestic structure in filtering the access of the transnational actors. Both centralisation and decentralisation era has provided access to the transnational access. However, the domestic structure of New Order era demonstrates this function and can be considered “stronger” as proven in the case of the disbanding of IGGI. The access and impact of transnational actors are evident in the trend of national park designations, which shows the similar trend both in centralisation and decentralisation era.

Reflection and recommendation on the research methodology

Findings of the study shown that the transnational relation patterns between the two cases do not reflect a strong contrasting result. This result might show the real situation, but this might also be related with the case selection. For the Ujung Kulon it can be said that the impact of the transnational relations was taking advantage of the previous status of protection that has been designated *naturemonument* during Dutch colonial time. Indonesia experiences the several administration changes after the *reformasi* era, and even during the New Order era the role of civil society was growing reflecting the political culture shift especially in the early 1990s. For that reason, the number of cases is not sufficient to provide a representative picture of the function of the relationship of domestic structure and transnational actors. It is worthwhile if in the future study, the case selection shall take into account this factors as well as the number of cases.

I was expecting a high level of response from the key respondents through email, but in fact the response was not so good. I sent away questionnaires to both Indonesian and international experts in Indonesia and the Netherlands.

The email-based survey has been widely used by researchers and is considered as first generation of online survey presided currently by online survey creation software packages. It is considered as easy, speed response and inexpensive to administer and is highly useful (Sheehan 2001; Wright 2005). Sheehan (2001) reviews the response rate of the email survey from 1986-2000 in the United States suggesting that while the number of studies that use email has been increasing over the past fifteen years, the average response rate to the surveys appears to be decreasing. The mean of response rate based of his 31 studies report shows 36.83%. Based on this finding, my email-based survey can be regarded as too low.

The internet connection in Indonesia currently can be regarded as good, as almost contacted respondents are connected to the internet. Thus, the connection was assumed not to be a problem in Indonesia. Sheehan (2001) suggests the potential influences on response rates in both postal and e-mail surveys are including survey length, respondent contacts, issue salience, research affiliation and compensation. In the case of my study, survey length and salience of issue might be relevant for the result. I strategically have combined close- and open-ended questions. I pre-tested to several peer students and shows that the survey length is optimum. The topic salience on the objective of this study could influence the rate response. Salience is defined as the association of importance and/or timeliness with a specific topic (Martin 1994 in Sheehan 2001).

This could be also related with the sensitivity of the issues. Except for local NGOs, Indonesian people are still reluctant when are asked to describe others, or asked perception about the relationship between government and international actors. This was shown by respondents who recommended others instead of responding the questionnaire themselves, despite his/her sufficient knowledge of the area reflected on his/her reports on which I referred to. Sheehan (2001) also suggests the recent email users may experience information overload causing individuals to hesitate to read unsolicited email without opening it. However, by combining this result with my in-depth interviews through phone and face-to-face interviews as well as extensive literature review, the result of my study is expected to be reliable. Therefore, it is suggested that face-to-face interview is more preferred to gain more detail information especially when the topic of study is quite sensitive for many.

Reflection and recommendation on the theoretical framework

I assumed that almost all-international conservation NGOs have been working in Indonesia including the recent involvement of Greenpeace. One of the increasing debates among the Indonesian civil society is conflict over the designation of national parks. The conflicting idea on human and nature relation is reflected in the implementation of national park in Indonesia, between exclusion and participation. Conflicts over nature resources management have been the increasing subject of debate that one can suggest that it cannot be separated from approaches and activities of the transnational actors.

From my brief literature study, I learn there are many contending theories, which seek to understand the growing role of transnational actors in international politics and domestic policy-making. In principal, these theories put emphasise on seeking

who is dominant over others, whether state over non-state actors or *vice versa*. The theoretical framework provided by Risse-Kappen (1996) is more treating the interrelation between the two actors. This framework provides analysis that the transnational relation impact depends on the institutions of the state both domestically and international. The framework has helped me to analyse the 'position' of Indonesia in the international structure of nature conservation governance and the 'type' of domestic structure.

To meet the required structures of the framework needs quite some time. This framework requires us to understand the nature conservation institutions in general then ended up with the position or membership of Indonesia in this international structure. The domestic structure of Indonesia is a different subject. To begin with, the framework requires the general domestic structure and policy of Indonesia and later the specific nature conservation related policies or structures. This framework somehow helped me to directly answer part of my research question 2.2 and 2.4.

However, as this framework based on the institutionalism perspective, in a broader sense, it seems that both state and transnational actors are arguably 'passive' actors, which are depending their behaviour on the 'medium' or 'arena' i.e. the structures. Others, however, suggest that the policy-making is about exchange power and strategy of actors. In this study, the strategies of the transnational actors were not dig up without combining it with other framework. It does not directly provide the answer to on 'how' the transnational actors manage to 'influence'. No single analytical framework is flawless; therefore it is recommended for future research that complimentary theoretical framework is always necessary to be employed.

REFERENCES

- Archer C. (2001). "International Organisations" 3rd Ed. London, Routledge.
- ARSG (Asian Rhino Specialist Group). (1996) *Rhinoceros sondaicus*. IUCN 2007. 2007 IUCN Red List of Threatened Species. <www.iucnredlist.org>
- Arts, B. (2003). Non-State Actors in Global Governance - Three Faces of Power. Bonn Preprint of the Max Planck Institute.
- Blower, J. H. and A. P. M. v. d. Zon (1977). Proposed National Park Ujung Kulon including Gunung Honje, Pulau Peucang & Pulau Panaitan: Management Plan 1977/78 - 1981/82. Bogor, UNDP/FAO.
- Boehm, H.-D. V. and F. Siegert (2001). "Ecological impact of the one million hectare rice project in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia, using remote sensing and GIS." ACRS 2001 - 22nd Asian Conference on Remote Sensing, Singapore.
- BPS. (2008). "Population statistics." Retrieved March 02, 2008, from <http://www.bps.go.id/sector/population/index.html>.
- Buckley, C., K. Nekaris, et al. (2006). "Survey of *Hylobates agilis albibarbis* in a logged peat-swamp forest: Sabangau catchment, Central Kalimantan." *Primates* **47**(4): 327-335.
- CBD/UNEP (2004). "The Convention on Biological Diversity: From Conception to Implementation". CBD News, Special edition. CBD/UNEP/UN.
- Chape, S., S. Blyth, L. Fish, P. Fox, M. Spalding. (2003). "United Nations List of Protected Areas" Cambridge, UK., IUCN and UNEP-WCMC.
- Chapin, M. (2004). A Challenge to Conservationists. WORLDWATCH magazine. November/December 2004.
- Chasek, P. S., D. L. Downie, et al. (2006). Global environmental politics. Boulder, Westview Press.
- CITES. (2008). "What is CITES?" Retrieved May 27, 2008, from <http://www.cites.org/eng/disc/what.shtml>.
- Clarbrough, M. L. (undated). Ujung Kulon National Park Handbook, Governments of Indonesia and New Zealand.
- Cobb, R., J.-K. Ross, et al. (1976). "Agenda Building as a Comparative Political Process." *The American Political Science Review* **70**(1): 126-138.
- Colchester, M., N. Jiwan, Andiko, M. Sirait, A.Y. Firdaus, A. Surambo, H. Pane (2006) "Promised Land: Palm Oil and Land Acquisition in Indonesia - Implications for Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples" *Forest Peoples Programme, Perkumpulan Sawit Watch, HuMA and the World Agroforestry Centre*.
- Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) 2004. Protected Areas (Articles 8 (A) to (E)), Kuala Lumpur. <http://www.cbd.int/convention/guide.shtml?id=web>
- Cotton, J. (1999). "The "Haze" over Southeast Asia: Challenging the ASEAN Mode of Regional Engagement " *Pacific Affairs* **72**(3): 331-351.
- Dephut (2005) Forestry Statistics of Indonesia 2005. <http://www.dephut.go.id/news.php?id=497> Last visited 04 October 2007.
- DtE. (2001). "Down to Earth IFIs Factsheet Series " No 18, December 2001. Retrieved May 27, 2008, from <http://dte.gn.apc.org/Af18.htm>.
- Durbin, J. (1992). "People and protected areas: a major theme of the IVth World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas (Caracas, Venezuela, February 1992)." *Biodiversity and Conservation* **1**(3): 209-210.
- Erdman, M.V., P.R. Merrill, M. Mongdong, I. Arsyad, Z. Harahap, R. Pangalila, R. Elverawati, P. Baworo. (2004) "Building Effective Co-Management Systems for Decentralized Protected Areas Management in Indonesia: Bunaken National Park Case Study" USAID - Natural Resources Management Program.
- FAO (2002) FAO Forestry country profiles: Indonesia. **Volume**, DOI:

- Fitzgerald, S. G. (1986). "World Bank Pledges to Protect Wildlands." BioScience **36**(11): 712-715.
- Forest Watch Indonesia/Global Forest Watch. 2002. "The State of the Forest: Indonesia" Bogor, Indonesia and Washington DC, Forest Watch Indonesia and Global Forest Watch.
- Frederick, W. H. and R. L. Worden (1993). "Indonesia: A Country Study". Washington DC, GPO for the Library of Congress.
- Gatra (2003). Populasi Badak Cula Satu Tinggal 50-an Ekor. Gatra online.
- Harrison, J. (2002). "International agreements and programmes on protected areas." Parks **12**(3): 2-6.
- Hommel, P. W. F. M. (1987). Landscape-ecology of Ujung Kulon (West Java, Indonesia). Soil Survey Institute. Wageningen, The Netherlands, Wageningen University. PhD.: 206.
- Ibrahim, R. (2006). INDONESIAN CIVIL SOCIETY 2006: A Long Journey To A Civil Society. . CIVICUS Civil Society Index Report for the Republic of Indonesia. Jakarta, YAPPIKA.
- Indonesia, B. (2004). Kerugian Penebangan Liar Di Kalteng Bisa Rp3,4 triliun. Bisnis Indonesia Jakarta.
- Inoue, M. (1994). Indonesian Forest Policy and the Role of NGO. The state of the environment in Asia.
- International, W. (undated) Species fact sheets: Asian Rhinoceros. **Volume**, DOI: IUCN. (2008). "About IUCN." Retrieved March 02, 2008.
- Jann, W. and K. Wegrich (2007). "Theories of the policy cycle" Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, Politics, and Methods. F. Fischer, G. Miller and M. Sidney. Boca Raton, CRC Press.
- Jepson, P. and R. J. Whittaker (2002). "Histories of Protected Areas: Internationalisation of Conservationist Values and their Adoption in the Netherlands Indies (Indonesia)." Environment and History **8**: 129-172.
- Jepson, P., F. Momberg, et al. (2002). "A Review of the Efficacy of the Protected Area System of East Kalimantan Province, Indonesia." Natural Areas Journal **22**: 28-42.
- Jepson, P., J.K. Jarvie, K. MacKinnon, K.A. Monk. 2001. "The end for Indonesia's lowland forests?" Science 292(5518): 859-861.
- Kalteng Province (1999) "Kapet Das KAKAB" Retrieved in March 16, 2008, from http://www.kalteng.go.id/viewarticle.asp?ARTICLE_id=562
- KaltengPos (2005). Gatin : Kompensasi Penetapan TN Tak Pernah Diterima Warga. Kalteng Pos.
- KaltengPos (2006). CIMTROP Tolak TN Sebangau, Suwido : Penetapan Batas Lokasi Hanya Dibuat di Atas Meja. Kalteng Pos.
- Keck, M. E. and K. Sikkink (1998). Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics. Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press.
- Kingdon, J. W. (1995). Agenda, Alternatives, and Public Policies. New York, HarperCollins College Publishers.
- Kyodo (1991). Head of international aid group meets Suharto. Kyodo. Jakarta.
- Lockwood, M. (2006). Global protected area framework. Managing Protected Areas: A Global Guide. M. Lockwood, G. Worboys and A. Kothari, Earthscan.
- MacAndrews, C. (1994). "Politics of the environment in Indonesia " Asian survey 34(4): 369-380.
- MacIntyre, A. (1994). Organising Interests: Corporatism in Indonesian Politics. Working Paper No.43. Perth, Australia, Asia Research Centre of Murdoch University.
- MacKinnon, J. (1982). National conservation plan for Indonesia. Vol. I: Introduction, evaluation methods and overview of national nature richness. Field Report 34 of UNDP/FAO National Park Development Project. Bogor, UNDP/FAO.

- MacKinnon, J. (1997). Protected areas systems review of the Indo-Malayan realm. Canterbury, UK, The Asian Bureau for Conservation (ABC) and The World Conservation Monitoring Center (WCMC)/ World Bank Publication.
- Majchrzak, A. (1984). Methods for policy research. Beverly Hills, SAGE.
- Maltby, E. (2006). Wetland Conservation and Management: Questions for Science and Society in Applying the Ecosystem Approach Wetlands: Functioning, Biodiversity Conservation, and Restoration. Ecological Studies 191. R. Bobbink, B. Beltman, J. T. A. Verhoeven and D.F. Whigham. Verlag Berlin Heidelberg Springer.
- Marsh, D. and R. A. W. Rhodes, Eds. (1992). Policy networks in British Government. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Massicot, P. (2005) Javan Rhinoceros *Rhinoceros sondaicus*. Animal info Retrieved May 27, 2008, from <http://www.animalinfo.org/species/artiperi/rhinsond.htm>
- Mingst, K. (2003) "Essentials of International Relations" 2nd ed. New York: WW Norton
- MoF. (1996). "Taman Nasional." Retrieved May 27, 2008, from <http://www.dephut.go.id/informasi/tamnass/IsiTamnass.html>.
- MoF. (2004a). Refleksi 20 Tahun PNS Departemen Kehutanan. Jakarta, Departemen Kehutanan.
- MoF. (2004b). "Dephut Kaji 12 Calon Taman Nasional Baru" Press release September 8, 2004. Retrieved May 27, 2008, from <http://www.dephut.go.id/index.php?q=id/node/1746>
- MoF. (2004c). Keputusan Menteri Kehutanan NOMOR : SK.423/Menhut-II/2004. Jakarta: Ministry of Forestry.
- MoF. 2008. "National Parks in Indonesia" Retrieved October 27, 2008, from http://www.dephut.go.id/INFORMASI/TN%20INDO-ENGLISH/tn_index_English.htm
- Morrogh-Bernard, H., S. Husson, et al. (2003). "Population status of the Bornean orangutan (*Pongo pygmaeus*) in the Sebangau peat swamp forest, Central Kalimantan, Indonesia." Biological Conservation 110(1): 141-152.
- Muhamad, N.Z. (1999) "Land use in Central Kalimantan: A Study on the Possibility of Including the Sebangau Catchment Area As Part of An Integrated Economic Development Zone. University of Nottingham, University of Palangkaraya, GTZ-SMCP
- Nijman, V. (2004). "Conservation of the Javan gibbon *Hylobates moloch*: population estimates, local extinctions, and conservation priorities " THE RAFFLES BULLETIN OF ZOOLOGY 52(1): 271-280.
- Nomura, K. K. (2007). "Democratisation and environmental non-governmental organisations in Indonesia." Journal of contemporary Asia 37(4): 495-517.
- Notohadiprawiro, T. (1998). Mega-Project of Central Kalimantan Wetland Development for food crop production: Belief and truth. Seminar in Finlandia. Repro: Ilmu Tanah Universitas Gadjah Mada 2006. Finlandia.
- Olembro, R. (1982). UNEP and protected areas. World Congress on National Parks. Bali, Indonesia, Smithsonian Institution Press.
- O'Neill, K. 1996. "The international politics of national parks" Human ecology 24 (4): 521-539.
- Page, S.E., R.A.J. Wust, D. Weiss, J. O. Rieley, W. Shotyk and S.H. Limin (2004) "A record of Late Pleistocene and Holocene carbon accumulation and climate change from an equatorial peat bog (Kalimantan, Indonesia): implications for past, present and future carbon dynamics" Journal of Quaternary Science 19(7): 625-635.
- Parnes, R. B. (2008). "How the World Wildlife Fund works." How stuffs work Retrieved May 27, 2008, from <http://animals.howstuffworks.com/endangered-species/world-wildlife-fund.htm/printable>.
- Pasca, T. M. (1983). "A second five-year conservation programme for Indonesia" Unasylva. 35.

- Phillips, A. (2004). "The history of the international system of protected area management categories" PARKS. 14: 4-14.
- Princen, T. (1995). Ivory, Conservation & Transnational Environmental Coalitions. Bringing Transnational Relations Back In. T. Risse-Kappen. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 227-253.
- Rahmadi, T. 2003. "Forestry law and policy in relation to environmental management in Indonesia" In "Toward integrated environmental law in Indonesia?" Bedner A. and N. Niessen. Research School CNWS Leiden University, The Netherlands.
- Raloff, J. (1999) Rarest of the Rare: Remote-camera images and dung-heap data give a portrait of Vietnam's rhinos. Science News Volume, 153 DOI:
- Ravenel, R. M. and K. H. Redford (2005). "Understanding IUCN Protected Area Categories " Natural Areas Journal 25(4): 381-389.
- Rhee, S., D. Kitchener, et al. (2004). Report on Biodiversity and Tropical Forests in Indonesia. Jakarta, USAID.
- Rijksen, H. (1990). Indonesian Nature Conservation: A historical overview.
- Risse, T. (2001). Transnational actors and world politics. Handbook of international relations. W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse, T. Risse-Kappen and B. A. Simmons, SAGE: 572.
- Risse-Kappen, T. (1996). Bringing Transnational Relations Back in: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Robinson, J. G. (1993). "The Limits to Caring: Sustainable Living and the Loss of Biodiversity." Conservation Biology 7(1): 20-28.
- Rothberg, D. (1999) "Enhanced and alternative financing mechanisms: strengthening national park management in Indonesia" USAID-NRM/EPIQ Programme.
- Rubin, H. J. and I. S. Rubin (1995). Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data. Thousand Oaks, CA, SAGE.
- Salim, E. (1997). "Recollections of My Career." Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies 33(1): 45-74.
- Sayer, J. A. (1995). Science and International Nature Conservation. Inaugural lecture for the Prince Bernhard Chair at the University of Utrecht. University of Utrecht, CIFOR OCCASIONAL PAPER NO. 4.
- Schenkel, R. and L. Schenkel-Hulliger (1969). "The Javan rhinoceros in Ujung Kulon Nature Preserve: its ecology and behaviour." Acta Tropica 26: 98– 135.
- Schreurs, M. A. and E. Economy (1997). The Internationalization of Environmental Protection. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Secretariat, R. C. (1971). The Ramsar Convention on Wetlands, Ramsar Convention Secretariat.
- Secretariate, A. (1984). ASEAN Declaration on Heritage Parks and Reserves. Bangkok, ASEAN Secretariate.
- Setneg. (2008). "Profil Daerah Banten." Retrieved March 02, 2008, from www.setneg.ri.go.id/id/index.php%3Foption%3Dcom_content.
- Singleton, I., S. Wich, et al. (2004). Orangutan Population and Habitat Viability Assessment: Final Report. I. S. C. B. S. Group. Apple Valley, MN, IUCN/SSC Conservation Breeding Specialist Group.
- SOCP. (2004). "Interview with Dr Herman Rijksen " Retrieved 7 June 2008, from http://www.sumatranorangutan.org/site_mawas/UK/WHO/dias/other_people/rijksen.htm.
- Sodikin, A. (2004). Tebang Banjir, Pesta Kayu Ilegal di Kalimantan Tengah. Kompas. Jakarta.
- Suhardiman, D. (2008) "Bureaucratic designs: the paradox of irrigation management transfer in Indonesia" Wageningen University: Phd Student.
- Suhardiman, D. (2008). The paradox irrigation management transfer in Indonesia. Wageningen, The Netherlands, Wageningen University: 281.

- Sukma, R. (1995). "The Evolution of Indonesia's Foreign Policy: An Indonesian View." *Asian survey* **35**(3): 304-315.
- Susan E. Page, Florian Siegert, et al. (2002). "The amount of carbon released from peat and forest fires in Indonesia during 1997." *Nature* **420**: 61-65.
- Tarrow, S. (2001). "Transnational politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics " *Annual Review of Political Science* **4**: 1-20.
- TNC. (2008). "About us: Learn more about The Nature Conservancy." Retrieved 3 June, 2008, from <http://www.nature.org/aboutus/?src=t5>.
- UNEP (2008). UNEP Organization profile. Nairobi, UNEP.
- UNEP/WCMC (1997) Protected Areas and World Heritage: Indonesia - Java and Bali. Volume, DOI:
- UNESCO. (2008). "World Heritage." Retrieved May 28, 2008, from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>.
- UNFCCC (2005) "Clean Development Mechanism (CDM)" Retrieved in April 26, 2008 from http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/mechanisms/clean_development_mechanism/items/2718.php
- UN-MDG. (2000). "UN Millennium Development Goals." Retrieved March 05, 2008, from <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/index.html>.
- van Helden, F. (2004). 'Making Do': Integrating Ecological and Societal Considerations for Marine Conservation in a Situation of Indigenous Resource Tenure. *Challenging Coasts: Transdisciplinary Excursions Into Integrated Coastal Zone Development*. L. E. Visser. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2004.
- Van Tienhoven Foundation (2008) "Pieter Gerbrand van Tienhoven." Retrieved in March 28, 2008, from http://www.vantienhovenfoundation.com/vantienhoven.php?menu_id=2&submenu_id=0
- Vreugdenhil, D. (2003). Protected areas system planning and monitoring. Wageningen, Wageningen University. PhD thesis.
- WCMC/IUCN (1991). World Heritage Nomination - IUCN Summary: No. 608 Ujung Kulon National Park (Indonesia). WCMC/IUCN, WCMC/IUCN. **608**.
- WCMC/IUCN (1991). World Heritage Nomination - IUCN Summary: No. 608 Ujung Kulon National Park (Indonesia). WCMC/IUCN, WCMC/IUCN. **608**.
- Weeks, P. and S. Mehta (2004). "Managing People and Landscapes: IUCN's Protected Area Categories." *Journal of Human Ecology* **16**(4): 253-263.
- Whitten, A. J. (1987). "Indonesia's Transmigration Program and Its Role in the Loss of Tropical Rain Forests." *Conservation Biology* **1**(3): 239-246.
- Wiratno, D. Indriyo, A. Syarifudin, A. Kartikasari. (2004). "Looking into a cracked mirror: Reflection of conservation and implication for national park management." Bogor, The Gibbon Foundation/Ministry of Forestry/PILI-NGO Movement/Forest Press.
- WorldBank (2006). Sustaining Economic Growth, Rural Livelihoods, and Environmental Benefits: Strategic options for forest assistance in Indonesia.
- Wösten, H. (2005). Strategies for implementing sustainable management of peatlands in Borneo. Wageningen, the Netherlands, Alterra.
- WWF (2004a) "WWF efforts yield two new national parks in Indonesia" Press Release February 12 2004. Retrieved in October 12, 2008 from <http://www.worldwildlife.org/who/media/press/2004/WWFPresitem688.html>
- WWF (2004b). "Indonesia establishes 1.3 million hectares of Protected Areas and commits to further improve PA management effectiveness" *Gift to the Earth* #97, 18 November 2004. Retrieved in October 18, 2004, from <http://assets.panda.org/downloads/finalindolr.pdf>
- WWF Brasil (2008) "Central Kalimantan Peatlands Project (CKPP)" Retrieved on March 20, 2008, from

- http://www.wwfbrasil.org.br/about_wwf/where_we_work/asia_pacific/where/indonesia/wwf_indonesia_conservation/projects/index.cfm?uProjectID=ID0199
- WWF Indonesia & MoFRI (2004) Commitment to Save Indonesia's Heritage: For people and species in danger. Brochure for COP7.
- WWF (2008a). "WWF - About Global Ecoregions." Retrieved in May 27, 2008, from http://www.panda.org/about_wwf/where_we_work/ecoregions/about/index.cfm.
- WWF (2008b) "About WWF." Retrieved in May 27, 2008 from http://panda.org/about_wwf/index.cfm.
- WWF (2008c) "WWF International: History Retrieved in May 27, 2008 from <http://www.wwf.fi/english/international/history/>
- WWF/IUCN (1982). "Indonesia Conservation Programme." *The Environmentalist* 2(1): 78-79.
- Yin, R. K. (2002). Case Study Research. Design and Methods California, Sage Publications.
- Young, Z. (2002). "NGOs and the global environmental facility: Friendly foes?" Environmental Politics 8(1): 243-267.
- Zimmerer, K.S., Galt, R.E., Buck, Margaret V. 2004 "Globalization and Multi-spatial Trends in the Coverage of Protected-Area Conservation (1980 - 2000)" AMBIO 33(8): 520-529

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. List of national parks in Indonesia and their year of designation

No	Name of national park	Year of designation	No	Name of national park	Year of designation
1	Baluran	1980	26	Taka Bonerate	1992
2	Gunung Gede Pangrango	1980	27	Alas Purwo	1993
3	Gunung Leuser	1980	28	Siberut	1993
4	Komodo	1980	29	Bukit Tigapuluh	1995
5	Ujung Kulon	1980	30	Kayan Mentarang	1996
6	Bali Barat	1982	31	Gunung Rinjani	1997
7	Bukit Barisan Selatan	1982	32	Kelimutu	1997
8	Kerinci Seblat	1982	33	Lorentz	1997
9	Manusela	1982	34	Laiwangi Wanggameti	1998
10	Kepulauan Seribu	1982	35	Manupeu Tanah Daru	1998
11	Bromo Tengger Semeru	1982	36	Betung Kerihun	1992
12	Meru Betiri	1982	37	Danau Sentarum	1999
13	Tanjung Putting	1982	38	Way Kambas	1999
14	Kutai	1982	39	Bukit Duabelas	2000
15	Lore Lindu	1982	40	Wakatobi	2002
16	Bogani Nani Wartabone	1982	41	Sembilang	2003
17	Kepulauan Karimunjawa	1986	42	Aketajawe - Lolobata	2004
18	Rawa Aopa Watumohai	1989	43	Bantimurung - Bulusaraung	2004
19	Bunaken	1989	44	Batang Gadis	2004
20	Teluk Cendrawasih	1990	45	Gunung Ciremai	2004
21	Gunung Palung	1990	46	Gunung Merapi	2004
22	Wasur	1991	47	Gunung Merbabu	2004
23	Bukit Baka-Bukit Raya	1992	48	Kepulauan Togean	2004
24	Berbak	1992	49	Sebangau	2004
25	Gunung Halimun - Salak	1992	50	Tesso Nilo	2004

Source: Wiratno et al. 2004; MoF 2008

APPENDIX 2. Interview guidelines

This interview guide was used during interviews with key respondents for both in direct interview and in email-based questionnaire. Since the key respondents are 'elite' individuals, the below questions were not asked to every individual but rather adjustable according to their expertises and knowledge.

1. What were the reasons of the Government of Indonesia to establish Ujung Kulon/Sebangau NP?

Identification of transnational actors

2. Who was initially launching the idea of Ujung Kulon/Sebangau NP designation?
3. What kind of strategy(s) did they employ to influence the designation processes?
4. Did the actor(s) build a network to achieve the goals?
5. Why do a number of international NGOs necessary to open their branch offices or establish *yayasan* in Indonesia?

Identification of impacts and factors that facilitate and constrain the impacts

6. From your experiences, do you see any difference on the civil society – government relationship between New Order era (pre-1998) and decentralisation era (post-1998)?
7. Do you see any difference on transnational relations between New Order era (pre-1998) and decentralisation era (post-1998)?
8. Have you ever experienced any difficulties that hinder your activities in Indonesia? (e.g. permits, legal issue etc.)?
9. What international factors do influence the designation Ujung Kulon/Sebangau National Park in Indonesia?

Do you have any further information related to this study?

Remarks:

Relevant contact person (with email):

Relevant documents:

APPENDIX 3. IUCN Protected Area Categories and Management Objectives –1978 and 1994

1978	1994
<p>Ia. Strict Nature Reserve – an area of land and/or sea possessing some outstanding or representative ecosystems, geologically or physiological features and/or species, available primarily for scientific research and/or environmental monitoring.</p> <p>Ib. Wilderness Area – a large area of unmodified or slightly modified land, and/or sea, retaining its natural character and influence, without permanent or significant habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural condition.</p> <p>II. National Park – a natural area of land and/or sea, designated to (a) protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generation, (b) exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation of the area and (c) provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities, all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible.</p> <p>III. Natural Monument – an area containing one, or more, specific natural or natural/cultural feature which is of outstanding or unique value because of its inherent rarity, representative or aesthetic qualities or cultural significance.</p> <p>IV. Habitat/Species Management Area – area of land and/or sea subject to active intervention for management purposes so as to ensure the maintenance of habitats and/or to meet the requirements of specific species.</p> <p>V. Protected Landscape/Seascape – Area of land, with coast and sea as appropriate, where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant aesthetic, ecological and/or cultural value, and often with high biological diversity. Safeguarding the integrity of this traditional interaction is vital to the protection, maintenance and evolution of such an area.</p> <p>VI. Managed Resource Protected Area – Area containing predominantly unmodified</p>	<p>I. Scientific Reserve/ Strict Nature Reserve – to protect nature (communities and species) and maintain natural processes in an undisturbed state in order to have ecologically representative examples of the natural environment available for scientific study, environmental monitoring, education and for the maintenance of genetic resources in a dynamic and evolutionary state.</p> <p>II. National Park – to protect of natural and scenic areas of national or international significance for scientific, educational, and recreational use. The area should perpetuate in a natural state representative samples of physiographic regions, biotic communities and genetic resources, and species in danger of extinction to provide ecological stability and diversity.</p> <p>III. Natural Monument/Natural Landmark – to protect and preserve nationally significant natural features because of their special interest or unique characteristics.</p> <p>IV. Nature Conservation Reserve/Managed Nature Reserve/Wildlife Sanctuary – to protect nationally significant species, groups of species, biotic communities, or physical features of the environment where there require specific human manipulation for their perpetuation.</p> <p>V. Protected Landscape – to maintain nationally significant natural landscapes which are characteristic of the harmonious interaction of man and land while providing opportunities for public enjoyment through recreation and tourism within the normal life style and economic activity of these areas.</p> <p>VI. Resource Reserve (Interim Conservation Unit) – to protect the natural resources of the area for future use, and prevent or contain development activities that could affect the resource pending the establishment of more defined objectives which are based upon appropriate knowledge and planning.</p> <p>VII. Natural Biotic Area/Anthropological Reserve – to allow</p>

<p>natural systems, managed to ensure long term protection and maintenance of biological diversity, while providing at the same time a sustainable flow of natural products and services to meet community needs.</p>	<p>the way of life of societies living in harmony with the environment to continue undisturbed by modern technology.</p> <p>VIII. Multiple Use Management Area/Managed Resource Area – to provide for the sustained production of water, timber, wildlife, pasture, and outdoor recreation and at the same time provide for economic, social and cultural needs over a long term. The conservation of nature is also an objective of this category primarily oriented to the support of the economic activities although specific zones may also be designated within these areas to achieve specific conservation objectives.</p> <p>With additional categories cited from Phillips 2004: Categories that are part of international programmes: IX Biosphere Reserve X World Heritage Site (Natural)</p>
---	---

Source: (Ravenel and Redford 2005)