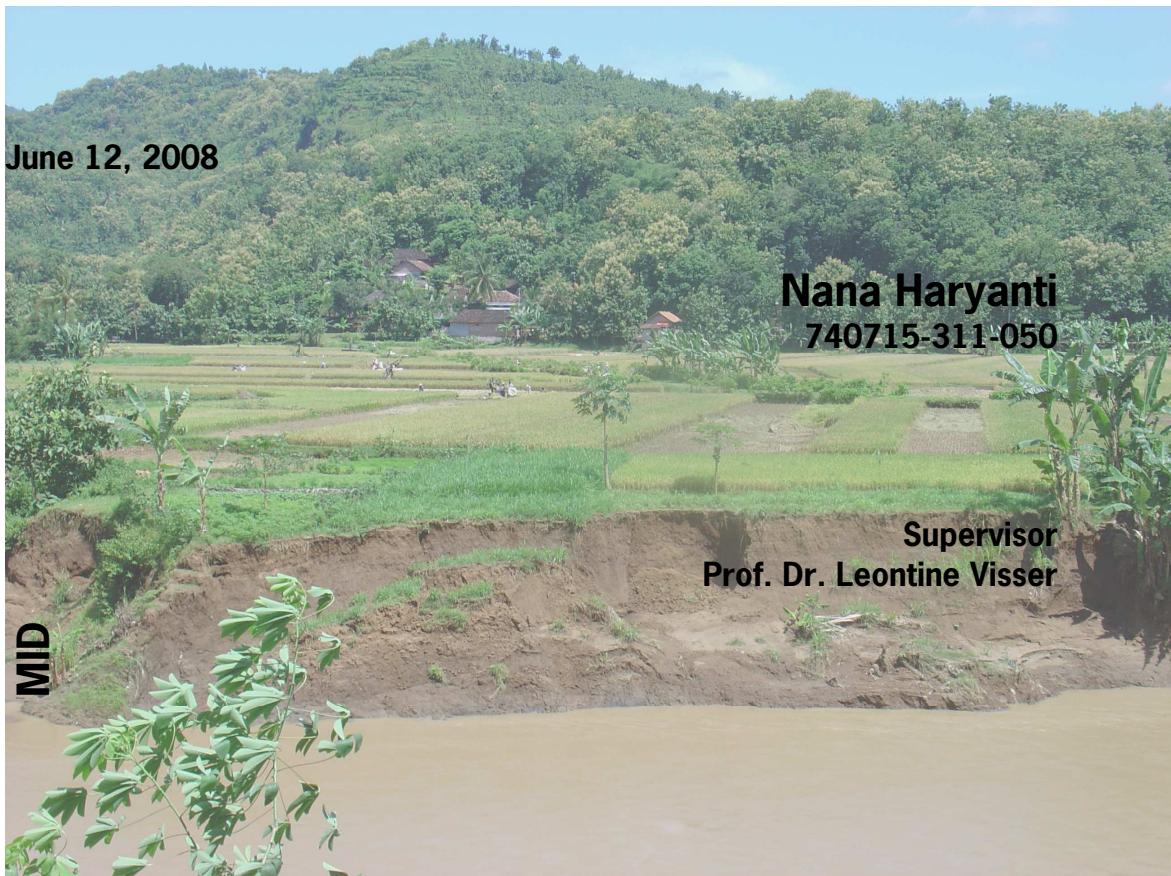


Wageningen University - Department of Social Sciences

MSc Thesis Rural Development Sociology

Land Rehabilitation in Indonesia under Challenge

**A study of the implementation of land rehabilitation programs in the Oyo
sub-watershed, Java**



Acknowledgements

My interest to conduct research on the implementation of land rehabilitation programs was triggered after a little discussion with my beloved husband who inspired me to study the little success of many Indonesian government development programs so far, particularly forestry programs. My concern was then rising since many scholars provide an analysis of the causes of failure of forestry programs at grass root level, but only few of them really study the cause of failure at the level of the policy makers.

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Abstract

Recently land degradation caused by forest clearings and conversion of forest for agricultural activities is becoming prominent issue in Indonesia since this phenomenon is causing many disasters such as flooding, land slides, droughts and in the end threatening the sustainability of agricultural production. In order to prevent further environmental deterioration, the Indonesian government has formulated intervention programs that are meant to increase the forest cover and to improve environmental conditions by carrying out land rehabilitation or *regreening* activities on farmers' lands and in the state forests. However, because a lot of problems arise, the programs cannot be implemented smoothly.

The object of this thesis is to study the implementation of land rehabilitation programs in the Oyo sub-watershed of Java. Oyo sub-watershed was chosen as a research site because this watershed is categorized as a priority watershed that needs to be governed. The study focuses on the development of inter-agency collaboration and networks to carry out land rehabilitation programs in the research area. This thesis pays attention to the development of discourses and the occurrence of conflicts among the actors involved in the land rehabilitation programs. Another object is to find out what factors influence the little success of rehabilitation programs in the research area.

A qualitative research method has been applied because this method provides room to grasp in-depth and comprehensive information. Case studies are presented to give illustrations about prominent phenomena arising in the field.

The results of the research show that the implementation of land rehabilitation programs is constrained by the structural changes of the government organization after the implementation of decentralization in Indonesia, particularly the changes in the structural ranking of provincial, district and *deconcentrated* central government administrators. The rehabilitation programs design process is done through a combination between *top-down* and *bottom-up* approaches which allows for a larger involvement of the public in the designing process, although the final decision is still in the hands of the policy makers. The programs are implemented on the farmers' lands through development of farmer forests and in the state forests. This research shows that collaboration and development of networks to carry out the land rehabilitation programs are done sectorally involving forestry agencies only. The emergence of non-forestry government actors is apparently impeded out of interests to retain program/project funds for forestry government organizations only. Conflicts among the actors are caused by the fact that each actor has their own interests and they develop their notions and deliberations on how to implement rehabilitation activities accordingly, so they compete for his interests and notions to be accepted by others. The problems above are identified as factors that cause the little success of land rehabilitation activities in the Oyo watershed.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

APBD	Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah (Regional Budget)
APBN	Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara (National Budget)
BP DAS	Balai Pengelolaan Daerah Aliran Sungai (Watershed Management Center)
BP DAS SOP	Balai Pengelolaan Daerah Aliran Sungai Serayu Opak Progo (Serayu Opak Progo Watershed Management Center)
BAPPEDA	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah (Regional Body for Planning and Development)
BPKP	Badan Pengawas Keuangan dan Pembangunan (Financial and Development Supervisory Board)
CBFM	Community Based Forest Management
DAK	Dana Alokasi Khusus (Special Allocation Grant)
DAU	Dana Alokasi Umum (General Allocation Grant)
Dinas	Regional Sector Office
Dirjen	Direktorat Jendral (Directorate General)
Dishutbun	Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan (Forestry and Plantation Office)
Dispertanhut	Dinas Pertanian dan Kehutanan (Agricultural and Forestry Office)
GERHAN	Gerakan Nasional Rehabilitasi Hutan dan Lahan (National Forest and Land Rehabilitation)
Irjen Kehutanan	Inspektorat Jendral Kehutanan (Inspectorate General of Forestry)
Kapedal	Kantor Pengendalian Dampak Lingkungan (Environmental Impact Control Office)
Kimpraswil	Pemukiman dan Prasarana Wilayah (Settlement and Regional Infrastructure)
Korwil	Koordinator Wilayah (Area Coordinator)
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
MoF	Ministry of Forestry
Musrenbang	Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan (Development Planning Deliberation)
MPTS	Multiple Purposes Tree Species
NGO	Non-Government Organization
PU	Pekerjaan Umum (Public Works)
PPN	Pekan Penghijauan Nasional (National Reforestation Week)
Renstra-SKPD	Rencana Strategis-Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah (Strategic Plan-Regional Sector Office)
RPJMN	Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional (National Medium-term Development Plan)

RPJPN	Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Nasional (National Long-term Development Plan)
RLPS	Rehabilitasi Lahan dan Perhutanan Sosial (Social Forestry and Land Rehabilitation)
SPAS	Satuan Pengamat Arus Sungai (River Flow Monitoring Station)
UPT	Unit Pelaksana Teknis (Technical Implementer Unit)

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Background

1.1.1. Land degradation in Java

Java Island is the most densely populated area in Indonesia, with more than 120 million inhabitants in the year 2000 and an average population density about 2700 per square km (BPS, 2007). With this fast growing population, Java is then characterized by the most intensively used of land for agricultural purposes in the world for centuries and the absence of sparsely inhabited and un-logged forest areas. The agro-economy of Java is dominated by rice and sugarcane cultivation, and agriculture activities are mainly oriented to food production (Lavigne and Gunnell, 2006).

The dynamic activities of its inhabitants apparently entail the expansion of urban areas to rural areas in the form of infrastructure development for housing, factories, roads etc. This condition causes large conversion of agricultural lands for infrastructures development and furthermore due to shortage of agricultural land available, urban development causes the occupancy of conservation areas for supporting agriculture activities. Java has a long history of land and forest clearance, and it has happened since the colonial times (Peluso, 1992). Recently the area that is used for agricultural activities reaches the higher land of the Java's volcanoes (Lavigne and Gunnell, 2006). The growth of demands for industrial plantations such as tobacco and vegetables also contributes to the acceleration of land and forest degradation, since these types of crops require appropriate temperature and soil that can only be found on the highland areas of Java.

Unsustainable agricultural practices by poor farmers who are majority of the population in Java have big contribution to the severe erosion of the upland areas (Poel and Dijk, 1987). This is the result of farmers' strategies to adapt to the scarcity of arable land available, through the utilization of dry-land on the hillside which is low in productivity. The fragmentation of land holding also diminishes the access to the lands and the possibility to possess large areas of land as the price of land is getting beyond their reach. Finally since the green revolution discourse agricultural intensification is seen as the best solution for farmers to fulfill their daily needs.

Generally Java's farmers are poor and they cultivate their lands for subsistence purposes (Barbier, 1990). Most of them live in the marginal areas and are considered as smallholder farmers with less than 2 ha farmlands. Farmers cultivate its lands mainly to gain their immediate basic needs, therefore they do not take into account the notion of sustainable environmental management. The cropping pattern they use and the land tillage they practice tend to lead the occurrence of high level of soil erosion (Barbier, 1990). Java's farmers are forced to enhance the farm input in the form of conservation practices, and give more priority to short-term economic benefit and even if they lack the means to do so.

Ministry of Forestry of Indonesia (MoF) (2003a) notes that the amount of critical lands in Java up to 2003 reached more than 2 million hectares. The economic crisis in 1997 and 1998 aggravated the occurrence of land degradation with the extension of illegal forest clearing particularly on the state owned forest, Lavigne and Gunnell (2006) add that between 1994 and 1997 there were 7,100 ha forest lost during 4 years. The economic crisis directly affected the livelihoods of rural people. They were suffering from the declining demands of labor used in paddy cultivation (Repetto, 1986; Lavigne and Gunnell, 2006), and the application of mechanization and green revolution. Unemployment and saturation on the rural economy during economic the crisis also contributed to the amount of forest clearing for the purpose of agricultural activities, since urban areas halted the opportunity of unskilled laborers from rural areas to engage in urban economic activities.

The continuous occurrence of land degradation threatens the sustainability of agricultural production. Anderson (1990) states yield reduction is the major impact from land degradation that is transformed into income losses. Under this condition poor farmers do not have many choices except increasing the farm inputs such as increasing the utilization of fertilizers to increase agricultural production. The utilization of too much fertilizer obviously generates another environmental impact on soil and groundwater due to contamination with harmful chemical substances.

1.1.2. Environmental management by Indonesian Government

The Indonesia government considered this critical situation and formulated intervention programs to improve the ecological condition. The notion to perform national land rehabilitation programs in Indonesia was initiated 1946 but it was objected in state forests. Meanwhile the efforts to afforest community lands were started in 1951 and then it was formally legalized as an annual activity by the first President of Republic of Indonesia in 1961 (Karodiharjo, 2007). Since then the program has been called *Regreening* and it is implemented particularly on the farmers' lands. According to Agus (2001) the objective of the land rehabilitation programs or *regreening* programs is to improve rural community welfare while conserving natural resources at the same time. The idea is that if the soil erosion can be controlled, there will be an improvement in agricultural productivity and farmers' incomes, and finally large community participation in natural conservation practices will be achieved.

The *regreening* programs in Indonesia have been focused on ecological improvement of the watershed. Nationally the land rehabilitation programs have been designed under the umbrella of watershed management projects. The projects consist of integrated rural development, soil and water conservation and upland conservation activities (Brooks and Eckman, 2000). Brooks and Eckman (2000) explain that the watershed is considered as the most appropriate system for natural resources and agricultural development planning for centuries. Two main objectives of watershed management are to control soil erosion up to minimum level and to conserve the soil resources for long-term productivity (Cruz, 1999).

The technical packages to run the program have been designed under the authorization of the Ministry of Forestry of Indonesia. The technologies to control soil erosion are introduced to farmers and farmers who are urged to adopt *terraces* and *agroforestry system* in their farms (Barbier, 1990). The government also complements the technical programs with the social programs to boost the success of the land rehabilitation activities. The social programs are done through providing incentives in the form of micro-credits, cash money for trees maintenance, fertilizers and tree seedlings. In some regions, the government also supplies farmers with free seeds for annual crops such as maize and bean (MoF, 2007). Incentives are basically aimed to encourage farmers not to be too reluctant to adopt the technical packages to rehabilitate their lands.

Based on CIFOR (No date), MoF estimates that current rehabilitation costs are in the range of USD 294 to 588, and during 23 years of its implementation since 1976 to 1999, 1.3 Billion rupiah¹ was allocated for land and forest rehabilitation in the state forests and community lands in Indonesia. Indonesian government shared 45% of the cost, and the rest were funded by international agencies, state/private companies and joint initiatives. However, CIFOR adds that 81% of the activities are mainly focused on the technical aspects, 2% on the integrated natural resource management and the remaining (17%) is used to socioeconomic activities.

It is known that the implementation of the *regreening* program so far is done through a top-down approach. Although CIFOR (ibid) argues that since 1990 the government has promoted a participatory approach by calling for local initiatives in the rehabilitation activities. This trend was triggered by the fact that degraded land and forest areas increased, and the government saw that the key problem was the lack of local involvement in program implementation.

Many inputs in the form of dissemination from academicians, NGOs, research agencies etc. have been delivered to the government to criticize the lack of success of land rehabilitation so far. However, most criticisms are addressing technical issue. Species selection by the government is blamed as a factor causing the failure of the project. A seed dictated often does not match with the landscape niche and economic assessment of the farmers (German et al, 2006). Furthermore they explain how lack of environmental impact assessment causes ecological detriment and financial loss to farmers, because certain trees may disturb the existence of spring and groundwater. Other factors that are considered as obstacles for the success of the project are poor designing process for incentives and the subsidy mechanism. The incentives and subsidies cannot substitute the scarcity of cash money for farmers' current needs therefore the motivation of farmers to be involved in the *regreening* is low (Place and Duwees, 1999). The low quality of the tree seedlings causes high mortality of the trees, and hence it requires intensive labor for tree maintenance and a high fertilizer input. All the above factors are identified as the main bottleneck that halts the wider participation of the farmers in the land rehabilitation programs.

¹ Rupiah is Indonesian currency

In 2003 the government designed a new forest and land rehabilitation project that is called National Forest and Land Rehabilitation (GERHAN). Similar to the previous projects, GERHAN is aimed to improve degraded forests and critical lands and enhance the prosperity of rural people. According to Purnomo (No date) GERHAN is organized in three different levels with different functions. National level functions like coordinator, controlling functions are located at the provincial level that is national organizations sit in the province. Execution is done by government organizations at the district level. Purnomo adds that this project has also done through a top-down approach and follows the line of the prior projects. Moreover, some NGOs consider that this program is still poor in results.

1.1.3. Problem in the decentralization era

There are significant changes in the way Indonesian government runs the state after the Laws on decentralization were formulated in 1999/2000 and implemented in 2001. Obviously, with the implementation of decentralization national agencies lost their power as some functions and responsibilities were transferred to local agencies. The aim of decentralization is to promote good governance in Indonesia (Colongan Jr, 2003), and it is also a strategy to increase efficiency of service delivery of the government. Therefore state organizations were required to reorganize their structure for the new functions (Rohdewohld, 2003).

The problem regarding decentralization in Indonesia is only few of the local agencies are ready to perform its new role. At the central, provincial and district levels there is still confusion about functions of the organization and responsibilities. Marifa (2005) explains that there are no significant changes in the government organization at the national level. She further says more that although natural resources management has been decentralized to the district, some sectors such as forest policies are still controlled by the national government (Marifa, 2005).

As a consequence, in many occasions there are conflicting claims to the natural resource management practices. National policies often run on the different track from local government policies, since local governments have the authority to follow their own rules. Moreover there is only little effort to integrate natural resources management policies from national to local levels (Marifa, 2005). This situation creates overlapping tasks between one agency and the others. Lack of coordination in the public administrative structures and working procedures are the main cause of the policy chaos.

The vagueness of the decentralization Laws No 22/1999 and 25/1999 that were superseded by Laws No 32/2004 and 33/2004 also contributes to the ambiguity and inconsistency of tasks and responsibilities among national and local agencies. When each of the agencies produces different regulations for the same objectives the conflict cannot be avoided. Another problem following the national turmoil is the fact that local administrators do not have the capabilities and experiences to fully manage local resources from planning to implementation, because their functions as an implementer only were regulated before decentralization has been applied. Local governments are not

ready to massive political devolution yet, particularly regarding the authority to plan and control certain development agendas due to lack of experts. Schulte-Nordholt and Van Klinken (2007) assert that in the case of Indonesia, the decentralization process does not automatically promote good governance and the overall results are far from expectation.

1.1.4. Land rehabilitation in the Oyo sub-watershed

Oyo sub-watershed is situated in Yogyakarta and Central Java provinces flowing through the districts of Gunung Kidul and Bantul in Yogyakarta and Wonogiri in Central Java province. The catchments area covers 68, 600 Ha (BP DAS SOP, 2006a), and based on the Ministry of Forestry of Indonesia (MoF) information, the Oyo sub-watershed is considered as one of the critical watersheds that needs to be governed (MoF, 2003b). Land degradation is a big issue in this area since it faces large land use conversion from forest to agricultural areas, mining areas, settlement areas etc.

The Oyo sub-watershed is an important environment for its inhabitants, since this natural resource functions to support rural livelihoods, irrigation systems and daily needs such as drinking water (Data Pokok Pembangunan, Daerah Aliran Sungai, No date). Due to the variety of activities in this area, the quality of the Oyo sub-watershed reduces significantly. The potential disasters are flood, drought and land slide that occur almost every shift of the season from dry to rain season (Musim Hujan, Daerah Rawan Bencana Perlu Diwaspada, No date). Furthermore, land fragmentation and agricultural intensification contribute to the increasing of soil erosion and sedimentation that lead to the decreasing of soil fertility and the reduction of arable lands. The changing land use patterns from forest to non-forest areas obviously generates the declining of the water table of the river during the dry season and this finally threatens the existence of spring and groundwater. Considering this situation, some efforts are made to improve the environmental quality of the Oyo sub-watershed through implementation of *regreening* programs.

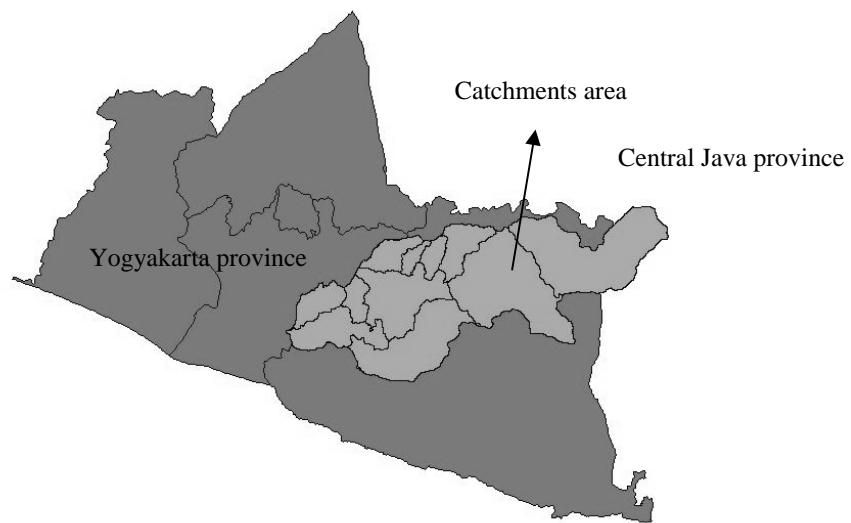


Figure 1. The Oyo sub-watershed

Integrated within the National Forest and Land Rehabilitation program, the national government has started to reforest the Oyo area, under the supervision of Watershed Management Center of Serayu Opak Progo and cooperation with local governments, local communities and NGOs, *regreening* programs are run through development of social forestry model with wide involvements of local inhabitants particularly affected people. *Regreening* programs are purposed not merely for improving environmental quality but also for increasing the quality of life of the farmers (DIY government, 2004). The wide involvement of the stakeholders which are governments, NGOs and community is done to assure the public accountability of the activities, although then the accomplishment of the programs cannot always be run easily. Synchronization of the interests and objectives of the stakeholders has to be made, cooperation and share resources, knowledge and information have to be set up, monitoring and evaluation systems have to be established that enable all involved institutions to efficiently work and control one another as it is shown in the chapter 3 and 4 of this thesis.

The problem within working structure and nature of the government organizations in Indonesia is lack of coordination when they have to execute programs that require inter-agency collaboration. Whereas, collaboration is crucial as each agency has interests but in the collaboration system they have to share the same notion in order to serve common goals. Collaboration is a primary vehicle for facilitating different disciplines, interests, goals etc. Another problem arises when each agency catches and interprets the messages of regulations, rules, laws etc. differently and implements it with their own ways and

deliberations. Considering a lot of failures on the development of *regreening* programs in Indonesia are basically caused by the ignorance on the coordination processes among different agencies, here is the important to study inter-agency collaboration to get better insight in where and why coordination goes wrong.

1.2. Research objective and research questions

1.2.1. Research objective

This research aims to study interagency collaboration and coordination in the land rehabilitation program in Indonesia. It is also aimed to understand to what extent the complexity of the organizations involve in *regreening* from national to local levels affects the effectiveness of the organizations to quick response to current forestry problems. This research is also objected to study on the way different agencies catch and deal with different discourse about land rehabilitation implementation and to investigate the factors that influence the less success of the *regreening* implementation so far.

1.2.2. Research questions

This master thesis addresses these following questions:

1. Who are the stakeholders or organizations involved in the land rehabilitation program?
2. How are the organizational structure, objectives, interests, and actual implementation of their policies?
3. To what extent do government and non-government agencies collaborate in order to carry out the land rehabilitation program?
4. Where they are conflicting or competing? Why?
5. How do the organizations integrate different perceptions and interests to the land rehabilitation regulation?
6. Does decentralization make any difference?

1.3. Theoretical framework

1.3.1. Inter-agency collaboration and coordination in the public sector

Hitherto inter-agency collaboration is seen as an important aspect for improvement of the public sectors services. Although difficult to be achieved, but it does not diminish government enthusiasm to develop big effort for inter-agency partnership. The optimism

for doing collaboration emerges as this method offers potential improvement on the government performance (Serrano, 2003).

The reason for developing collaboration is the comprehension of incapability of individual organization to cope with the fast growing tasks scope and problems that should be managed through the application of interdisciplinary sectors (Alter and Hage, 1993; Hudson, 1999). Moreover Serrano (2003) adds that the logic behind the development of collaboration is to reduce policy fragmentation, where often organization programs overlap with the programs target of other organizations. Another essence of collaboration is that collaboration is a better technique for serving organization goals with little costs and risks. Within collective actions accountability of the organization can be maintained (Peters, 1998) since the organizations in the coalition control each other. Furthermore Huxman and Macdonald (1992; Hudson 1999) suggest that collaboration could bring the avoidance of these pitfalls of individual actions; (1) repetition, where more than one organizations do the same tasks, (2) omission, where important targets are forgotten to be carried out, (3) divergence, where activities of the organizations tend to be performed exceed the organizations framework, (4) counter-production, where conflicts between organizations emerge as they accomplish the same chores.

Referring to the above theories, it can be known the factors that cause the less success of the *regreening* activities in this research, because inter-agency collaboration is not developed. Sectorally cooperation among the forestry agencies only has proven to be not effective to solve complex forestry problems.

Oliver (1990) developed six motives for joining collaboration:

1. Necessity, collaboration is carried out based on the mandate of higher authorities or regulation. In this situation, consequence of non compliance means loss resources or exclusion from the system.
2. Asymmetry, resources scarcity boosts organization to wield power from organizations that posses resources and to try to control it.
3. Reciprocity, cooperation is done for achieving common goals and interests.
4. Efficiency, in this situation partnership is purposed to improve organization outputs.
5. Stability, environmental uncertainty compels organizations to set up relationship to convince stability and create strategy for forecasting situation assuring orderly of resource flows and exchanges.
6. Legitimacy, public pressures push organizations to increase legitimacy for their outputs in order to appear agreement with the existing rules and norms and further for improving their reputation.

Collaboration exists when organizations seek of scarce resources and aware that it cannot be fulfilled independently. Furthermore Cropper (1995) suggests organizations within collaboration need to; (1) determining coalition identity, (2) clarifying boundaries and commitment of each organization, (3) defining scale and scope of joint work, (4) serving and evaluating claims of the members, (5) providing control mechanism against deviation and, (6) providing regulation for collaborative arrangement. Developing collaboration

also requires flexibility of the organizations in the construction of joint agendas (Hudson et al, 1999) as without flexibility cooperation will never be achieved. Means of flexibility entail consciousness that with collaboration, organizations possibly loss some of its privileges. Hudson (1987 in: Hudson et al, 1999) identifies drawbacks that may appear after joining collaboration; agencies loss its freedom to act independently and the return is often unclear. Therefore share vision and similar goals are prerequisite for the success of collaboration (Hudson et al, 1999).

Organizations within collaboration should take into account the importance of building solid coordination. The logic behind coordination is that preferred outcomes will difficult to be achieved when partnership is not properly organized. Therefore coordination is mandatory for the efficiency purposes (Serrano, 2003). Lam (2005) states that coordination entails; (1) division of labor with simple distribution of workload, (2) minimum interdependency of subtasks, (3) expertise on the subtasks, (4) altruistic characteristic of the coalition, (5) stable environment with clear clientele and performance measures, in order to make collaboration works well. However, Lam adds that in the public policy and management those five conditions rarely exist.

Peters (1998) defines “coordination as an end state in which the policies and programs of government are characterized by minimal redundancy, incoherence and lacunae”. Therefore based on Serrano (2003) the following strategies might be appropriate to be constructed for achieving good coordination:

1. Communication and decision making strategy, where agencies need to communicate its goals and find common visions.
2. Planning strategies.
3. Operational coordination mechanisms that consist of operational patterns and activities.
4. Service delivery, relates to clients assistance.

In the public sector, Peters (1998) asserts that coordination is a political process. It is a mater of political decision making practices. And it is considered as a political exercise consisting of power struggles, negotiations and consensuses. Yet Peters feels pessimistic with the capability of government to run coordination efficiently, he sees that the nature of bureaucratic government is characterized by their inherent coordination problems, with poor ability, little experience and low commitment in the public services.

Peters opinion obviously represents to what happen in Indonesia with its messy bureaucratic system, weak control mechanism, and lack of expertise. Government administration is conducted sectorally without inter-agency collaboration, and in many occasions is done without enough planning and strategy. Therefore it can be understood that many development planning is not succeed as individual government organization obviously does not have ability to perform good public services within contemporary society with complex social problems. The above theory of coordination is still a wishful thinking for Indonesia, yet a lot of endeavors have to be done and of course it needs commitment from the government to change.

Analyzing coordination directs us to the understanding about network analysis. Peters (1998) in his article mentions that analyzing public sector means that researchers should pay attention on how networks of organizations interact, because it consists of organization sets and is considered as the best analytical unit. And the networks provide room for understanding different political patterns within and between networks.

The network analysis is used in this research to study collaboration developed by government and non government organization on performing *regreening* programs. As the objectives of each actor to collaborate and join the network are deferent one another therefore it is important to study the degree of interaction and the mutual relationship among of them. The resource dependence is also studied to get to know the glue of the interaction of the actors involve in the *regreening*.

1.3.2. Intergovernmental relation within policy network analysis

Policy networks analysis is widely used to study relationship between state or government and interest groups regarding specific issue. Börzel (1998) explains that as a model in the field of policy analysis, policy networks provide a tool to analyze situation where actors who posses resources try to structure linkage for the purpose of formulation and implementation of policies. Here, policy networks are viewed as a framework for interpreting actors' behavior in the policy sector and focus on the structure and processes of joint policy making and implementation.

The central concept of the policy networks is power and resources dependence. Studying power and resources dependence is important as it explains the reasons for interaction among different levels of government and the variation in the distribution of power between and within policy network (Rhodes, 1997). It starts from the actors in the iron triangle, *administrative agencies, legislative committees and interest groups*. It is a meso-level concept studying pattern of interest group intermediation (Marsh and Rhodes, 1992), since based on Rhodes (1997) intermediation is a reality in the day to day government activities. Networks mediate the relationship and provide structure for the actors to bargain and negotiate, actors change the structure, and conversely structure constrains the actors. Bargaining and negotiation result in changing in the network. This approach discusses policy outcomes and is relevant for analyzing policy implementation. It can be used to understand policy processes and shift from government to governance (Rhodes, 1997).

Marsh and Rhodes developed typology for a policy network that works along the continuum where *policy communities* at one continuum are characterized by close relationship while *issue networks* at the other continuum are loose relationship.

Table 1. Type of policy networks

Dimension	Policy community	Issue network
<i>Membership</i>		
No of participant	Very limited number of participants, with very consciously excluded others.	Large.
Type of interest	Economic and/or professional interests dominate.	Encompasses range of affected interests.
<i>Integration</i>		
Frequency of interaction	Frequent, high-quality, interaction of all groups on all matters related to policy issues.	Contact fluctuates in frequency and intensity.
Continuity	Membership, value and outcomes persistent over time	Access fluctuates significantly.
Consensus	All participant share basic values and accept the legitimacy of the outcomes.	A measure of agreement exists, but conflict is ever present.
<i>Resource</i>		
Distribution of resources within network	All participants have resources, basic relation is an exchange relationship.	Some participant may have resources, but they are limited, and basic relationship is consultative.
Distribution of resources within participating organization	Hierarchical means that leaders can deliver members.	Varied and variable distribution and capacity to regulate members.
<i>Power</i>	There is a balance of power among members. Although one group may dominate, it must be a positive-sum game if community is to persist.	Unequal powers, reflecting unequal resources and unequal access. It is a zero-sum game.

Source: Marsh and Rhodes, 1992.

Rhodes (1997) expands his explanation that within policy community, the interaction between all members is done through exchange and bargaining of resources. There is a balance of power, although not all members equally benefit. The structures of the groups are hierarchical to convince members' compliance but members consider them selves in the positive-sum game arena. Whereas, issue network consists of many participants therefore the degree of interaction is fluctuating and conflicts are easily to occur. Unequal power relationship causes some groups have little access and some times no alternative for them. Indeed the application of those typologies can be located at some point along the continuum, as the case in Indonesia (see chapter 3.)

Policy networks are used to studying complexity of problems faced by government in the contemporary society. With social fragmentation, government is forced to reform its organization for the effective problem solving. Therefore Börzel (1998) adds that due to resources and competency limitation, government starts to rely on cooperation and joint

resource mobilization even to policy actors outside their hierarchical control. Based on Rodesh (1997) in this situation, policy networks are one way for analyzing patterns of intermediation and aggregation. Policy networks are important for these following reasons;

1. It limits participation in the policy process.
2. It defines the role of actors.
3. It decides which issues will be included and excluded from the policy agenda.
4. It shapes actors' behavior through rules of the game.
5. It privileges certain interests by according access and favoring preferred policy outcomes.
6. It substitutes private government for public accountability.

Policy networks are good tool for exploring power exercise and identifying who benefits from the exercise.

As every actor in the network brings their own interests, they develop their own ideas and deliberations or discourses in order to make the interests are addressed. Here affinity of interests happen and actors create ways to make his discourse becomes dominant. Discourse analysis in this study is used to illuminate how actors in the network with different perceptions about specific issue such as *regreening* communicate and fight for argumentative victory to assure that their interests are fulfilled. Discourse analysis is also used to study conflicts or competing claims among the actors involve in the *regreening*.

1.3.3. Ecology and politics in the policy discourse analysis

Environmental policy receives a lot of attentions from many studies in recent years. This generates situation where discourse analysis is becoming common approach for environmental policy research. Discourse is then viewed as an important variable in the policy processes since it is shaping society and broader social change. Discourse is believed to have the power to structure the political life of the community.

Referring to Hajer (1995, p.44) discourse is defined as a “specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities”. Moreover Sharp and Richardson (2001) explain that policy discourse is a bundle of exchange that gives shape through metaphors and practices to a particular policy making process or debate. In the environmental policy research Hajer (1995) adds that discourse analysis is purposed to study why certain notion about environmental problem is prominence while other notions are discredited. Discourse is not merely lied within the text, since for analyzing policy processes we have to be able to move beyond textually oriented approach. We should capture also many aspects of policy making that are produced along the way (Sharp and Richardson, 2001).

However, the meaning of discourse is varying from one person to the others (Sharp and Richardson, 2001). It depends so much on the way discourse is promoted and what kind

of media is used. Therefore studying on the way certain discourse is communicated or introduced is very important since it will affect differently to the audiences. Communicating discourse is then considered as a power struggle. It involves competition between different interests in the society. Therefore on the policy document, policy struggle shows which discourse is dominant, and Hager mentions (1995) the possibility of the exclusionary system in the discourse that allows only for certain people or groups to participate in the discourse.

It should be understood that the production of discourse is done by certain producers. The producers have to have an important role and power in the society. Thus discourse can be understood in its relation to the institutions which have some functions at a fundamental level. The statements of the institution can be seen as an authorized proposition or action through speech. The statements are not simply in the form of a sentence as image or map is also considered as a statement. Here some statements would be more authorized than others, this situation is related to the position and power possessed. Discourse structures what statements are possible to say and what is not, therefore discourse conditions that particular statement will be more productive than others (Mills, 2003).

In the environmental politics, argumentative interaction is not merely a struggle in which actors try to make others see the problem according to their views but also try to seek position of other actors in a specific way. In the discourse formation, the argumentative interaction is a key moment that needs to be studied to explain the prevalence of certain discursive constructions. Discourse analysis investigates the boundaries between clean and dirty, the moral and the efficient, or how a particular framing of discussion makes certain elements appear problematic (Hager, 1995).

1.3.3.1. Story-lines

Hager explains the important of *story-line* on studying discourse. Based on Hager this context is introduced by Davies and Harré. A story-line is defined as “generative sort of narrative that allows actors to draw upon various discursive categories to give meaning to specific physical or social phenomena” (Hager, 1995, pp.56). The key function of this concept is to unify the variety of discursive problems. The underlying hypothesis is that people do not draw on comprehensive discursive systems for their cognition rather these are evoked through story-lines. Those story-lines play a key role and have an essential function in the positioning of subjects and structures. Here the political change takes place through the emergence of new story-lines that re-order understanding. Therefore finding the most appropriate story-line is important for agency. Story-line develops based on the notion that within what Hager calls as ‘social interactive’ discourse theory, actors are constituted by discursive practices and conceptualize human interaction as an exchange of arguments. Therefore he suggests that research should examine the way argumentative interaction is run in order to explain prevalence of certain discursive construction. Social interactive discourse theory sees actors as actively selecting and adapting thoughts and creating them in the prolong struggle for argumentative victory against rivals (Hager, 1995).

Furthermore Hager illuminates that conflict over inter-discursive problems is affected by certain story-lines. Story-lines are essential political tool for overcoming fragmentation and achieving discursive closure. The functions of story-line are (1) it is used to reduce discursive complexity of problem and creating possibilities for problem disclosure, (2) once story-lines is accepted, it gets a ritual character and becomes permanence to the debate, (3) story-lines allow actors to develop their own interpretation and discursive competence of the phenomena beyond their own expertise. Story-lines can be used as devices in which actors are positioned, through which specific ideas of 'blame' and 'responsibility', and of 'urgency' and 'responsible behavior' are attributed. Here actors can be put as victims, problem solvers, perpetrators, scientists etc. Story-lines influence the establishment of new policy discourse, it also influences on the knowledge production by actors (Hager, 1995).

1.3.3.2. Discourse-coalitions

Another important concept in discourse analysis is discourse-coalition. Discourse-coalition approach sees that political power of text is not derived from its consistency but comes from its multi-interpretability. Discourse coalitions are defined as (1) a set of story-lines, (2) the actors who utter these story-lines, (3) the practices in which this discursive activity is based. Discourse coalitions are shaped if a common discourse is created where several practices get a meaning in a common political project. Here the form of discourse-coalitions differs from common political alliances. It is characterized by (1) emphasizing on the linguistic basis of the coalition, (2) it broadens the scope of where the participating actors are to be located (Hager, 1995).

A discourse coalition can be understood as a group of actors who share a social construct. This approach elucidates that once a new discourse is formulated, it will produce story-lines on the specific problems. Discourse-coalition approach sees that politic is a process in which different actors from different backgrounds form alliances around specific story-lines. Discourse-coalition can be said as dominant when it fulfills these criteria, (1) it dominates the discursive space where central actors are forced to accept new discourse, (2) it is reflected in the institutional practices that can be seen when policy process is set according to the ideas of the given discourse (Hager, 1993). Refer to Hager (1995) on the discourse analysis, story-lines have function as glue that keeps a discourse coalition together.

1.4. Research Methodology

1.4.1. Research set-up

The research has been done through qualitative research on the implementation of land rehabilitation programs in Oyo sub-watersheds. The selection of the Oyo sub-watershed was based on the consideration that Oyo sub-watershed is declared by Ministry of Forestry of Indonesia as one of the critical watersheds that needs to be governed. Oyo sub-watershed is located in Central Java and Yogyakarta provinces and flows through

three districts Wonogiri, Gunung Kidul and Bantul. This research is aimed to get better insight on the way government and non-government organizations coordinate with each other to promote land rehabilitation programs in my research area.

Case study has also been taken as one way to presenting illustration about possible conflicts or prominent issues occurring in the field. Around those issues the questions have been developed. Through this method, phenomena have been studied to give overview about the implementation of land rehabilitation in the Oyo area. This method has been used to explain the development of the *regreening* networks and discourse-coalition among the involved actors. In this research case study has particularly been used to explore conflicts because the respective actors compete to bring his discourse into the acceptance by others.

The units analysis of this research are governments and non government organizations that involve in the land rehabilitation programs and networks of the involved organizations. The research has studied policies and regulations produced by those organizations, and it has analyzed the way the policies and regulations have been captured and implemented in the field. In order to get more insight from this study, the involvement of non-governmental organizations has also been studied to get to know the impacts of the programs to the affected people.

a. Method of data collection

The data have been gathered through primary and secondary sources:

a. Semi-structured and open-ended interview

Semi-structured interviews were carried out to the government officers who had knowledge in the implementation of land rehabilitation programs in the Oyo area. This method was applied to the other stakeholders such NGOs and forest farmer groups who involved in the *regreening* programs in this area. Semi-structured interview has many advantages as it allowed me to discuss deeply about specific issue to the respondents with the possibility to expand the discussion with relevant topics to each respondent.

Open-ended interview was also used to interview some respondents particularly to gain comprehension about certain behaviors or attitudes of agencies and individuals. Within this method hopefully the discussion with the respondent can be accomplished without imposing any *a priori* categorization which might limit the field of inquiry (Punch, 2005). Each respondent was called to explain his views regarding *regreening* issue, they were also allowed to share their opinions, felling and hopes related to the research topic. The interviews in the open-ended interview method were carried out in the form of discussion and sharing opinion with the respondents especially with the key informant such as government staff, farmers, NGOs, forest extension agents, forest guards etc.

b. Secondary data

Content analysis has been done particularly on the government reports, government planning, statistical data, regulations, policies, government research results, and non-government agencies data. The data have been clustered based on the topic, and the contents have been interpreted and compared to the results of the interview.

c. Theoretical literature review

The research has been done on organizations, policy studies, discourse analysis, decentralization, environmental management etc. The literature reviews have been used as guidance for my arguments and as a base for my analysis.

b. Respondent of the research

a. Key informant

The respondents of this research were taken deliberately, with some purposes and focus in mind. Firstly I decided which institutions have responsibility and authority to carry out land rehabilitation program in Oyo sub-watershed, and interviews were done to the staff of the organizations that had knowledge on this topic. The selection of the other key stakeholders was continued which was based on the results of the consultation with the previous institutions.

The Watershed Management Center of Serayu Opak Progo (BP DAS SOP), I have been identified as an organization under the MoF which has authority to perform watershed management in Yogyakarta province. First of all I was visiting this organization and did interviews with several staff of this organization. After that I asked them to identify other stakeholders that may have cooperation with this organization regarding management of the Oyo sub-watershed. Then the snow ball technique was applied to the stakeholders mentioned by BP DAS SOP in order to determine other relevant stakeholders that contribute on *regreening* activities in the Oyo area.

b. Individual and target group

Furthermore snowball technique was also applied to find out the target groups or individuals through locating one or more key persons, and then the respondent was asked to name others who would be likely the next candidates for this research. This method is useful for studying social network or difficult to find populations (Bernard, 1995). In this research this method was used to capture the possibilities of the existence of individuals such as farmers or non-government organizations which have essential role in the implementation of land rehabilitation activities but are not officially declared as conservationists.

c. Data analysis

a. Memoing

The memoing activities have been started at the beginning of the analysis process. According to Punch (2005) memo consists of many things, it includes substantive,

theoretical, methodological and personal comment. Substantive and theoretical memos comprise of conceptual content and it is not simply describing data. This method links to the development of preposition which is a basis for qualitative analysis. Developing preposition is starting point for the final stages in this research that are drawing conclusion and verifying. Drawing conclusion is the most difficult stage since it tries to integrate what has been done into a meaningful and coherent picture of data.

b. Documentary and textual analysis

All documents are produced on the basis of certain ideas, theories or commonly accepted, taken for-granted principles which are located within particular social, historical or administrative conditions and structures (MacDonald and Tipton, 1996). Since meanings of the text depend on the social and institutional setting, the study and interpretation of the text have been done based on its social context.

Other related themes in the social organization of the document link to the questions about; how are the document written? How are they read? Who writes them? What is recorded? What is omitted? What does the writer seem to take for granted about the readers? What do readers need to know in order to make sense of them? (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Those questions were used as a tool to studying the social organization of the documents and to understand the power and meanings of the text in this research.

c. Conflict, collaboration and coordination measurement

The degree of conflict, collaboration and coordination within the network of land rehabilitation activities have been measured through analyzing the degree of inter-group contacts, reciprocal relations, share of resources etc. Refer to Nelson (1989) low level of conflict between organizations is characterized by external frequent interactions or out-group strong ties than high conflict organizations. Within this research the number of involved organizations, the frequency of the contacts, and the form of organization management have been studied to verify the level of conflict, collaboration and coordination within the network.

Moreover the degree of conflict has also been analyzed through the application of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is another view of language. It is related to words, sentences and linguistic features and focuses on studying the way language is used, what is it used for, and the social context in which it is used. The term discourse refers to general perspective within which ideas are formulated (Sapsford and Abbott, 1996). In this research discourse has been understood as statements, ideas, notions, opinions or knowledge arising within society, discourse is produced and reproduced by certain group or agency for promoting the group or agency goals. Foucault (Mills, 2003) indicates that discourse is social where the meaning depends on where it is used, by whom and to whom. Therefore in this research discourse has been comprehended to have various meanings based on the interpretation of the actors. Particular issue has been taken as an example, and then I study on the way each actor captures the same issue or discourse differently and I also observed the possible

conflicts and disagreements arise during the production of discourse and the exercise of power.

d. Stakeholder analysis

Stakeholder analysis was used to identify the key actors in the system that were government, NGOs and farmers and to assess the respective interests. This method is also valuable for analyzing the interaction between different perspectives and interests of the stakeholders, and identifying the possibility of the occurrence of conflicts because of that (Grimble, 1997). In this research stakeholder analysis has been used to examine the conflicts where each actor competes and disagrees over the use of scarce resources, and this method has also been used to know the possible trade-offs being developed to balancing different objectives in the natural resource management policies and practices.

1.5. Limitation of the research

There are several factors that make the research could not be done as I expected. First it relates to the changing of the large area of the research site. I was designing this research based on the old data where Oyo sub-watershed was stated flowing in one province only that was Yogyakarta province, unfortunately based on the newest delineation of the satellite image in 2006 the catchments area of Oyo consists of 2 provinces that are Yogyakarta province (Gunungkidul and Bantul districts) and Central Java province (Wonogiri district) although the Oyo part in Wonogiri district is small with only 6,294 Ha from the total Oyo area which is 68,600 Ha (BP DAS SOP, 2006a). Because there is no online data available, hence I got this information during my visit to BP DAS SOP in early January 2008. Considering the limitation of the time and a lot of organizations/respondents I wanted to interview, I decided not to do research in Wonogiri district.

The second problem relates to the fact that land rehabilitation program is a sensitive issue regarding the huge funds involved in the program, but poor in results. This made many of my respondents reluctant to talk openly. I got an impression that there was a suspicion about the objective of my research, they frightened that my research findings will be used for inspection purposes. I came to the government organizations with 2 roles at the same time, as a student and as a researcher of Forestry Research Center. My decision to go to the government offices as a government researcher because if I went there as a student I would have to wait for several weeks probably till a month to get permission for doing an interview, but with my role as a forestry researcher of the Ministry of Forestry I could do it directly even during my first visit to the offices. This had a negative impact that some of my respondents were reluctant to talk to me openly, but on the other hand the positive thing was that with this method I got many valuable reports that would not have given to ordinary people as they are internal organization documents including several financial reports that are not for publication.

1.6. Thesis organization

I organize my thesis into 6 chapters as follows:

In the first chapter, I describe the background of my thesis and what the reasons behind my concern on this topic. This chapter presents the theoretical framework that I use to analyze the phenomena and information I got from the field, including the methodology I have used during the research. In this chapter I also describe some of the limitations that may influence the validity of my research findings.

The second chapter describes the implementation of decentralization in Indonesia and the impacts of decentralization on the alteration of structural pattern of the government organization. The third section describes the origin of the land rehabilitation activities through presenting the historical sequence of the implementation of land rehabilitation program. Finally in the end of the chapter I elucidate how decentralization affects the implementation of land rehabilitation activities and changes the traditional working structure of the government in *regreening* programs implementation.

Chapter three explores the actors involve in the land rehabilitation or *regreening* activities and illuminates the mechanism of the *regreening* from national to local levels. It also explains how actors collaborate and built networks to develop forest both on the farmer land and in the state forest, moreover it explores the rational behind the building of collaboration and network. Finally I sum up this chapter with the explanation how collaboration affects the success of the *regreening* in the Oyo area.

Chapter four clarifies how *regreening* is implemented. It presents the *regreening* mechanism from designing, implementation and monitoring processes. This chapter analyzes the processes through comparing several regulations, studying structural and horizontal interactions between the involved actors, and investigating the occurrence of deviations during the implementation to get to know where and why the *regreening* processes go wrong.

In chapter five I focus on studying conflict through the application of discourse analysis. The three case studies presented in this chapter tell how different interpretations and deliberations about the *regreening* discourse create conflicts and competing claims among the involved actors. This chapter also analyzes how conflicts affect *regreening* implementation.

Finally I end this thesis with conclusion in chapter six.

Chapter 2. Decentralization and *regreening*

In this chapter I will elucidate the decentralization process in Indonesia in general and I will explore the alteration in the structural relationship between government agencies from national to district levels after the application of decentralization. I will also present the history of land rehabilitation or *regreening* programs implementation in Indonesia and continue with the analysis about consequences of the application of decentralization to *regreening*.

2.1. Decentralization process

In this section I will describe the process of implementation of decentralization in Indonesia, however I am not going to analyze the whole alteration processes regarding decentralization but only taking some of the processes that in my point of view have impacts on the implementation of *regreening* as the main topic of this research.

There is significant reform on the state management system in Indonesia in Post-Suharto era. The enactment of Law no 22/1999 that was superseded by Law 32/2004 has signed an important shift from centralistic to more democratic government which gives more roles and powers to local governments in managing its area.

Decentralization was formally implemented in 2001. This new concept about state management is expected to bring Indonesia into democratic state politically and economically. Political democratization is signed with the rising of strong civil society and large involvement of the public in the state management system, while economic democratization refers to more transparent government in the financial management system. Referring to World Bank (2003) decentralization is also expected to improve local government performance in the public service delivery and to promote the notion about good governance. Although in fact, the case for Indonesia decentralization does not necessarily result in democratization, good governance and strengthening of civil society, but rather a decentralization process of corruption and collusion at the regional level (Schulte-Nordholt and van Klinken, 2007).

The key concept of decentralization is transmitting some tasks of central government to local governments. Central government remains responsible for performing some important tasks such as international relations, national defense, justice, monetary and fiscal policies, and security and religion (World Bank, 2003). Meanwhile provincial governments have authority to carry out certain cross districts/municipalities tasks and other tasks that are not performed by districts/municipalities. Districts and municipalities carry out all tasks that are not retained by central and provincial governments including agriculture, education, health, public works, transportation, industry, environment, investment and many other things (Usman, 2002).

In general the implementation of decentralization concept does not mean it is free from any deficiencies. Law no 22/1999 gave too much power on the district governments hand to do many activities thus central government cannot steer regional policies. The role of provinces was even weakened by this law that explicitly allowed only *limited autonomy* to the provinces, and did not allow provincial governments to control districts. Based on Usman (2002) the position of provinces was unclear regarding its relation to districts. Law no 22/1999 clearly stated that there was no hierarchical relationship between provincial and district governments as districts had direct relationship with Jakarta.

World Bank (2003) notes in his report that this massive devolution of authority from central to local governments based on the Law No. 22/1999 tends to undermine some of the rules and government functions. This law is also not specified what kind of functions had to be done by local governments on its obligatory sectors therefore local governments thought that they got fully authority on performing its obligatory tasks. The obligatory tasks based on the article 7 of the Law No. 22/1999 consist of all of government administration authorities with the exception of those which are retained on the central and provincial governments' hand, with the unclear directive from the Law No. 22/1999 the interpretation of local government about the obligatory tasks could be freely interpreted.

Aware of the weaknesses of Law 22/1999, The Indonesian government has improved the legal framework for performing decentralization with the promulgation of Law No. 32/2004. The minor role of provincial governments has been improved in the new Law No. 32/2004. The limited autonomy of provinces as stated in the Law no 22/1999 was dropped as well as the statement about the non existence of a hierarchy between the provincial and district governments (USAID, 2006). It means that with the new law central government tries to give back the original role of provincial governments on guidance and supervision functions to districts through *deconcentrated* tasks. However USAID notes that this effort is not effective yet, because little initiative has been undertaken by provincial governments to explore the possibility to control districts under the new law.

Related to the fiscal matter, the General Allocation Grant (DAU) is still the primary source of local government revenues. This fund is used to finance regional activities and wages of the regional civil servants. For the regional activities the fund is transferred into the bank account of spending unit², there is one bank account per district government office (Dinas). Moreover World Bank clarifies that central government in principle does not have authority where the DAU fund will be spent. Furthermore for the specific needs that are considered as national priorities but cannot be included in the DAU calculation, central government allocates funds through Special Allocation Grant (DAK) mechanism. This grant is used for the development of 5 kinds of activities namely education, health, rural roads, irrigation and forestry (World Bank, 2003). The Law 33/2004 also allows that DAK is used to finance regional priorities activities including emergency relief.

² The examples of spending unit are *Dinas* or district government office

2.2. Changing structure of the government organization

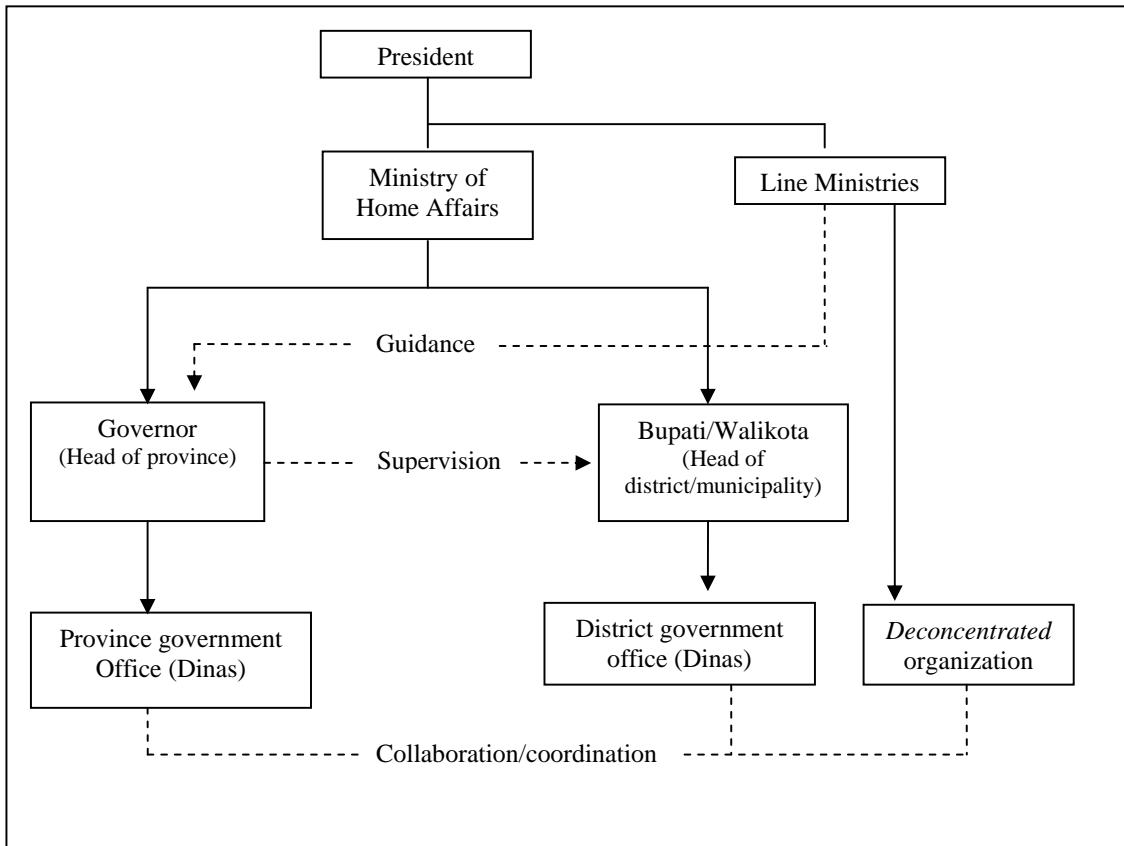
There is massive government reorganization with the implementation of decentralization beside the general transfer of central government civil servants that are reassigned into regional government staffs. Decentralization requires many local governments and provinces to readjust their organizational structure. The number of sectors has been downsized, even some important sectors such as agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry have been abolished or combined with other sectors into one *Dinas* (local government office). There is an impact from this reorganization where many of the development programs in the abolished sectors particularly programs coming from central government cannot be performed because there is no local counterpart to carry out of those programs (World Bank, 2003).

Moreover decentralization implies a change in the structural of government hierarchy and the positions of civil servants from national to local levels. In Indonesia, each government organization (office) has a structural position which is called *echelon* where *echelon 1a*³ is the highest echelon and 4b is the lowest. This echelon level represents a functional position of the civil servants and its organizations in the government organization (World Bank, 2003). With decentralization the echelon level of some local government organizations such as *Dinas* (*Dinas kabupaten*) was increased from echelon 3 to echelon 2. It means that presently the position of the district *Dinas* is the same with the position of the provincial government organizations or provincial *Dinas* in the bureaucratic structure, and even higher than some of the central government organizations position which are still placed on the provincial level (*deconcentrated* organizations).

Decentralization also requires the abolishment of many *deconcentrated* central government organizations sitting at the provincial level. The staff of those organizations are then transferred to become local staff or adopted into the national government department staff. However, some of the state departments' remain *deconcentrated* such as Forestry department, Central Bureau of Statistics, Tax Administration and The State Treasury (World Bank, 2003). The reason for *deconcentrating* the Forestry sector for example is because the function of some forestry matters such as watersheds, national parks etc. spread across regional boundaries hence it needs national civil service to manage it.

The change of the structural position of some government organizations and the transfer of central level civil servants to the local staff causes a lack of direct relationships between *deconcentrated* organizations and *Dinas* (local government organization) although they work in the same sector and even in the same city. This situation of course makes that many of the national programs cannot be accomplished smoothly as every program has to be communicated and has to get approval from the *Dinas(es)*.

³ There are a and b on each echelon level.



Source: Adapted from World Bank, 2003

Figure 2. Government structure based on the decentralization framework

Furthermore there is different structural rank position where district forestry offices position recently is higher than many of the MoF *deconcentrated* organizations, the echelon level of the district forestry offices are echelon 2 meanwhile many of the *deconcentrated* organizations of MoF are echelon 3. This situation somehow undermines the forestry activities working structure. As the lower echelon cannot order higher echelon to do something, moreover cannot admonish when they find any deviations on the higher echelon works (see chapter 4).

Regarding bureaucratic capacity issue, local governments are characterized with the limited skills and capability of personnel. Lack of clear job description with specific qualification has created non-transparent appointment of officials which is usually based on favoritism (Colongon, Jr, 2003). Therefore many important positions in the government organization are held by inappropriate persons thus it results in poor quality of works.

2.3. Regreening and its history

Land rehabilitation program is not a new program in Indonesia, it has even been done soon after the Indonesian independence. It was started in 1946, the program for the period of 1946-1950 was objected to reforest 110,000 Ha degraded forest lands as an impact of massive exploitation in the Japanese colonial times. The program was implemented by special team called forest rehabilitation committee (Kartodiharjo, 2007).

Moreover Kartodiharjo (2007) describes that in 1951-1960 Indonesia government created another land rehabilitation program which was called as "*Karang Kitri*" movement. This program was different from the previous program as it was not objected in the forest land but in village community land. The village community was urged to plant the perennial trees on their land or in the unproductive (open) lands. In the next chapter this kind of program is called Farmer Forest program (program Hutan Rakyat). During this period the land rehabilitation programs were done on a small site target. Kartodiharjo adds that the result was also very little. The *Karang Kitri* program is the pioneer program for the development of farmer forests particularly in Java.

On 17 December 1961 the first Indonesian President Soekarno announced the implementation of a land rehabilitation program that was called as "*Pekan Penghijauan Nasional (PPN)*" and since then the activities had been commemorated every year with the ceremonial activities and most famous as *regreening* program. The spirit of doing PPN activity was rising particularly after the occurrence of big flooding disaster in 1966 at Bengawan Solo watershed in Central Java province. In 1976 this activity was legislated through the "*Reboisasi dan Penghijauan*" (Reforestation) Presidential Instruction (Gerakan Nasional Rehabilitasi Hutan dan Lahan, Pertaruhan yang Keberhasilannya Diragukan, No date). Furthermore PPN became an annual activity of the New Order in the Suharto era till 1996.

On the 21th of January 2004, Megawati Sukarno Putri declared the implementation of new land rehabilitation or *regreening* activity. The declaration was taking place in Paliyan sub-district Gunungkidul district and the activity is called as "*Gerakan Nasional Hutan dan Lahan*" (GERHAN) or National Forest and Land Rehabilitation (Gerakan Nasional Rehabilitasi Hutan dan Lahan, Pertaruhan yang Keberhasilannya Diragukan, No date). This activity actually was started a year before it was declared by the President that was in 2003, and it was designed to be implemented for 5 years only.

A lot of funds have been allocated during the implementation of land rehabilitation programs. Before 1970 the programs were merely financed by national budget (APBN), and after that the programs have also been financed by local and international donors (Kartodiharjo, 2007). Meanwhile GERHAN was financed by APBN and reforestation funds (Dana Reboisasi)⁴.

⁴ Reforestation fund is fund paid by Logging Companies as a guarantee for their obligatory contribution to reforest the area.

2.4. *Regreening* in the decentralization, consequences

Decentralization apparently changed the working structure of *regreening* activities. There are no big differences in the involved actors (government) but the position and the role of the actors in this activity are different.

As I said in the section 2 of this chapter, recently after the implementation of decentralization local government offices (Dinas) and more specifically district forestry offices have reorganized themselves into full district government offices from their previous position as forestry service agency of Ministry of Forestry (MoF) at the district level. The tasks and functions of this organization in the district somehow are also different after the decentralization. It was merely on implementing forestry sector tasks with specific responsibility on soil conservation activities as it is mentioned in the name “*Dinas Perhutanan dan Konservasi Tanah*” (District Office for Forestry and Soil Conservation). However decentralization has changed the organizational tasks, responsibilities, functions, focuses and also a part of its role at the district level, because district governments may not put forestry sector into single independent organization but should combine it with other sectors into one organization.

In case the forestry sector it is combined with other sectors such as agriculture and plantation sectors, the sustainability of the *regreening* activities then very much depends on the focus and concern of the district governments to carry out this activity, whether they are giving much attention to the development of *regreening* or not. There is big possibility that after being combined with other sectors, the *regreening* is not a priority anymore for the district government, as land rehabilitation activities obviously demand huge funds and it is considered as long-term investment where the result cannot be seen in few months. However, on the other hand *regreening* is also seen as an opportunity for certain groups to gain more benefits considered the fact that a lot of funds are involved.

Before decentralization the forestry service agency staff at the district was the MoF staff therefore it was not difficult to coordinate every MoF program. However this relationship then changed since there is no direct hierarchical relationship between both organizations after decentralization. The district forestry service agency staff becomes district staff and they are hired with the regional budget, and since there is no direct hierarchical in the bureaucratic structure between the MoF and the district forestry offices, this causes the *deconcentrated* organizations of MoF face many difficulties on developing collaboration to carry out forestry programs at the district. The World Bank (2003) in his report illustrates that in the practical matter, a meeting for example can only be called by a higher or equivalent echelon. Therefore it can be understood why development programs cannot be implemented easily when it is lead by lower level organizations which require coordination with higher level organizations.

2.5. Conclusion

Decentralization in Indonesia as an effort to improve government performance on the public service delivery is not always followed with the improvement of working practices in the internal government organization. In general district governments do not have enough understanding on how to run government administration in the decentralized framework, although indeed the weakness of the legal framework of the decentralization Law largely contributes to this deficiency. Decentralization is seen as a justification for local government to run its policies in full authority and autonomy where the central government loses many of his steer powers.

In consequence the idea to improve government performance in the public service delivery is not addressed. Collaboration and coordination are not developed because those ideas are constrained by the fact that local government wants to work independently without central government intervention. The network of government organization is also only a wishful thinking, as decentralization hinders development of inter-governmental coordination particularly between central and local government.

Regarding the *regreening* matter, decentralization does not bring any significant enhancement. Many of the *regreening* activities even cannot be performed as they are impeded by new bureaucratic mechanisms in the Indonesian civil service with the separation between central and local organizations, and the inversion of structural ranking of the government organization. The existence of *deconcentrated* organization of central government at the regional level apparently does not much contribute on the increasing working mechanism between central and local governments, thus many of the national agendas are being ignored by local.

Chapter 3. Actors in the *regreening*, institutional bottlenecks and network opportunities

This chapter elucidates the actors involved in the *regreening*, an official term used by the Ministry of Forestry of Indonesia for land rehabilitation activities, directly and indirectly, their main tasks and responsibilities. This chapter also shows the relationship between them and how they run its policies. In the end of this chapter, it would also be analyzed how policy community works to explain the cooperation in the implementation of land rehabilitation program in the research area.

I will organize this chapter into two main topics. First is *regreening* in the farmer forest (*Hutan rakyat*) and the second is *regreening* in the state forest. Farmer forest refers to the forest on the farmers' lands. In the field farmer forests are difficult to be differentiated with garden. It is because farmers plant trees such as teak and mahogany in his lands together with other plants species such as mango, durian etc. In many cases trees are planted between annual crops such as paddy, cassavas, beans, peanuts etc. The term of farmer forest (*Hutan rakyat*) is mainly used by the Ministry of Forestry (MoF) of Indonesia for forest lands belong to farmers, other scholars may use garden, farm-forestry or *agroforestry* term. Meanwhile the state forest refers to the forest areas belong to the state. In Yogyakarta province, state forests are used for production forest with the diverse products such as teak and *Melaleuca cajuputi*.

My focus on those two types of forest is considering the fact that in Java generally and in Yogyakarta particularly, the optimal forest covers, as stated in the Forestry Principal Act (Undang-undang Pokok Kehutanan) No 5/1967 is 30% from the total area, cannot be reached by the existence of the state forests only. Since optimal forest covers are important to support ecological condition particularly for water supply, reducing soil erosion and sedimentation, flooding prevention etc., the concerns on development of forest or land covers in Java through *regreening* activities by MoF have been converted from the state forests into private lands (farmers' lands) through the development of farmer forests (*Hutan rakyat*). Farmers are the main target of this forest development programs. As the land holding of Yogyakarta farmers is very small the programs are done through *agroforestry* or *taungya* (tumpang sari) system which combines between agriculture or orchards and perennial trees.

The development of farmer forests (*Hutan rakyat*) in Java becomes responsibility of Watershed Management Center (BP DAS-Balai Pengelolaan Daerah Aliran Sungai) on behalf of MoF in cooperation with local government. Specifically in Yogyakarta province, it is done by BP DAS Serayu Opak Progo (BP DAS SOP). Meanwhile the manager of the state production forests in Yogyakarta province is Provincial Forestry and Plantation Office (Dishutbun Yogyakarta-Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan Propinsi Yogyakarta).

Before continuing with the main topic, I would clarify about *regreening* itself. On the next explanations I am going to use two terms about *regreening*. I will make it clear to

avoid confusion since in many occasion it will appear together. The first term is *regreening program* and the second is *regreening project*. *Regreening program* refers to the routine *regreening* activities done by government institutions both central and local governments. Meanwhile *regreening project* is a short-term *regreening* activities done by government institution both central and local government. For the *regreening* project I would refer to GERHAN or Gerakan National Rehabilitasi Hutan dan Lahan that can be translated as National Forest and Land Rehabilitation.

3.1. Development of farmer forest (Hutan rakyat)

In this section I explain who are the actors involved in the *regreening* activity on the farmer lands, what they do, how they relate, cooperate, rely on one another and do some maneuvers to carry out the *regreening*. The development of collaborations and networks will be explored to shows the coordination among the actors.

3.1.1. The direct actors

In this section I describe all of the actors that have direct involvement in the development of farmer forests in the Oyo sub-watershed area. I identify 3 main actors from the government institutions. I do not only focus on the involvement of government actors but open the possibilities for the emergence of non government actors in this research. As in my research area the role of non-government actors although working only in certain small areas is quite prominent.

Serayu Opak Progo Watershed Management Center (BP DAS SOP)

Serayu Opak Progo Watershed Management Center (BP DAS SOP) is a technical implementer unit of MoF for management of Serayu, Opak and Progo watersheds. The working area of this organization comprises 2 provinces (Central Java and Yogyakarta provinces) and 14 districts with 1.182.310 Ha watershed areas (BP DAS SOP, 2007). Oyo is a sub-watershed of Opak watershed.

For the interest of Oyo sub-watershed management, BP DAS SOP has responsibility to implement *regreening* activities mainly on the private or farmers lands that is done with development of farmer forests (*hutan rakyat*). In order to carry out of this task, BP DAS SOP produces Oyo sub-watershed Field Technical Plan-Land Rehabilitation and Soil Conservation (RTL-RLKT) document that will be used as a directive for implementation of *regreening* in the Oyo area. This directive document has to be used by district forestry offices of Gunungkidul and Bantul for managing the Oyo sub-watershed. BP DAS SOP works in partnership with district forestry offices in Gunungkidul and Bantul because administratively this organization does not have authority area regarding decentralization system.

The main activities designed by BP DAS SOP as stated in its directive for Oyo sub-watershed management are combination between vegetative and non vegetative

interventions. The vegetative intervention is particularly focused on the upper catchments and vulnerable land-slide areas. Meanwhile for the non vegetative interventions beside are focused on the development of capacity building for local community and local government officers, BP DAS SOP also gives strong recommendation for the diversification of rural livelihood to reduce dependence on the agricultural activities.

Gunungkidul Forestry and Plantation Office (Dishutbun Gunungkidul-Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan)

Forestry and Plantation office (Dishutbun Gunungkidul) is an institution which has responsibility to perform development of forestry and plantation sectors in Gunungkidul district. The working area of this organization is 1, 485. 36 km², where 36, 280 Ha are critical lands (Dishutbun Gunungkidul, 2005). This organization is equipped with 4 divisions that are; program division, rehabilitation and conservation division, enterprises development division, and forest product arrangement and preservation division.

Within this organization, the Program division plays the most important role. The Program division has responsibility to design all of the forest management programs in Gunungkidul, meanwhile *regreening* activities are done by the Rehabilitation and Conservation division.

Dishutbun Gunungkidul arranges partnership with other government institutions particularly with MoF through BP DAS SOP in the development of farmer forests in this area. Dishutbun Gunungkidul also develops cooperation with provincial forestry office (Dishutbun Yogyakarta) on developing farmer forests but focused on the farmer lands around the state forest. In general land rehabilitation in Gunungkidul can only be focused on one strategy that is development of farmer forests considering the large critical land areas and the natural characteristic of Gunungkidul with poor quality of soil therefore only perennial trees can grow well.

Bantul Agricultural and Forestry Office (Dispertanhut Bantul-Dinas Pertanian dan Kehutanan)

Dispertanhut Bantul is the institution which has responsibility to manage forest areas in Bantul district. This institution has 5 divisions where the four of it focus on the development and management for agricultural sectors, meanwhile development of forest sectors is specifically done by the Forest division.

The Forest division has main duty to conduct forest management and *regreening* activities on the farmers' lands. Additionally it also has tasks to improve forest production, developing forest enterprises and controlling forest product circulations. In running its function the Forest division works in close cooperation with BP DAS SOP. It can be inferred from the fact that almost all of the rehabilitation activities in Bantul area are done with the national budget through BP DAS SOP.



Figure 3. Working situation in Dispertanhut Bantul

In Bantul, Oyo sub-watershed flows only in two marginal sub-districts namely Dlingo and Imogiri sub-districts. The attention of Dispertanhut to both districts is very small. Oyo sub-watershed is not Dispertanhut Bantul first priority as the impacts and utilizations of Oyo sub-watershed for community are also little. Only few farmers on the lower catchments area utilize water from Oyo sub-watershed for irrigation. The irrigation system is also built by farmers itself with water pump.

Non government organizations (NGOs)

I move my explanation on the existence of NGOs in Gunungkidul and Bantul. Here I identified 2 types of NGO involves in the *regreening* activities, where both have very different characteristics, different roles in the development of farmer forest, different idealisms and so forth.

First type, I call as independent NGOs. These NGOs work not only in the community development but also do many actual intervention activities to improve farmer forests' quality. They get funds for their activities from international and local donors. Recently these NGOs work in several villages in Gunungkidul district to promote farmer forest certification.

SHOREA, ARuPA an NGO consists of young volunteers from Gadjah Mada University, and Research Center for Community Forestry (RCCF) share common goal on promoting sustainable forest management through developing of certified wood on the farmer lands. This action is done based on the awareness on increasing demands from local industries on wood that might lead more forest destruction in this area. SHOREA and its colleagues also concern on the important of increasing household income and community welfare through wood certification mechanism. Wood certification is also seen as a good media to support sustainable forest management. Recently SHOREA has made a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with France Company to develop certified farmer forest in Gunungkidul.

The second type of NGO, I call as 'red plate'⁵ NGO. This kind of NGOs involve in the development of farmer forests only when they are involved and financed by district forestry offices in my case are Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul. The

⁵ Red plate is a license plate used for government vehicle

involvement of these NGOs is based on the government direction that forest development activities especially those are funded by national budget (APBN) require the participation of NGOs in the programs implementation. The motivation on involving NGOs is supported by the consideration that public accountability cannot be reached without contribution of non-government stakeholders. Very often these NGOs were founded by the local government staff, many of them do not have permanent office. An NGO which had worked for the *regreening* project in Bantul district even sits in the government office without real activities and staff.

Forest farmer groups



Figure 4. Forest farmer group meeting

I do not stress my research on exploring the implementation of *regreening* by forest farmers specifically, but here I describe the forest farmer groups to give an overview about them. Farmers are the front liner in *regreening* activities and land rehabilitation in general. In the research area there are many forest farmer groups. Some of them are new groups (that were formed in 2003 to perform GERHAN project) but some of them have existed since some years ago. Forest farmer groups particularly flourish in the area close to the state forests.

The biggest members are women who work as a farmer in their own land (or in the state forest lands) meanwhile her husband work in the city as a temporary worker. In one village there might more than one farmer groups, there are forest group, agricultural group, husbandry group etc., however those are in many cases having the same members.

Group meets every month to discuss every problem that may appear and cannot be solved individually. During the meeting they exchange information and create small scale economic activities. In many occasions this forum is used by forest extension agent to introduce new techniques of forest management or socialize new government regulations.

The motivation to develop a group is pushed by the shift on the government policy that every government subsidy has to be delivered through group and not individually. Government does believe that this method will guarantee the success of development programs, as within group each member is expected to control other members' behavior and finally reduce deviation in the government programs implementation. Group is also expected to strengthen institutional capacity till grass root level.

3.1.2. Indirect actors

The indirect actors are those which have contribution on the *regreening* activities, but their roles may not be fully recognized. I consciously present these indirect actors since inter-government agency coordination and collaboration is important. With the fast growing tasks and problems, government institutions cannot be expected to work solely considering its limitations.

As Gunungkidul and Bantul districts have different focuses, agendas, and even different institutions in its organization body, I divide my presentation between Gunungkidul and Bantul separately.

Gunungkidul

Agriculture and Horticulture Office (Dispertan-Dinas Pertanian Tanaman Pangan dan Horticultura)

Dispertan Gunungkidul is the government institution which has tasks to perform development programs on agriculture, horticulture and food safety sectors in Gunungkidul district. Basically Dispertan Gunungkidul does not pay big attention on the rehabilitation and conservation activities related to the existence of forest, however their preservation efforts to control land uses and water supplies have a positive impact on the soil conservation and reduction of unproductive lands.

Dispertan Gunungkidul focuses its activities on the land conservation to improve crop production with the natural methods on the farm lands. To prevent the occurrence of soil degradation for the purpose of increasing crop production, Dispertan Gunungkidul obligates the application of terrace on every farm land. This organization also introduces several conservation plants that have to be planted through alley cropping method on the terraces. However this institution does not manage the critical land consciously, as the Program division leader of this organization argued that critical land areas are part of Dishutbun Gunungkidul task to control it through *regreening* activities. Some years ago Dispertan Gunungkidul also contributed on the increasing community awareness programs toward conservation through free distribution of multipurpose trees species such as mango, durian, *Nephelium* tree etc. These kinds of trees can be used for conservation purposes and also for increasing economic level of the farmers.

Animal Husbandry Office (Dinas Peternakan Gunungkidul)

Although this organization does not explicitly involve in the conservation activities but on the organization strategic planning, this organization states that animal husbandry activities are purposed also to improve land productivity and to conserve the soil.

Dinas Peternakan Gunungkidul has designed several planting activities on the farmers' lands that are purposed to supply farmers with fodder through planting many trees species which have positive impact on the soil conservation such as *Calliandra*, haigh quality Taiwan grass, lamtoro (*Leucaena leucocephala*), napier grass and many other local species. Those kinds of plants are planted surrounding spring areas for water

preservation. Biogas technology is also developed by this organization since the manures can be used for organic fertilizer and it has significant reduction for the utilization of firewood. In many forest farmer groups, Dinas Peternakan Gunungkidul has designed capacity building programs for farmers by introducing new methods for increasing livestock production and technical breeding to reduce reliance on the forest trees.

Agricultural Extension Office (KPPD-Kantor Penyuluhan Pertanian Daerah)

Agricultural extension agents play multiple tasks where each agent works for forest, agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery sectors. Here agricultural extension agents play an important role for the success of the rehabilitation activities, since they are the front liner who meet the farmers every time and give farmers with technical assistances etc.

Environmental Impact Control Office (Kapedal-Kantor Pengendalian Dampak Lingkungan-)

Kapedal Gunungkidul is an institution which has duties to design general policies for environmental impact management and has responsibilities to carry out environmental quality restoration activities. The main activity of this institution is performing many researches relate to the impacts of the community activities on the quality of the environment. The organization activities in the land rehabilitation and conservation are very few and are limited on the stimulation programs through distribution of tree seedlings for farmers.

Public Works Office (Dinas PU-Dinas Pekerjaan Umum)

The main task of Dinas PU Gunungkidul is designing general policies in the public works sectors and maintaining public infrastructures such as roads, irrigation systems, bridges etc. The relation of the existent of this institution to the land rehabilitation activities is indirect. In many occasions the implementation of land rehabilitation requires the development of physical infrastructures such as gully-plugs, infiltration wells, check dams and so forth. The development of those kinds of infrastructures occasionally is done by Dinas PU Gunungkidul in cooperation with Dishutbun Gunungkidul. However since the development of infrastructures like that is a mater of funds allocation, Dishutbun Gunungkidul often plans and constructs it by him self, only when needs technicians Dishutbun Gunungkidul will call Dinas PU for partnership.

Bantul

Coastal, Animal Husbandry and Fishery Office (Dinas Kelautan Peternakan dan Perikanan)

Dinas Kelautan Peternakan dan Perikanan Bantul produces programs to support farmers' economics by providing free seedlings for fodder such as *Calliandra* and grasses. However they do not have concerns on the possibility that grasses and manures can be used to improve soil quality. The idea that development of animal husbandry is a good method to avoid forest clearings and to reduce dependence on timber is also not yet realized by this organization.

Public Work Government Office (Dinas PU Bantul-Dinas Pekerjaan Umum)

The organization responsibilities rest mainly on the city arrangement and public infrastructures maintenance. The contribution to support land rehabilitation programs is limited on very big cases such as the development of dams for conservation purposes, but it will also be communicated first with the implementer unit of *regreening* in this case is Dispertanhut Bantul. In many cases, Dispertanhut Bantul builds all of the conservation infrastructures by him self. There is possibility for cooperation among of them on the *regreening* activities but Dinas PU role is limited on the supervision and assistance but not on the construction activities.

3.1.3. Collaboration and coordination for the development of farmer forests

In general this following working structure is used for all BP DASs related to the implementation of *regreening* activities that are done through development of farmer forests (*Hutan rakyat*). Furthermore I will specify on the coordination mechanism of *regreening* activities for managing Oyo sub-watershed as in other BP DASs there might be many modifications that are adapted to the local situations.

Regreening mechanism

Nationally land rehabilitation program which is called as *Regreening* is implemented under the umbrella of watershed management programs. These programs are lead by Ministry of Forestry (MoF) under the supervision of Directorate General of Land Rehabilitation and Social Forestry (Dirjen RLPS-Rehabilitasi Lahan dan Perhutanan Sosial). In order to carry out the rehabilitation activities, Dirjen RLPS supervises many Watershed Management Centers or Balai Pengelolaan Daerah Aliran Sungai (BP DAS) as a Technical Implementer Unit (UPT) which have duties to perform forest development agendas particularly related to the land rehabilitation and soil conservation in the watershed areas in Indonesia. For the Oyo sub-watershed, *regreening* is done by BP DAS Serayu Opak Progo (BP DAS SOP)

Why is watershed? Watershed is “a terrestrial ecosystem consisting of intricately interacting biotic and abiotic components”. Watershed is important since it contains many valuable resources that are conflicting and competing and is considered as the most useful system for natural resource planning for centuries (Brooks and Eckman 2000). Meanwhile watershed management is the process of guiding and organizing land and other resources use in a watershed to provide desire goods and services without adversely affecting soil and water sources (Brooks et al, 1991). Considering that watershed system is the best form for natural resource management, MoF established the BP DASs to carry out watershed management.

There is a question about how if the flow of watershed is exceeding district or even province boundaries? Considering such problem the working system of BP DAS does not consider administrative boundaries but it is based on the watershed system. In consequence the working areas of BP DAS may consist of several provinces and several

districts depend on where the watershed starts (upstream) and where this watershed ends (downstream).

The main tasks of BP DAS SOP are producing technical plan for watershed management called Field Technical Plan-Land Rehabilitation and Soil Conservation (RTL-RLKT), providing watershed information, developing new models for watershed management etc. The technical plan is used as an integrated plan to control soil erosion and sedimentation of the watershed areas. The RTL-RLKT is designed to be used for 5 years, and will be renewed based on the current situation. The RTL-RLKT does not only consist of physical activities but also emphasizes on the community development as supporting activities.

The target groups of the RTL-RLKT are institutions on the district levels both formal institutions such as government institutions and non formal institutions such as farmer groups. This technical planning is brought into the district forestry offices (Dinas Kehutanan Kabupaten) as organizations which have duties to run forest policies in the local areas. In the case of Oyo sub-watershed in Yogyakarta Province, this technical planning is conveyed to the Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul. Both district forestry offices will make this technical package as a reference for their forest management policies, and will transfer it into district forestry development agenda. However since the implementation of decentralization, all of the decisions are rested on the local governments' hand including whether or not districts want to follow the RTL-RLKT directive.

On the local policies level in Gunungkidul and Bantul districts, RTL-RLKT should also be a reference for other government institutions particularly government institutions which have authority to control and manage community activities that may have negative impacts on the watershed quality such as agricultural, animal husbandry, mining activities etc. Therefore the socialization of the RTL-RLKT directive to the other local government institutions is important. Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul are expected to communicate the MoF policies including RTL-RLKT and synchronize it with other district government institutions' programs in its working area. This method is used to avoid disorders in the development programs particularly related to the land use planning.

Building collaborations, developing networks, establishing coalitions

I will divide my presentation between Gunungkidul and Bantul in the different paragraph, as in the field both shows different experiences.

Gunungkidul district

There are two forms of collaboration in this area that are collaboration for development of *regreening* in general and the second is development of certified farmer forest.

The first is collaboration for *regreening* implementation. As a critical area, Gunungkidul district gains more priority from *regreening* policies. It is very important to protect the

area to prevent from more destructions and disasters. The rehabilitation and *regreening* have to be done on almost all of the areas as the Gunungkidul position on the upper catchments of the Oyo sub-watershed is being worried about the impact on the downstream.

Related to this interest BP DAS SOP supports and finances many local programs which are done by Dishutbun Gunungkidul. Within this mechanism cooperation and dependence between those organizations are developed and maintained. However since the districts have gotten higher structural bureaucratic position than BP DAS SOP in the decentralization framework, BP DAS SOP faces difficulty to control district interests. BP DAS SOP stated very difficult to invite for the meetings. Districts have to be convinced that they will get benefits in term of funds from the meeting to financing district activities.

On the *regreening* activity funded by MoF or national budget (APBN) that was GERHAN, the involvement of NGOs was requirement for its implementation. Dishutbun Gunungkidul had to distribute its tasks and allocate the *regreening* funds for NGOs on the community development activities. Here 'red plate' NGOs involved. NGOs worked on the community strengthening before physical interventions were done by Dishutbun Gunungkidul. Independent NGOs such as SHOREA and its colleagues did not involve in this kind projects. The coalition between Dishutbun Gunungkidul and the 'red plate' NGOs was developed temporarily, after the project finished the coalition is ended. Cooperation was done to fulfill administrative prerequisite only.

The collaboration for development of certified farmers wood is done through this following mechanism; basically there is no requirement for Dishutbun Gunungkidul to involving non-government institutions on the implementation of its routine *regreening* programs funded by regional budget (APBD). However Dishutbun Gunungkidul opens for the NGOs involvement in the development of farmer forests in his area. Cooperation between Dishutbun Gunungkidul and NGOs is done in the form of discussion, permission, and facilitation for NGOs and local community interests. Farmer Forest Working Group (Pokja Hutan Rakyat) is one of the examples of support from Gunungkidul district government to local NGOs in the development of sustainable and certified farmer forests in Gunungkidul. SHOREA, ARuPa and RCCF are fully aware on the condition that the development of farmer forests cannot be successfully expected without the involvement of the policy makers. This condition pushes NGOs to do persuasive approaches on the policy levels, meanwhile on the other hands the local government is also being pushed to accommodate public aspirations and to produce policies that take side more on the community interests.

Considering that the success of *regreening* actions depends on the cooperation and support from many relevant stakeholders, SHOREA and its companions with their little power try to influencing Dishutbun Gunungkidul policies to start involving other government institutions and accommodate some of them such as Kapedal, Dispertan and Dinas Peternakan leaders as members of the farmer forest working group organization. BP DAS SOP does not involve in this cooperation, NGOs see that BP DAS SOP is not a

relevant institution for this matter and in their opinion will not give much contribution on the development of certified forest farmer.

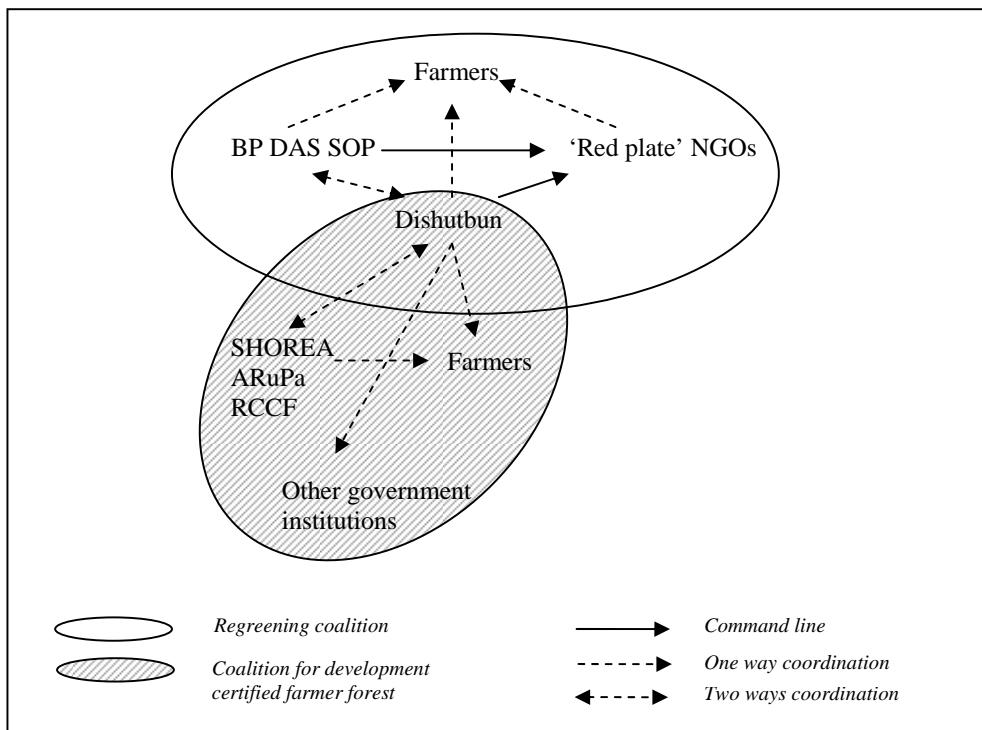


Figure 5. Network and coalition of the *regreening* and development of certified wood in farmer forests in Gunungkidul

However the coordination between Dishutbun Gunungkidul and other district government institutions is still done in the form of socialization of the Dishutbun Gunungkidul programs. This method is used to avoid duplication in the implementation of rehabilitation activities with other district institutions. Meanwhile independent NGOs build collaboration with the forestry institution only, direct cooperation with other district government institutions is not developed yet. The existence of Farmer Forest Working Group cannot be used as an indicator that collaboration is already built as stated in the inter-agencies collaboration theories. The accommodation of some district government agencies leaders in this organization is not presenting collaboration form which governing programs or problems through multidisciplinary sectors.

Bantul district

Bantul district offers different experience for BP DAS SOP, it seems that cooperation can be built easily in this area. From the interview with the staff of Dispertanhut Bantul, I got an impression that they work in close cooperation. Coordination is always done and every program is always being communicated with BP DAS SOP. The close cooperation is

done particularly as since 2003 with the implementation of GERHAN project, all of the Dispertanhut Bantul programs were financed by this project. Basically there was no regional budget allocated for *regreening* activities since the implementation of the GERHAN project, if there it was very small and only in the form of supporting funds.

The involvement of independent NGOs such as SHOREA is none in Dlingo and Imogiri sub-districts where Oyo flows. The development of farmer forests in those sub-districts is done by Dispertanhut Bantul itself in relationship with BP DAS SOP. P2PM (Community Development and Service Center) was the NGO that had been involved in the GERHAN project, and the fact that P2PM is an NGO belongs to a functionary with the high position in the district election commission can be understood how they got this project. This reality was supported by the statement of SHOREA director that they had never known about GERHAN project till the project has been run.

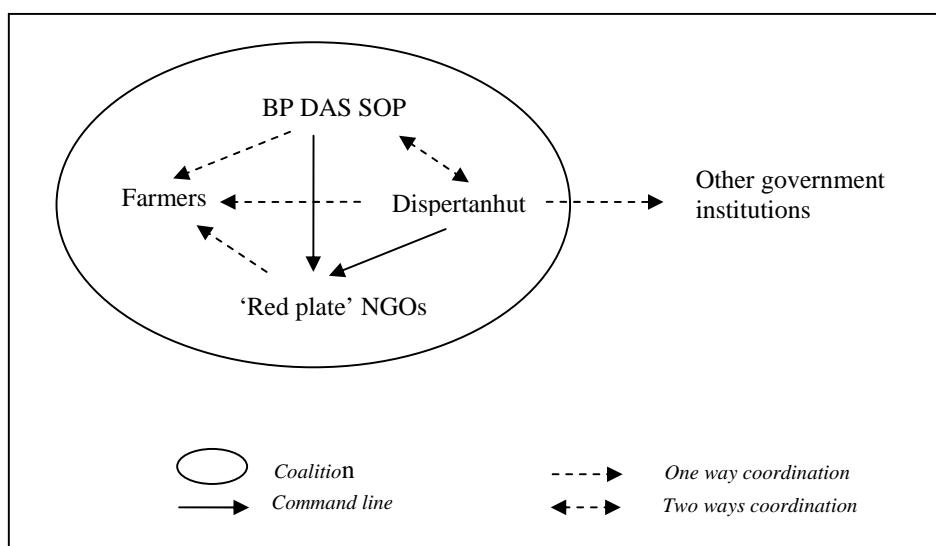


Figure 6. Network and coalition of the *regreening* in Bantul

Related to the relationship with NGOs, Dispertanhut Bantul explained that recently this organization has started to more accommodate the involvement of NGOs although limited on the discussions, sharing information and getting inputs for Dispertanhut Bantul activities. Dispertanhut Bantul actively involves other district government institutions but also limited on the socialization activities and hearing for Dispertanhut Bantul program planning. The coordination and coalition among government organizations are not built intensively, reciprocal relationships and mutual communications among the district government institutions are rarely done.

When we look at the above coalitions we see that in the implementation of specific policies or programs, actors attempt to build networks, they seek for alliance and exchange resources. The reason for building an alliance is considering the lack of

resources and the possibility that other actors may have and offer the resources for the organization (Rhodes, 1997).

Since BP DAS SOP does not have authority area anymore, he has to cooperate with local authority. For BP DAS SOP the cooperation has to be maintained. It is not only a matter of his responsibility to manage watershed area, as since decentralization the institution which has no area management means less activity and there is big possibility that this organization will be dismissed. Meanwhile districts have very big resources in the form of chances to implement many forestry programs. For the district forestry offices *per se*, central government development programs are important, since the regional budget for implementing forestry development agendas is very low. Therefore each local government competes to produce development programs for the benefits of the community and for sustaining organization funds. Here the interdependence between BP DAS SOP and district forestry offices is built.

For the 'red plate' NGOs cooperation is mainly done to get enough funds to sustain the operation of its organization, and for the district forestry offices the existence of such NGOs is very important to support its activities. Meanwhile the dependence of independent NGOs to district forestry offices is because they need legitimacy from the authority holder for their activities.

Institutional bottleneck

The BP DAS SOP responsibility is managing watershed but it does not mean that this organization has authority to determine what actions have to be taken to watershed. Since watershed is laid in the districts, districts governments are the institutions who have authority to control and determine what kinds of policies will be implemented in its watershed area. This situation is worsen by the reality that every forestry program or project fund is set to flow directly from MoF to district forestry offices account, within this situation BP DAS SOP is then really powerless as he does not have devices to control district forestry offices policies and interests.

The *regreening* financed by local budget (APBD) is not supervised by BP DAS SOP. District has full authority to implement his policies. Therefore it depends on the willingness of the district governments whether or not they want to cooperate with BP DAS SOP and follow his directives. Coordination in this situation is not necessary for the district governments. Dishutbun Gunungkidul stated that for implementation of the *regreening* programs funded by APBD they do not coordinate with BP DAS SOP, meanwhile Dispertanhut Bantul stated that in the program implementation they try to at least sending reports to BP DAS SOP although it does not necessarily for them.

3.2. Regreening in the state forest

The state production forests in Yogyakarta are managed by provincial forestry office (Dishutbun Yogyakarta-Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan Propinsi). Different from other

areas in Java where the state production forests are managed by Perhutani a state own forest enterprise, the concession over the state production forests in Yogyakarta is held by Yogyakarta provincial government. It is related to the special status of Yogyakarta province given by Indonesian government as since colonization times this province had never submitted to the Dutch authority.

Regreening activities in the state forests all along the Oyo sub-watershed is done based on Dishutbun Yogyakarta internal policies considering the production function of the forest. In this situation control of the MoF over forest management done by Dishutbun Yogyakarta is very minimal. The role of Dishutbun Yogyakarta seems as a company and MoF does not involve too much on the Dishutbun Yogyakarta policies. However MoF is still monitoring and supporting some of the *regreening* activities in this area considering that *regreening* activities is necessary looking at the bad condition of the state forest in the Oyo sub-watershed particularly caused by illegal logging.

3.2.1. Provincial Forestry and Plantation Office (Dishutbun Yogyakarta-Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan), the main actor

Dishutbun Yogyakarta is a specific institution, different from any provinces and districts forestry offices in Indonesia, Dishutbun Yogyakarta functions to manage state production forests. The state production forests in Yogyakarta province cover 13. 850 Ha and are planted with teak and *Melaleuca cajuputi* (Dishutbun Yogyakarta, 2005).

In running its policies, Dishutbun Yogyakarta does not only focus on the state forest management. This institution also pays big attention on the development local community empowerment programs and development of farmer forests although very little in surrounding the state forests. This policy is done particularly caused by the increasing occurrences of illegal logging and forest clearing by local farmers for annual crop planting, the development of farmer forests is expected to reducing the occurrences of illegal logging and dependence of local community to the state timbers. It is a difficult situation for Dishutbun Yogyakarta as some of his authority areas contact directly with the local community areas (enclave). To solve this problem Dishutbun Yogyakarta is equipped with sub-division of conservation and preservation which has duty to develop forest areas in the outer of the state forests (farmer forests).

3.2.2. SHOREA, the secondary actors

SHOREA (Small Home of Rural Empowerment Activist) is a non profit organization works for community based natural resource management and has started its activities in Gunungkidul 8 years ago. Considering high deterioration in the state forests in Gunungkidul, SHOREA initiated to improve ecological condition through facilitating local community to get access in the state forests. In this organization point of view, state forests which have high contact with local community cannot be preserved without involving local community to participate in the forest management directly through Community Based Forest Management (CBFM) mechanism. For this reason SHOREA struggles for community interests to get permission to utilize forest areas for annual crops

planting through *taungya system* with the agreement that local community will maintain the forest trees. Furthermore SHOREA also fights to get the concession right over the timber for local community. SHOREA guarantees that the utilization of the forest by local community will not change the function of the forests that is to support ecological condition.

On the grass root level this organization works for strengthening local community organizations, meanwhile on the policy level they do many advocacies to influence MoF policies to more accommodate community interests. The result of this organization works can be seen from the Forestry Minister decision that since December 2007, MoF allows Gunungkidul community to manage 25% of the state production forests in Gunungkidul including the right over the timbers.

3.2.3. Coalition for improvement of the state forests

For the development of CBFM, the coalition is developed by SHOREA particularly with the forest farmer groups sit around the state forests. They work together to get full access to the state forests. To reach this goal SHOREA approached MoF as MoF is the authority holder over the state forest in Indonesia. MoF decides who will get access and right to manage the state forest. Considering this fact SHOREA went to MoF and asked for approval for the community proposal regarding their desire to be involved in managing the state forests. With close cooperation with some of the highest functionaries in MoF, using alumni media as many of the MoF staff are Gadjah Mada university alumni, SHOREA finally succeeds getting a concession right for local community to manage 25% of the timber products in the state production forests in Gunungkidul for 30 years.

Nevertheless SHOREA has to build relationship with Dishutbun Yogyakarta. Since recently they are the institution who has an authority to manage the state forests in Yogyakarta province. Meanwhile Dishutbun Yogyakarta realizes on the SHOREA contribution in re-green the state forests particularly in Gunungkidul through community mobilization. Here interdependence between SHOREA and Dishutbun Yogyakarta is developed, as since the involvement of SHOREA in Gunungkidul district the condition of the state production forests particularly on the teak areas is increasing significantly.

Meanwhile for the development of farmer forest around the state forests Dishutbun Yogyakarta maintains relationship with the district forestry agencies. The main reason is that the local community living surround the state forests is district community administratively. Within this condition Dishutbun Yogyakarta cannot interfere local community with his forest programs, for instance to prevent illegal logging, without the involvement of district forestry offices. In the Oyo sub-watershed area the coordination is built with Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul. The collaboration between Dishutbun Yogyakarta and Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul is done in the form of communicating and coordinating Dishutbun Yogyakarta programs, as Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul role is merely as supporter without real

physical contribution. The cooperation is done for getting legalization over Dishutbun Yogyakarta actions to local community.

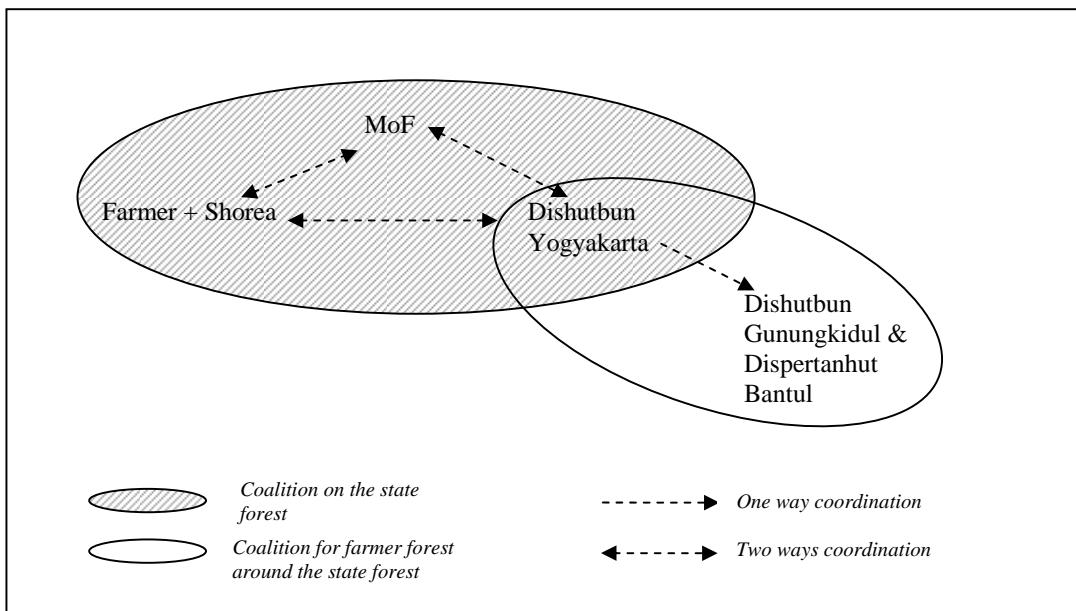


Figure 7. Network and coalition of the *regreening* in the state forests

The above figure shows that the dependence on the other agents' resources in the form of supports for the respective actors is glue that makes them cooperate. Although in some cases they do not always stand on the same ideas and aspirations considering different interests background, but it can be seen that each forest agent tries to accept and admit the present of the others.

3.3. Bringing all of them together

MoF in its watershed management directive that is MoF Ministerial Decree No. 52/Kpts-11/2001 states how *regreening* should be done on the trans-boundaries watershed. This decree asserts that watershed management is performed based on the ecosystem approaches and therefore *regreening* activities which consist of all aspects from planning, programming, controlling and budgeting will be run by certain team called council or watershed forum. Council manages national level policies meanwhile the provincial and district levels will be managed by watershed forum. Watershed forum consists of all related stakeholders from forest, irrigation, agricultural sectors, environmental impact control bureau and other relevant NGOs (MoF, 2001).

Ecosystem approaches comprise of multi-natural resources, multi-stakeholders, multi-sectors etc., hence coordination is essential element for the optimal watershed

management and for the success of *regreening* implementation. Coordination functions as a controlling process for many activities and multi-stakeholders policies to reach conformity and harmony of the common goals. Coordination is a preventive policy method that can be used to avoid clash of interests among stakeholders.

However watershed forum in Yogyakarta province does not exist yet. It should be the responsibility of BP DAS SOP as a facilitator to build such institution. There is also no effort from both district governments in Gunungkidul and Bantul to coordinate and develop partnership activities to govern the Oyo area considering trans-boundaries impacts. As there is no institution who governs the partnership between two districts, the rehabilitation activities in general are run by each district separately based on the district development agendas and interests. As a consequence both districts' activities do not always synchronous and support one another to build integrated ecosystem management. In many cases in order to get more money for regional activities, district development policies harm neighboring districts.

3.4. Policy community as representation of *regreening* activities in the Oyo sub-watershed

Looking at the way Oyo sub-watershed is managed, it shows how relationships and coalitions among the actors involve in the *regreening* are built. The relationships are based on the resource dependence. The relationship between government institutions is glued by program/project funds dependence. While supports from governments cement the relationship between independent NGOs and governments.

Go back to the Rhodes (1997) theory about policy network analysis, the implementation of *regreening* programs in the Oyo sub-watershed can be considered as *policy community*. Policy community is characterized by limited participant as shown on the above figures. Each actor shares resources although some very little. Mutual dependence between them is an explanation why no single actor playing in the *regreening* programs in the Oyo sub-watershed is really dominant in the network. However I will argue that likely not all of the involved actors are equally benefits, some may gain more than the others.

In the case of lack coordination and coalition between government's agencies in the internal district, my argument is district forestry office does not want to share resource he has in the form of program/project funds both from national budget or regional budget to other government agencies. In the district forestry office sense, coordination means sharing programs or projects and funds, and it means fewer earnings for the organization and for the organization personnel. Therefore coalition is rarely done (I will elaborate more about this issue in chapter 5).

Looking at the network theory by Hager (2003), it can be understood why the results of *regreening* activities have never reached people expectation. Hager in his theory states that recently modern government start to recognize that they cannot solve complex

problems without building interdisciplinary collaboration. However in my research cases inter-government collaboration is rare, and every forestry program is implemented sectorally without development of collaboration and network with other relevant stakeholders outside the forestry sector. In consequence the results of *regreening* activities are very low. The main purpose of *regreening* is improving forest covers, and it can be reached only when the dependence of the local community to agricultural activities, forest lands and timber is reducing. To reduce the dependence of local community to forest and timber can be done through diversify rural livelihood from only focusing on agricultural activities. This idea obviously entails support from other sectors such as animal husbandry, fishery, industrial or tourism sectors etc, but since there is no effort to develop interdisciplinary collaboration forestry programs do not meet the expectation.

3.5. Conclusion

Integrated management system for Oyo sub-watershed is not developed yet, it is mainly caused by the failure of the actors to establish a forum to manage *regreening* activities and watershed as an ecosystem unit together. Local forestry development activities are run sectorally and are not integrated into single grand design development agenda. Each district government institution performs its policies without intensive communications and cooperation with other government agencies. Forestry agents still have poor awareness on the important of inter-agency collaboration for improving public service and on the important of developing network with other relevant stakeholders outside the forestry sector for facing recent complex forestry problems. The *regreening* activities are implemented through exclusive cooperation involving certain forestry institutions only, therefore the results is low where degraded lands are still occur and soil erosions are still high.

Chapter 4. Actual implementation of *regreening*

Chapter 4 explores how *regreening* on the research area is done by the government. This chapter demonstrates how programs and projects are designed, policies are produced and *regreening* is implemented by policy makers. It highlights how national agenda is run along with the local interests, it describes how each agency struggles to reach his goals. However I do not go into exploration on the actual implementation of *regreening* by non-government actors.

I was explaining the general coordination of *regreening* in the 3rd chapter already, I was also explaining that on the *regreening* activities government develops two types of activities and I would call as program and project to differentiate them, where *program* refers to routine activities and *project* refers to short-term activities as I mentioned in the previous chapter. In this chapter I will explore the *regreening* program first and continue with the *regreening* project (GERHAN project).

I will start my analysis from the implementation of *regreening* by BP DAS SOP and then continue by government forestry agencies in both Gunungkidul and Bantul districts. I will also expand my story on the way provincial forestry office (Dishutbun Yogyakarta) manages *regreening* activities in the state forest. Here I focus on my attention on the policy implementation processes from designing, implementing, and monitoring and expand with the analysis of where and when the policy implementation goes wrong.

4.1. *Regreening* program in the farmer forests (*Hutan rakyat*)

Regreening programs by BP DAS SOP

My explanation about *regreening* implementation by BP DAS SOP is not presented specifically to Gunungkidul and Bantul, as in general the mechanism is the same to both districts and in other districts in BP DAS SOP working area.

Program designing process

Generally BP DAS SOP applies two types of the *regreening* design that are *top-down* and *bottom-up* approaches on the same time. The top-down approaches are done by first is producing certain programs for certain districts. The selection of the districts is based on the BP DAS SOP priority considering current actual condition. The programs are then announced to the district government forestry offices. The district forestry offices (Dinas Kehutanan) decide whether or not they want to respond to this announcement, if a district forestry office does not want to continue then it stops. However considering funds offer, the occurrences of rejection by districts are almost none.

When a district forestry office decides to following up the BP DAS SOP programs, then the district forestry office designs the proposals that are based on the farmers' inputs. I

will present program designing processes on the village and district levels more detail later in this chapter when I talk about Gunungkidul and Bantul districts specifically. The district proposals are made based on the farmers' inputs as BP DAS SOP has to be assured that his' programs will be accepted and address community needs. BP DAS SOP and district forestry office also do several discussions as both organizations interests have to be accommodated in this process. District may have its programs priorities that are not parallel with BP DAS SOP agendas, therefore discussion and negotiation are done.

After the agreement on the programs implementation is reached, BP DAS SOP lets the district forestry office to execute the programs. I clarify my explanation that the programs executor is the district forestry office, as since decentralization BP DAS SOP and other BP DASs in Java have a supervisory role only. I would highlight that supervision here means function as an overseer and/or (indirect) donor. As an implementer the district forestry office will report the programs implementation to BP DAS SOP regularly.

Program Implementation

The activities of watershed management consist of treatments to physical, social and economic conditions of the area. Those three aspects have to be executed equally on the same time. Too much focus on the certain aspects only will cause the failure of the programs or projects.

Related to above explanation BP DAS SOP as an authoritative organization for watershed management in Oyo sub-watershed creates policies and strategies consisting of physical interventions, capacity building and institutional strengthening. To support his policies BP DAS SOP designs many 'models' for forest development on the farmers' lands. I will explain what a 'model' is. Recently BP DAS SOP holds 2 *regreening* activities for the purpose of watershed management, first is routine *regreening* programs where 'model' is an example of routine programs and the second is GERHAN project that is designed for 5 years started in 2003 and was finished in the end of 2007. 'Models' (the term that is used by BP DAS SOP for its *regreening* program) as routine program are designed to increase farmers' participations on the *regreening* activities. It is a specific program implemented in the certain critical areas. The areas may have critical cases that need to be governed immediately to avoid further natural degradation. The examples of models are farmer forest (*Hutan rakyat*) models, coastal forest models, firewood models etc. Of course limitation on the budget makes only certain cases will be treated. I will illustrate the development of 'model' on the box 1 bellow:

Box 1. Coastal forest model and firewood model

Coastal forest model

*This model is developed considering the critical condition of the coastal areas in Yogyakarta province. BP DAS SOP identified high abrasion rate in Samas coast, Bantul district. This organization is then designed regreening program to improve ecological quality of the coast areas. The coast areas are then planted with cemara laut (*Casuarina equisetifolia*) to prevent from direct contact with wave and wind. Farmers or fishermen are involved in the program implementation, and they are being trained with the technical training about cemara laut breeding, trees maintenance etc. During the program implementation farmers or fishermen are subsidized with fertilizer and are hired for maintaining cemara laut. Further in the end of the program local farmers or fishermen are expected to keep and continue this activity.*

Firewood model

Firewood model is designed to prevent further forest clearings for firewood for supplying small scale brick industries in Purworejo. Unfortunately firewood model is not developed in my research area. Within this program local community is asked to plant perennial trees in his lands that can be used for firewood to sustaining his livelihood and providing brick industries with firewood, this method is also expected to increase land covers of the area. BP DAS SOP provides farmers with free tree seedlings and funds for trees maintenance.

Each ‘model’ in one location is financed for 5 years. In the first 2 years, the funds are allocated particularly for physical activities. In this term funds are used for subsidizing free seedlings and fertilizers. Farmers are also hired for planting and trees maintaining. During program implementation farmers are assisted by forest/agricultural extension agents for the physical activities and assisted by NGOs for community development and institutional strengthening. On the next three years, the funds are allocated mainly for the assistance activities by forest/agricultural extension agents and NGOs, in addition the subsidy for trees maintenance will be continued till the program is ended. In this term BP DAS SOP will also allocate certain amount of the funds to anticipate if they find any mortality (trees are not growing). In this case farmers will be given with other seedlings. After the program is ended, farmers are urged to continue the activities independently (self-supporting) without BP DAS SOP supervision. Although in the case of farmers in my research area, once subsidies are given to farmers they will rely on the next subsidies, government cannot expect that farmers will be fully self sufficient.

Another important component on the *regreening* activities is capacity building. BP DAS SOP in many occasions through Institutional division of the organization designs capacity building and institutional strengthening for farmers, district forestry office staff and forest/agricultural extension agents. The examples of activities are seminars, workshops, field trainings etc. In every ‘model’ program farmers are also equipped with training for group management and sometimes training for development of small scale businesses. Capacity building is implemented to improve farmers’ ability to carry out and

continue the *regreening* activities after the program is ended. The trainer of the capacity building and institutional strengthening can be everyone based on what kind of skills will be taught. This organization might invite a consultant, NGOs or may be experts from its organization.

Although it is 5 years program, I clarify that ‘model’ is not a project for BP DAS SOP, for this organization it is a routine program or task that can be implemented every where in his working areas. As the budget is very low and the working areas of BP DAS SOP are very large, the programs have to be arranged based on the priority rank, budget, staff availability and so forth, therefore the programs are rotated in the certain target districts only. There are not many ‘model’s developed by this organization, therefore I will stress here that the district forestry offices may see ‘model’ as a project, it is because the activities are not carried out sustainably in its working areas, and districts based on my interview call short-term activities financed by national budget (APBN) as a *project*. In other words, what should be a long-term program is often carried out as a restricted activity in only few districts with limited funds.

Program monitoring system

Monitoring and evaluation are important activities in an organization, from the result of the monitoring an institution can review its past activities for the future improvements. The monitoring and evaluation mechanisms in BP DAS SOP organization are done by the Monitoring division to both the results of physical and socio-economic interventions. Nevertheless the monitoring systems in this organization are run poorly.

I consider as poor monitoring mechanisms based on my visit results to the Monitoring division. I will see first from the mechanism itself where monitoring activities are focused on the BP DAS SOP routine programs such as ‘model’ programs. Furthermore referring to the Monitoring division leader, the monitoring implementations are executed for certain priority programs only, not for the whole organization activities. Budget constraint does not allow this organization to monitor every activity. In the year 2008 for example there is no monitoring budget for firewood model considering budget cut from MoF, although the monitoring for firewood model was completed in the previous year. However it might be allocated again by MoF in 2009, but there is no certainty. Unsustainable monitoring budget from MoF like this obviously hinders program control because the Monitoring division cannot see if there are distortions during the implementation.

Monitoring to physical interventions covers monitoring activities to plant mortality rate and construction of conservation infrastructures. The problem related to *regreening* goals is that monitoring is not continued to the measurement on the impacts of physical interventions to the reduction of erosions, sedimentations, and other disaster occurrences on the following years. Moreover the monitoring reports are limited on presenting the data that planting activities were done and conservation infrastructures were built. The monitoring system does not study into detail about the reason and explanation of the plants growth failures for example, therefore the same failures are repeated every year.

The routine monitoring is planned annually in the catchments areas which are equipped with river flow monitoring stations (SPAS-Stasiun Pengamat Arus Sungai) and is focused on small sites because of budget limitation, but BP DAS SOP is equipped with a lot of SPASs in its working area. The reports presentation emphasizes on the current fiscal year, in consequence the assessor cannot compare it year by year the progress or regress of the site treatment. Data storage is also poor, even difficult to find last year reports. Monitoring seems only to fulfill properness and it is not considered as necessary activity.

Deviation and limitation

I will develop my explanation about deviation on the whole processes of *regreening* activities with detail explanation from the farmers' level. The main problem on the realization of *regreening* programs is the fact that *regreening* has gotten less response particularly from the grass root level. Tree planting requires large area availability, meanwhile the farmers land holding is very small and is used mainly for the annual crop planting. BP DAS SOP and other forestry agents in Indonesia including academician from the university ask farmers to develop *agro-forestry* system which is more popular and called *taungya* system. Within that system trees are planted along lower sides of terraces. From the side of farmers this system is harmful as the trees root and its shade will disturb the growth of annual crops. As tree growing is long-term revenue, for some farmers although very few, the perennial trees cannot be expected to gain money particularly for urgent necessities. Hence farmers do not always willing to apply that system.

On the BP DAS SOP level the deviation are caused by two main factors namely budget constraint and lack of awareness.

Budget constraint is an obstacle that makes the continuity of the programs cannot be expected. MoF cannot guarantee that a program for example that is designed for 5 years will be financed every year, there are many cases where MoF stopped in the middle of the program (for example on the 3rd or 4th year) and might be continued again on the next years. This situation creates uncertainty and risky for the farmers to fully work in this program as stopping the funds allocation in the middle of the program means loss of his investment. And it might have an impact on household economic condition as farmers then have to provide fertilizers for instance from his budget. Budget limitation and unsustainable budget from MoF also cause capacity building programs cannot be fully accomplished, to anticipate this situation BP DAS SOP insists to run the program but very often only target group leaders and village leaders who are invited to follow the training. The target group leaders and village leaders are expected to transfer his knowledge to his members and communities. The problem is whether the transfer of technology and information to farmers can fully be accomplished by farmers' leader. Because based on the information I got, in Bantul district although I cannot generalize it, many of the village or group leaders do not fully involve its members on the group activities including less transfer of information, therefore many members of the forest farmer groups do not actively involve. Moreover MoF still focuses *regreening* on the physical activities such as tree planting meanwhile monitoring activities are considered as a minor program where the budget might not be allocated at any time.

The awareness of the BP DAS SOP staff on the data storage is very poor. Data is not always updated therefore programs are run with the old field data. This organization relies on the districts' data since districts is believed in being knowledgeable about his area, meanwhile districts are not updating their information as well.

Regreening program by Dishutbun Gunungkidul (Gunungkidul Forestry and Plantation Office) and Dispertanhut Bantul (Bantul Agricultural and Forestry Office)

I will organize this section with different presentation from the previous section. I will describe the *regreening* program design and monitoring processes in Gunungkidul and Bantul respectively together on the same paragraphs, as nationally those are the same. However I separate the implementation and discussion about deviation and limitation in both research areas on the different paragraphs as in the field there are many differences.

In this section I will explore the implementation of *regreening* in Gunungkidul and Bantul districts by Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan (Dishutbun) Gunungkidul and Dinas Pertanian dan Kehutanan (Dispertanhut) Bantul, these following activities are internal district programs (financed by regional budget (APBD) and sometimes get support from national budget (APBN)) and it is not relating to programs (model) by BP DAS SOP. Since *regreening* activities may involve many others stakeholders in the district organization body as a whole although very little and indirect, my presentation does not focus on the district forestry office in my case Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul only but it can go everywhere following the working structure of the district government organization and *regreening* mechanism itself.

First of all I give general explanation on the structure of Gunungkidul and Bantul organization body to elucidate the working structure and who controls whom. It is very important as it may appear on my exploration about the implementation of *regreening* activities in Gunungkidul and Bantul, so then everything becomes clear and connects one another.

The Bupati (district leader) is the highest authority holder in the district government organization. In carrying out of his development agendas Bupati is assisted by an institution called Regional Body of Planning and Development (Bappeda-Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah). Bappeda functions as a district development planner in all sectors, in government administration, social, cultural, economic, physical infrastructure and controlling (monitoring and evaluating) sectors. Bappeda produces general policies that will be a reference for all policies and programs produced by district government organizations (Dinas kabupaten) under the Bupati. Related to the *regreening* topic Bappeda has produced policy that is used as a reference for development of *regreening* programs in the district called Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW-Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah), in general this consist of development directive that is adjusted to the regional potencies and spatial conditions. The forest development programs run by district forestry institution have to be referring to RTRW.

Program designing process

Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul harmonize its working program in combination between *top-down* and *bottom-up* approaches. These approaches do not come together on the same time but the result of the *top-down* approach that are policies is established first and then followed by the synchronization of the result of *bottom-up* approach in the form of community inputs to the government policies.

Considering the complexity of the problems on the forestry sector, particularly problems related to the community interests, both organizations design strategic program plan that is poured into the 5 years organization strategic plan (Renstra-SKPD-Rencana Strategis Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah). The objective of this strategic plan is to guide the forestry development programs to be more effective and efficient, and preparing the organization to be more adaptive on facing actual conditions and more open to the community and private sectors participations on the development of forestry sectors.

The design processes of Renstra-SKPD of both institutions are following the *top-down* system, where if I trace back from the top level of Indonesian government structure, the process in general can be followed as:

National government determines National Long-term Development Plan (RPJPN) and then makes it into detail on the Medium-term Development Plan (RPJMN) that will be used by all of Departments and Ministries in Indonesia including province and district governments as a reference for its development plans. Provinces and districts will also develop Long-term and Medium-term Regional Development Plan that will also be referred by its underneath organizations (Dinas). Renstra-SKPD as a product of the Dinas kabupaten (district government institution) is submissive to the long term and medium term of its regional development plan including Renstra-SKPD of Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul. In addition related to *regreening* matters district also produces RTRW, the Renstra-SKPD of Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul is also obedient to RTRW and as Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul tasks relate to forestry and agricultural management matters their Renstra-SKPD will also be accorded to the MoF and Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) program plans.

The arrangement of the 5 years strategic plan (Renstra-SKPD) can be seen as one step forward on the forestry development policies. With this 5 years strategic plan hopefully consistency, between planning, budgeting, implementation and monitoring can be maintained and integration, cooperation and synchronization among government agencies activities can be reached. In addition each district develops his schedule on when to design its Renstra-SKPD. For example the Renstra-SKPD of Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul are designed in different years. I have the Renstra-SKPD of Dishutbun Gunungkidul for the year of 2006-2010 meanwhile Renstra-SKPD of Dispertanhut Bantul will be used for 2007-2011.

Furthermore the 5 years strategic plan (Renstra-SKPD) will be spelled out into the annual program plan. The design of annual program plan is done through *bottom-up*

participatory planning and then is adapted to Renstra-SKPD. In this stage the two approaches *top-down* and *bottom-up* meet.

On the *bottom-up* system the mechanism is as follows, the arrangement of the program planning is started from the villages' level, it is motivated by the spirit to increase public participation. This spirit has risen after government organization got many critics as too much centralistic on the program design. My experiences attending public-government meetings in my research area give me other insight that public participation and consultation is really much improved since decentralization has implemented in 2001.

Villages, through public discussion (Village Musrenbang-Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan Desa) make any development priorities that will be brought into the sub-district meeting (Sub-district Musrenbang). In the sub-district meeting the villages' inputs will be synchronized based on the sub-district program planning. Here the villages' inputs will be clustered into the same sectors or topics, furthermore I will discuss villages' inputs that relate to *regreening* only. Finally all of the sub-district inputs will be compiled into the annual district government agencies (Dinas) plan, in the *regreening* case of my research is annual Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul program plan, but after being adapted to the annual regional plan and regional development "theme". During this process public hearings are done several times on every level to assure that development programs address public interests already. When I was attending district musrenbang in the early March 2008 where the leader of Dispertanhut Bantul presented his annual program for the year of 2009 all of the relevant stakeholders and communities are free to attend the meeting. There were presses, NGOs, private companies, some local donors, village communities, members of local parliament etc. During the meeting everyone has the same right to raising questions, criticisms and inputs. This mechanism is expected to guarantee public accountability and reduce distortion. I assessed from the district musrenbang mechanism only not for the whole implementation of the program designing processes, in the case of Indonesia with more than 30 years experiences of centralistic government I would say fairly that this mechanism is a progress on the government administration mechanism.

Before continue to the program designing process I will explain first about the district "theme". Every year district government determines the "theme" for the annual development agenda, and each district government institution (Dinas) including Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul has to fit his annual program plan to each regional theme. For example the Gunungkidul district theme for development program for the year 2009 is "Increasing employment for poverty reduction" meanwhile The Bantul district theme for 2009 is "Poverty reduction, increasing health care and women empowerment". The *regreening* program has to be accorded with the district theme, for example district forestry office will develop orchard development program for poverty reduction. Another program for example is increasing land covers with grasses planting, the grasses can be used for fodder and it also means diversify rural livelihoods with animal husbandry development. Diversified rural livelihoods is expected to reduce poverty rate.

Coming back to the program design process, after doing discussions from villages to district levels, compiling all of the inputs and fitting to the regional development plan, Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul produce its annual program plan and implement it after being approved by the Bupati and local parliament.

Program monitoring system

I jump my exploration to the monitoring system, as in Gunungkidul and Bantul the mechanism is performed with the same way.

On the Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul organization body monitoring and evaluation are done by the Program division itself. Every month, every 3 month, and in the end of the fiscal year the *regreening* implementer in this case the Rehabilitation and Conservation division for Dishutbun Gunungkidul and the Forestry division for Dispertanhut Bantul makes a report about what he has done. The Program division then checks the report and it is done by involving other divisions from the internal organization. In Dispertanhut Bantul the monitoring team even involves external organization/person such as NGOs or staff from other district government offices. The report results are then brought to the Monitoring division of Bappeda. The monitoring division of Bappeda does not monitor itself the programs realization but only compiles all of the district government reports.

I found the same case on both organizations regarding report presentation. The reports were presented in very meager reports and incomplete data about program realizations. Reports were focused on the financial realization results, I will illustrate the reports⁶ as follows;

Table 2. Illustration of monitoring report

Program	Activities	Target	Realization	%
The improvement of forest covers and natural resources preservation	Development of farmer forests (<i>Hutan rakyat</i>)	Rp ⁷ . 322, 532, 000 380 Ha	Rp. 322, 532, 000 380 Ha	100
	Preservation of riverbanks	Rp. 45,550, 000 20 Ha	Rp. 45, 550, 000 20 Ha	100
	<i>Regreening</i> of springs	Rp. 5, 200, 000 25 Ha	Rp. 5, 200, 000 25 ha	100

The implementations of physical intervention program such as trees planting were assessed from the planting activities only but there was no measurement on the plant

⁶ My illustration is based on the actual report but the amount of money and the large areas are my modification

⁷ Rp means Rupiah (Indonesian currency)

mortality rate and where the activities were executed. Report has never assessed on the detail study about the failures and successes of the program. The Forestry division leader of the Dispertanhut Bantul stated that before implementing the program, they counted everything therefore 100% realization could be achieved. However in the case of Dishutbun Gunungkidul, Rehabilitation and conservation division leader of Dishutbun Gunungkidul doubted that the Program division of his organization has cross checked his report through an actual field visit. He stated that as an implementer of course he will say in his report that the program is implemented 100%, but he thinks it needs to be proved with direct field check.

The lack of field control from Bappeda also causes many *regreening* activities cannot reach the target. The target here means the impact of the *regreening* activities to the improvement of natural condition. The reason for not doing proper monitoring and evaluation systems is the limitation on the monitoring budget, the excessive programs, and lack of staff and expertise on the Monitoring division. Many of the staff in the Monitoring division even do not have accountant background. Several years ago the actual field visit to check the realization of the government agencies programs was done but only for certain district priority programs, but then considering budget limitation such activities have been stopped and their job is merely on compiling the government agencies (Dinas) reports.

In general data storage in both Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul is managed poorly. Very difficult to get data and reports even from last year, government staffs merely focus on the current activities.

Program implementation by Dishutbun Gunungkidul

As I said in the previous paragraph, that on the implementation its programs and policies Dishutbun Gunungkidul refers to the district regulation namely RTRW. And since his tasks and responsibilities relates to the forest and plantation sectors management this organization is also referring to the regulation produced by MoF and MoA⁸. MoF regulation regarding *regreening* activities in this area is Oyo sub-watershed RTL-RLKT produced by BP DAS SOP. Therefore as an official document on the *regreening* and watershed management in Oyo sub-watershed, Dishutbun Gunungkidul program plans (Renstra-SKPD and annual program plan) have to be accorded with this document.

Oyo sub-watershed RTL-RLKT clearly states through its instruction how *regreening* activities should be done in this area related to vegetative, conservation infrastructures treatments, location etc., and how Oyo should be treated in general. I found from my interview the fact that the implementation of *regreening* programs by Dishutbun Gunungkidul does not refer to the Oyo sub-watershed RTL-RLKT. The Program division leader even does not know what RTL-RLKT is. His guidance is strategic planning produced by his organization as he then showed to me. Considering that Renstra-SKPD was not designed based on the RTL-RLKT directive, I move my attention on studying RTRW as Dishutbun Gunungkidul states in his Rensta-SKPD that Renstra-SKPD was

⁸ Nationally plantation sectors are under supervision of the Directorate General of Plantation of MoA

designed based on the RTRW directive to know if there is any contradiction between national and regional directive.

RTRW pays much attention to the development of conservation area. In this document spatial development is divided into several categories, development of conservation zone, agricultural zone, forest production zone, mining, disaster, natural and cultural sanctuary zone, settlement zone etc. Conservation zone is divided into coastal and watershed conservation zone, where the watershed conservation zone is focused on the some sub-districts namely Semin, Ngawen, Nglipar, Gedangsari, Playen and Ponjong (Bappeda Gunungkidul, 2005). On those areas controlling has to be done to the community activities that may harm to watershed condition. RTRW also emphasizes on the development of conservation activities particularly replanting of perennial trees in the Gedangsari, Nglipar, Ngawen, Semin, Karangmojo and Ponjong sub-districts. I mention all of the names of the sub-districts consciously to compare to Oyo sub-watershed RTL-RLKT directive focused.

Then I compared above data to what was mentioned on the Oyo sub-watershed RTL-RLKT. This document emphasizes on the important of vegetative and conservation infrastructures interventions on the upper catchments areas as based on his assessment these areas are facing high rate erosion. Recently the erosion rate in Oyo sub-watershed is 49.26 ton/Ha/year (BP DAS SOP, 2006a) particularly caused by low land cover and improper land use by farmers. Therefore the RTL-RLKT directs its activities on treating upper catchments areas such as Ngawen, Nglipar, Karangmojo, Semin, Ponjong, Gedangsari and Playen sub-districts. Comparing to the RTRW and RTL-RLKT, both focus on controlling the same areas although probably each regulation has different priority for those sub-districts. Ngawen and Semin sub-districts for example gain more attention from RTL-RLKT with more conservation activities and the large areas should be governed. Meanwhile RTRW centralizes on the Semin sub-district. When two higher level regulations have the same mission on treating the areas then we will see how lower level policy makers in this case Dishutbun Gunungkidul interprets these regulations into his program plans.

Renstra-SKPD Gunungkidul states his vision ‘to develop sustainable forest and plantation resources for improving community welfare’. To reach its objective this organization develops several activities that particularly focus on the development of farmer forests (*Hutan rakyat*) and springs and riverbanks preservation through re-planting activities. In his Renstra-SKPD this organization also emphasizes on the important of community empowerment and increasing community participation to support all of the *regreening* programs and to increase community awareness on the important of natural conservation activities. This organization also explicitly states his willingness to establish integrated coordination with other regions for watershed management and preservation, nevertheless there is no effort to develop such coordination yet recently. However from the Renstra-SKPD document I did not find any endeavor to synchronize it to RTRW, Renstra-SKPD was designed very general and only consists of a list of activities that will be taken. There are no time schedules, target locations, target groups, area large targets and so on. And

later on when studying detail of Renstra-SKPD on the annual program plan I saw that the interpretation of the Renstra-SKPD by the implementer was freely done.

After studying the content of this 5 years strategic planning, the question then rises how this plan is implemented in the day to day organization work? Annual program plan as a supporting element for 5 years strategic planning did not give me enough pictures on how program was done. My reference was annual program plan for the year of 2006 and 2007. In the year of 2006 annual program was synchronized with the Renstra-SKPD. It means the plans and activities were in accordance, although there was still no explanation about locations, targets and so on. However there were deviations on the 2007 annual program. In the year of 2007 for example Dishutbun Gunungkidul implemented several *regreening* activities such as development of farmer forests, replanting of riverbanks, springs and lakes, development of villages seedling nurseries, development of cendana (*Santalum album L*) and gaharu (*Aquilaria malaccensis*) and many other things, however some of those activities are not mentioned in the Renstra-SKPD. Here I said in the beginning that program planning can be interpreted freely. However it might be done as the situation at that time was requiring that such activities outside what was mentioned in the Renstra-SKPD had to be taken. In 2007 annual program document when, where, how, what kind of trees species will be planted, what kind of targets they wanted to achieve was also not mentioned. Targets based on this document were 100% realization of the budget. I illustrate the annual program plan below;

Table 3. Illustration of annual program plan

Program	Activities	Indicator	Unit	Terget
The improvement of forest covers	Development of farmer forests (<i>Hutan rakyat</i>)	Establishment of farmer forests	25 groups	Rp. 322, 532, 000
	Development of villages nurseries	Villages nurseries are established	3 units	Rp. 4, 550, 000
	Development of <i>Jantropha curcas</i> species	The training on development of <i>Jantropha curcas</i> is done	1 packet	Rp. 25, 200, 000

The above illustration shows how program is poorly managed. Within such programs deviations can happen because the assessor will be difficult to trace back where and how much funds were allocated to each group for example. With this form government staff can easily play on the funds allocation.

As the annual program plan did not really help me, so my main resource is only my interview result. There is contradiction information that I got from the Program division and Rehabilitation and Conservation division. From the Program division I got an impression that everything is done with very good arrangement and management, involving all of the relevant stakeholders, addressing public interest and so on. The results of the programs' implementation in his opinion are very satisfied, he said that the

percentage of the trees growth is more than 80%, conservation infrastructures were established, there was no overlapping with other government institutions programs, the activities are communicated with other district government agencies already etc. This information is different from the result of my interview with other district government agencies, they stated that integrative programs so far are not developed yet, there might programs on the same areas where if people look at deep into that, the activities can be considered supporting each other but it was designed independently by each agency and was not done with consciousness to develop integrative programs.

The programs of the Dushutbun Gunungkidul are not developed in certain periods of time, some programs in the 2006 and 2007 annual programs were not connecting one another. It means that some activities of the previous years are not continued on the next year, there might be the same name of activities but the locations are different. Discussing about location, the Rehabilitation and Conservation division stated that the location so far year to year is concentrated on the same location (villages) only but is rotated on the different hamlets. Many remote areas are even excluded from the *regreening* programs, the Program division leader argued that they do not have enough means such as vehicles to reach those areas.

Referring to the Rehabilitation and Conservation division leader, the programs have not designed with the mapping method. Forest management is a mater of mapping, in this case map is used to sign the locations that will be treated and have been treated already. This method is used to avoid overlapping locations and programs. However since overlapping programs year by year on the same locations occur, as also strongly said by the Rehabilitation and Conservation division leader, the number of critical lands in Gunungkidul remains the same. I found data that support my argument from monitoring and evaluation report of Oyo sub-watershed, this document states that based on the critical land data in 1997, critical lands in Gunungkidul till 1997 reached 36, 988 Ha (BP DAS SOP, 2003) meanwhile Rensta-SKPD Dishutbun Gunungkidul for the year of 2006-2010 still states the same thing that the large of critical lands in Gunungkidul is 36, 280 Ha (Dishutbun Gunungkidul, 2005). Since 8 years implementation of *regreening*, I count from 1997-2005 only, there is no significant improvement on the result of *regreening* in this area related to the reduction of the large critical lands. I try to propose four answers considering this problem, it may because there is no proper mapping method to determining which locations have been treated and which one has not been governed yet so then overlapping programs year to year occur, the second is there is no factual and recent data available therefore they remain use the old data, the third is there is fund deviation on the implementation or fund is not used properly (*regreening* fund was corrupted)⁹, and the last is there is little discussion that this condition is consciously maintained to sustain organization activities and funds from both national and regional budgets.

In the internal organization, Dishutbun Gunungkidul also experiences many neglects and overlapping programs among its divisions (I will explain more about this topic later on

⁹ For the analysis about corruption, I do not have any proves since I did not go into this topic during my field research. This is my own analysis looking at many corruption cases related to *regreening* funds.

the next chapter), neglect on the certain activities causes several important activities such as institutional strengthening to forest farmer groups are not fully accomplished. Actually institutional strengthening has to be done by the Enterprises development division, but since this division does not do this task, this activity is then taken over by the Rehabilitation and Conservation division without formal task transfer. The leader of the Rehabilitation and Conservation division argued that if they do not take over this task the mission of *regreening* will never be achieved, as the success of *regreening* so much depends on the support from the farmers.

Deviation and limitation

The problem on the implementation of *regreening* program in Gunungkidul district is started from the village levels. *Bottom-up* approach does not directly solve community problems. It is mainly caused by the reality that community does not prepare with this new mechanism yet. The designers of the community proposals (community inputs) and the persons who come on behalf of villages' community on the district level public hearing are in many cases different persons, therefore many times those persons speak differently from the village planning. This situation causes alteration on the whole programs and Dishutbun Gunungkidul then refers to the district public hearing results. Therefore many times *regreening* programs come differently from the previous village inputs.

There is significant improvement on the government mechanism to run its policy by increasing farmers' participations through *bottom-up* input system. But still farmers are laid as an object and not as a subject of the development programs. They do not have enough power to determine priorities to themselves in the development programs, as accommodation mechanism of farmers' inputs is based on the accordance between farmers' inputs and Dishutbun Gunungkidul plans and also district development agendas. It means many public aspirations will be excluded from Dishutbun Gunungkidul plans.

On the Dishutbun Gunungkidul organization body there is no program and realization mapping, in consequence yearly activities are concentrated on the same areas only. The Rehabilitation and Conservation division leader stated that in a village they have done *regreening* program several times, although he did not find any empty space anymore to be planted but the programs are still concentrated on that village.

The improper *regreening* management caused by misinterpretation of Dishutbun Gunungkidul to *regreening* regulation (RTRW/RTL-RLKT) causes his policies run on the different direction. This misinterpretation on the *regreening* regulation is caused by the fact that some of Dishutbun staffs do not have enough forestry management background. Moreover on the internal district government organization the staff rotation between institutions (forestry office and other district government institutions) is done without too much consideration on the expertise and educational background, therefore comprehension to the forestry problem is very low. The quick staff rotation among district government institutions also causes unsustainable programs cannot be maintained, the new staff does not always continue the predecessor work, in many cases of my

interview with the Gunungkidul district organizations the new staff does not know what his predecessor did.

Program implementation by Dispertanhut Bantul

Dispertanhut Bantul focuses its activities on the implementation of GERHAN project financed by MoF. There has no regional budget (APBD) being allocated for the *regreening* activities since 2003. It can be understood as the main concern of this organization is on the development of agricultural sectors and forestry is a supporting sector only.

It was difficult to get information on how program is implemented, some of the staff I was interviewing has been in his position 2 or 3 years ago after the GERHAN project was running, therefore they did not really understand how program was performed before 2003. However the Dispertanhut Bantul staff stated basically program and project are executed with the same ways and with more and less the same activities.

I did not get the full document of Renstra-SKPD but they give me paper that they call as *grand design* of program plan for Forestry division (probably because they could not find the document after the earthquake as the office has still under construction). This grand design is used for 2007-2011. The 5 years grand design focuses its attention on the forest product control, development of forest statistic, development of forest product enterprises, forest product arrangement, forest and land rehabilitation and forest guard activities. The grand design was planned very poor without detail explanation about current condition consist of threat and opportunities, what kind of actions will be taken, where the program will be performed and so forth. This unclear of program planning obviously gives chances for the occurrences of deviation on both financial and physical activities.

As there are no programs financed by APBD from 2003 to 2008, I cannot give more explanation on how programs are implemented. However I will give a picture on how this organization runs its programs after the GERHAN project is ended. For the year of 2009 Dispertanhut Bantul plans to implement 63 activities (I excluded administrative activities) but only 3 programs for the development of forestry sector, the first activity is *regreening* and maintenance of farmer forests and terraces, the second is gold teak and perennial trees planting, and the last is forest product inventory and development of forestry statistic. There are 3 other activities that I can consider as supporting activities for those above activities that are development of certain fruit trees species, development of orchards and institutional strengthening. Those activities will be implemented in Dlingo and Imogiri sub-districts, it is suitable with the RTL-RLKT directive of BP DAS SOP.

The funds from the regional budget allocated for those three forestry activities are very little. From the whole organization budget financed by APBD, with the exemption on the administrative budget, Dispertanhut Bantul allocates 9% only of its program budget for forestry sectors meanwhile he allocates 24.5% of its budget for supporting activities.

More specific from the 9% forestry budget, for ‘*regreening* and maintenance of farmer forests and terraces’ activities for example 76% of the fund will be proposed from APBN, 5% from province APBD and only 19% will be financed by district APBD. Another example is gold teak and perennial trees planting, 87% will be financed by APBD and the rest is gained from APBN. This fact indicates that forestry sector in Bantul is not really considered as important and urgent to be governed.

4.2. Regreening project on the farmer forest (*Hutan rakyat*)

Since *regreening* project for the last 5 years had been done under the GERHAN project only, I focused my research on the implementation of this project.

Project on the BP DAS SOP level

Project designing process

The mechanism of *regreening* project designed by BP DAS SOP was following program design. The structure was the same. The difference rests on the flowing of the funds from MoF to district forestry offices account directly. However there was modification in the designing process on the district level based on the GERHAN directive, I will explain the design mechanism on the district level later on the next section.

Project implementation

I move my explanation to the implementation of the *regreening* project in this case GERHAN. GERHAN was done in almost all of the critical areas in Indonesia including Gunungkidul, Bantul and in many other districts areas under the BP DAS SOP supervision. As a national project GERHAN had been implemented into all of the forest lands both in the farmer forest (*Hutan rakyat*) and in the state forest. I will continue my explanation about the implementation of GERHAN in the state forest later on another section. The mechanism of the project implementation was almost the same with routine BP DAS SOP program. The position of BP DAS SOP was area coordinator (Korwil) of the project. It was only a term on the project structure but the task and function were not change. BP DAS SOP remained as a supervisor or facilitator, and the project was implemented by the district forestry offices (Dinas kehutanan).

The GERHAN project was actually implemented with the strong involvement of the BP DAS SOP in the form of determining the location, project action, trees species etc. However the BP DAS SOP directive was not always being followed by some district forestry offices. BP DAS SOP stated that they found in some districts the *regreening* funds were not used to supply seedlings, fertilizers and finance farmers for trees maintenance but it was given to farmer groups in the form of cattle and sheep. I would not go deep into this problem as this is not the case in Gunungkidul and Bantul.

Participatory site planning was part of the community development effort in the *regreening* activities. This approach was used to promote transparency and accountability and to accommodate public aspirations in the development of forestry programs in general. The GERHAN project had learned from the past failures of many *regreening* programs and projects that were caused by reality that *regreening* interventions were not meet with the community needs. Therefore public participation was important on the project designing. Considering the important of public aspiration for GERHAN, this project was developed through the shift on the forestry development paradigm, from *regreening* associated with perennial trees (teak, mahogany, etc) to multiple purposes trees species (MPTS) such as mango, peteh (*Parkia speciosa hassk*), kemiri (*Aleurites moluccana*), mangosteen (*Garcinia Mangostana*), melinjo (*Gnetum gnemon L*) and so forth. The shift was done based on the farmer inputs that MPTS was more beneficial for supporting farmers' incomes because perennial tress could only be harvested after 15 years at least. Those MPTS was approved by BP DAS SOP as it has the same ecological function with perennial trees.

Project monitoring system

The project monitoring was not fully done by BP DAS SOP. BP DAS SOP did not have authority to control the implementation of GERHAN by district forestry offices. Although district forestry offices in Bantul argued that everything was communicated and coordinated with BP DAS SOP, but it was not always the case in other districts. I would elaborate my explanation about this topic when I am talking about the implementation of the GERHAN in Gunungkidul and Bantul. However I would say that in general this organization function was merely on the compiling report from the district forestry offices.

There was a question risen, what happens if this organization found distortion in the GERHAN implementation. The findings were delivered to the organization which had authority to conducting GERHAN project implementation that was Dirjen RLPS. Dirjen RLPS would follow up the BP DAS SOP findings.

Monitoring and evaluation were done directly by BPKP (Financial and Development Supervisory Board) an internal auditor for Indonesian government and Inspectorate General of Ministry of Forestry (Irjen Kehutanan) an internal auditor of MoF. The results of their finding were then sent to the MoF to be followed up.

Deviation

Time constraint was the main problem that makes the project could not be properly and completely done. It happens almost every year during GERHAN was implemented, project fund came late meanwhile the activities had to be finished on the present fiscal year. For the planting activities, it would be a problem as the trees were then planted without being suited with the planting session, and it obviously resulted in the large failure of the trees growth. Time constraint also caused supply of good quality seedling could not be fulfill as immature seedlings had to be planted immediately considering the end of the fiscal year. The low quality of the seedlings also contributed on the low trees

growth percentages. In many previous cases the BP DAS SOP staff explained that the program had to be done as already allocated on the budget and program planning for this year, although the whole planning was not ready yet. The most important thing for them on performing these activities was to fulfill the planting target although they also doubted about the result. It was triggered by the reality that if they could not implement project target 100% for this year, the MoF might cut the organization budget for the next year as the organization was considered as not capable for doing the project.

Since the implementation of GERHAN, land rehabilitation or *regreening* activities which are associated with trees planting had become a trend for the district forestry offices, it was mainly, referring to the interview result with BP DAS SOP staff, motivated by desire to gain good media coverage. Therefore district forestry offices focus was planting and planting, there was no further planning to sustain the activities. Another focus of the district forestry offices was getting *regreening* funds.

Regreening by Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul

Project designing process

Generally all district projects recently have to be executed with the same mechanism where project proposal is developed from the village level and brought to the policy maker. It was also the case for GERHAN, inputs were gained from the farmer groups and then elaborated based on the policy maker decisions.

The GERHAN project was governed nationally with the MoF directive. On the district level 'coach team' (Tim Pembina) was formed and consisted of some stakeholders such as Bupati, district secretary, Bappeda leader, district administrative division leader, district law division leader, district economic division leader, district finance division leader, police leader, judiciary leader and military leader and many others based on the district needs. In the case of Bantul, NGO (P2PM) was also involved in the 'coach team' but not in Gunungkidul. The involvement of those organization leaders was based on the GERHAN directive document. It is wondering that the 'coach team' did not involving relevant government agencies leaders such as animal husbandry or agricultural agencies leaders. Although MoF directive advised to involving military on the GERHAN implementation but the document gave strong recommendation to develop coordination with the relevant organizations. Looking at the member of the 'coach team', we can see that obviously they did not have experiences and expertise on the *regreening*. Furthermore the function of this 'coach team' in the actual realization of the project was not clear, since all of the administrative activities and project implementation were done by the district forestry office. They might be established to fulfill administration requirement of the project only.

The design of project proposal was done following the program proposal design process, through village discussion and then the proposal was delivered to the sub-district, and next to the district forestry office. On the GERHAN project, the compilation of farmer groups' proposals was then sent to BP DAS SOP for approval. BP DAS SOP screened and decided which programs were going to be implemented based on his priorities and

policies. Proposals were sent to Dirjen RLPS as an authority holder upon GERHAN project. Afterward MoF sent the project fund to district forestry offices account directly, and the project was then run by district forestry offices.

Project monitoring system

Monitoring was done by each district forestry office merely to support them with the data for the reports. The reports were then sent to the BP DAS SOP. The whole activities done by district forestry offices were then monitored by national inspector institutions directly, those were BPKP and Irjen Kehutanan.

Project Implementation by Dishutbun Gunungkidul

The implementation of the GERHAN project in this organization was done by the Program division itself. It focused on the BP DAS SOP target areas and was suited with RTRW. The project was done in cooperation with NGOs for the institutional strengthening, meanwhile the physical intervention activities were done by Dishutbun Gunungkidul itself assisted by forest/agricultural extension agents. The cooperation contract between NGOs and Dishutbun Gunungkidul for institutional strengthening activities was done for 3 months only for each forest farmer group. In one contract NGOs assisted several farmer groups for 3 months, when it finished NGOs worked for other farmer groups also for 3 months, this arrangement was done since Dishutbun Gunungkidul had to assist many farmer groups in this project. However the latest information I got from an NGO that his contract and other NGOs contracts were ended since BPKP (Financial and Development Supervisory Board) found that the result of NGOs work was low and considered as ineffective, although NGOs argued that 3 months assistance was not enough to develop community.

Refer back to the 5 years strategic plan (Renstra-SKPD) of Dishutbun Gunungkidul, the document shows its endeavor on accommodating GERHAN in its program planning. The document states that GERHAN project will be performed through integrative action with other district government organizations, however it was done on the ceremonial planting activities only but not on the program management. Some division leaders of the district government offices in Gunungkidul even stated that he did not know what GERHAN was.

Within this project, farmers were subsidized with seedlings, fertilizers and being hired for trees maintenance. The species of the trees planted was based on the farmers' interests as it was planted on the farmers' lands.

Deviation and limitation

Concentration on performing short term project with huge fund available such as GERHAN caused focus of the organization was not on performing routine programs, many of the routine activities of this organization were then neglected. In this organization this project was also performed by the Program division itself. This situation

showed strangeness since program division designed, implemented and monitored itself its activities. When an organization or group designs, implements and monitors its activities, people cannot expect that the job will be done cleanly without deviation.

The characteristic of the short-term project without sustainability of the fund causes the sustainability of the activities cannot be expected. After the project ended, it is likely that the activities also stop.

Implementation by Dispertanhut Bantul

As I said in the beginning that in Bantul GERHAN project was fully financed by MoF, it gave positive result that all of the *regreening* activities in Bantul were suited with the BP DAS SOP program targets. In Oyo sub-watershed BP DAS SOP through its RTL-RLKT recommends to intensively governing Dlingo and Imogiri sub-districts as critical areas in Bantul where Oyo flows.

Because the development plans particularly those which related to the spatial development such as forestry development have to be fitted with RTRW, I look at how RTRW arranges to govern Oyo area. Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) of Bantul district does not give priority on managing Oyo sub-watershed, it can be understood as recently Bantul is facing many problems on governing Opak and Progo the two big watersheds in this area. However RTRW states that considering the existence of the state forest in Bantul merely rests in Dlingo and Imogiri sub-districts, those two sub-districts are then declared as preservation area (P4N UGM, 2000). Although Oyo sub-watershed RTL-RLKT and RTRW Bantul do not explicitly state the same thing on governing Dlingo and Imogiri sub-districts but the objective is the same to preserve those areas.

In Bantul, the implementation of the GERHAN project was focused on 2 main activities, development of farmer forests and institutional strengthening for forest farmer groups. In this project, farmers were fully supported with many subsidies such as free seedlings, fertilizers and cash money for trees maintenance. The type of trees species also varied and depended on the farmer groups needs. Institutional strengthening was done by NGOs and the activities were merely on administrative training.

For the year of 2007 there were no physical intervention activities (planting and development of conservation infrastructures). The activities were mainly on socialization activities about the implementation of GERHAN from the previous years, *regreening* information to schools and offices, and trees maintenance.

Deviation and limitation

Beside general physical problems such as unsuitable between planting activities and planting session as the funds were coming late, low seedling quality, improper transport system for seedling that caused many of them died etc., another important problem in Bantul was institutional strengthening problem. Institutional strengthening was not really success in this area, in many forest farmer groups the members of the groups did not

know exactly the activities in the group, information about what they did could only be gotten from the group leader or village leader, group administration was also managed badly.

Farmers' institutional problem was mainly caused by weak assistance from the NGO (only one NGO who was working in this project). Dispertanhut Bantul probably did not select NGO based on its experiences and expertise on the development of forest farmer group. In the forest farmer group, the group is also asked to do some inventory and administrative activities related to the trees maintenance, the utilization of fertilizer, trees growth report and so on, as the involved NGO in this project did not have enough experiences on forest management, in consequence forest farmer groups could not work effectively.

The socialization about the implementation of GERHAN by Dispertanhut Bantul was not done intensively. Many leaders from the other government institutions in Bantul district I was interviewing did not know about GERHAN project. In Bantul this project was implemented sectorally without involving other relevant stakeholders that might have potential contribution on supporting *regreening* activities.

4.3. *Regreening* project in the state forest by Dishutbun Yogyakarta

I will explain my reason for paying any attention in the *regreening* activities in the state forest. Management of the state forest in Yogyakarta province is performed with the company management system. Harvest and planting session is arranged based on the *tree cohort* standard. *Tree cohort* is trees cluster based upon even age, trees in one cluster (in one area there are many clusters) will be harvested when it reaches its maturity (60-80 years), and then the area will be planted again. The question is then raised why the state forest with the standard harvest and planting management system should be included in the *regreening* activities? Java state forest is characterized by high intensity contact with local communities. The location of villages is inside and surrounding the state forest (enclave). Within this situation the occurrences of illegal loggings and forest clearings for agricultural purposes by local communities are very high and difficult to be controlled. In many state forest areas in Java, we will likely see annual crops without perennial trees at all. Considering this situation the *regreening* activities in the state forest is very important, especially to return its function as production forest and more important thing to support ecological condition.

Actually in the case of Java before the GERHAN was designed, MoF *regreening* project was not specifically objected to the state production forest, it is because the state production forests in Java are managed with standard forest company management adopted from the Dutch production forest management system in the colonial era. Planting and harvesting activities are counted very carefully to avoid disruption on environmental condition. However due to urgent situation, where deforestation is causing national disaster, the GERHAN project was also objected to restore the state production forest in Java.

Before I move my explanation to the *regreening* in the state production forest, I will clarify that my exploration here is not related to what NGOs such as SHOREA has done. SHOREA did not involve in this kind of project, they have their own idealism on how to work for forest and community. Therefore Dishutbun Yogyakarta carried out this project on the areas which were not touched by NGOs yet.

Project designing process

The design process followed the MoF directive, I was explaining on the previous section already. Dishutbun Yogyakarta had established ‘coach team’ also that consisted of many stakeholders leaders although some did not have expertise in the *regreening* activities but at least this organization involved relevant stakeholders already from Agricultural provincial office and Kimpraswil Yogyakarta (Pemukiman dan Prasarana Wilayah Yogyakarta- Settlement and Regional Infrastructure Office).

Although *regreening* was done in the state production forest areas, Dishutbun Yogyakarta also communicated its activities to the district forestry offices (Dishutbun Gunungkidul and Dispertanhut Bantul). The reason was community living surrounding the state forest is district resident administratively, therefore community development activities had to be communicated with the local authority.

Implementation

The main objective of the *regreening* project in the state production forest was replanting the empty lands. The trees species were chosen based on the Dishutbun Yogyakarta interests. The community living surrounding the state production forest was fully involved, they were urged to involve on the planting activities and being hired for trees maintenance. Local community was allowed to plant annual crops such as corn and bean in between of perennial trees (*taungya system*) but they had duty to maintaining the trees. However it does not mean that local community was involved in the forest management (as I illustrate with CBFM in the next chapter), local community could only utilize the forest lands but they did not have right upon the timber.



Figure 8. The application of *taungya* system in the state production forest

Within this project Dishutbun Yogyakarta also designed farmer forests development activity particularly for the community living surrounding the state production forest. The reason behind creating such activity was to alter local community attention from the state timber to developing his own trees. This strategy hopefully can reduce the occurrence of illegal logging. Community development and institutional strengthening were done by 'red plate' NGOs and merely on the administrative training for forest farmer groups.

Project monitoring system

The monitoring activities were done to control tree growth. Dishutbun Yogyakarta also had to send reports every month, three month and in the end of the fiscal year to BP DAS SOP as an area coordinator of the GERHAN project. The result of all Dishutbun Yogyakarta works then was monitored directly by BPKP and Irjen Kehutanan.

Deviation and limitation

The main problem on the *regreening* activities in the state production forest was incompatibility between planting session and the availability of the funds project. This caused failures of the trees growth, however as this organization has enough experiences on the technical forest management, such problem could be solved sooner.

Another problem that may rise although it is not appear yet, is how to solve the community problem when they cannot plant annual crop anymore between the trees after the trees shade the annual crops from direct contact with the sun. It means in the teak areas after 3 years more and less, naturally the application of *taungya system* by farmers will stop. When farmers cannot utilize forest land for their livelihood anymore, there is big possibility that farmers will disturb the existence of perennial trees again for fulfilling their daily needs. So far Dishutbun Yogyakarta does not have any strategies to solve this problem, even reputable NGO for development of forest community such as SHOREA does not know how to overcome this problem. Dishutbun Yogyakarta effort on developing farmer forests has to be supported with another development of rural livelihoods for reducing farmers' dependence on perennial tree, forest and land in general. It can be done by developing cooperation with other stakeholders such as animal husbandry government office (Dinas Peternakan), trade and industrial government office (Dinas Perindustrian dan Perdagangan) for development of small scale business and so forth.

4.4. Program and project achievement

From the whole implementation of *regreening* program and project in Oyo sub-watershed the land cover is increasing, although in many areas the empty spaces appear untouched. For *regreening* program I do not have series data from district forestry offices in Gunungkidul and Bantul and also from BP DAS SOP about the results so far. However for the GERHAN project BP DAS SOP reports that till 2006 of the project implementation 3, 395 Ha critical farmers' lands in Gunungkidul and 1, 545 Ha critical famers' lands in Dlingo and Imogiri sub-districts in Bantul had been re-greened. Meanwhile 4, 493 Ha of the state production forest had also been re-greened already (BP DAS SOP, 2006b). The trees growth rate was reached more than 50% based on the 2006 report.

However the result of the *regreening* activities on reducing soil erosion and sedimentation is not assessed. BP DAS SOP staff explained that for 3 years old trees, the ecological function of the tress cannot be measured yet.

4.5. Conclusion

From the whole implementation of the *regreening* program and project, we can see the same phenomenon that *regreening* implementation is done sectorally merely on the shoulder of forestry government offices. The willingness on accommodating other government agencies is done on the administrative or ceremonial activities only. The reason is again maintaining circulation of the project and program funds in his organization.

Poor program/project socialization is the main cause why many programs/projects do not get public and other agencies supports. Commitment from the farmers to get fully involve in the program and project activities is low because discontinuities funds flow. Government cannot guarantee that program/project funds will be available during the *regreening* implementation.

There is an endeavor to combine both *top-down* and *bottom-up* approaches on the same time on the *regreening* program and project designing process, although I cannot say which one is really dominant, since government institutions argue that they give enough space for public aspiration already. Decentralization obviously brings new spirit to improve government performance by calling for public participation widely through indeed the application of *musrenbang*. Nevertheless the actual policy decision is still done by district forestry office (Dinas Kehutanan). District forestry office acts in a rather autonomous way.

The *regreening* in the state forest is mainly done by Dishutbun Yogyakarta with large involvement of the local community. The local community is also allowed to utilize forest lands for crops planting between the trees with agreement that they will take care

of the trees. Dishutbun Yogyakarta also develops farmer forests to reduce dependence of the local community to the state timber, therefore illegal logging can be stopped.

In the implementation of *regreening* project BP DAS SOP as a *deconcentrated* organization of MoF did not have enough power to control the implementation, control could only be done by national inspector institution such as BPKP. The examples in which BP DAS SOP could not steer the implementation of the project were the case in Gunungkidul where the Program division designing, implementing and monitoring the GERHAN project itself, and in many other regions where the GERHAN funds were not used for *regreening* activities. The problem is on the rank system of government office, although BP DAS SOP works on behalf of MoF, but in the bureaucratic structure of government organization, level of this office is below the district forestry offices (Dinas) hence BP DAS SOP cannot admonish the district forestry offices.

Chapter 5. Silent conflict over difference discourses

In this chapter I will discuss three case studies relate to the occurrence of conflicts in response to the difference discourses among the actors involve in the *regreening*.

Analyzing conflicts, we come to the idea that conflict appears as every actor develops his own concepts, points of view, deliberations and ideas about a specific issue. As actors have different interpretations about the issue and what the appropriate solutions are, thus every actor fights in the political arena to convince others about the validity of his notions. Each actor tries to make others see and accept the views he proposes. This power struggle shows whose discourse is dominant and who lose. For those who lose referring to Hager (1995) the exclusionary system works that does not allow certain actors to participate in the discourse. Moreover Foucault (in Mills, 2003) also argues that for the establishment of certain idea as true, the denial of equally valid statements is necessary. In the discourse competition, it will also be determined who should be in or outside the network, here also the determination of institutions and where its boundaries are developed.

Understanding conflict through studying discourse analysis, we can see that position or power and knowledge possessed by certain groups or institutions or individuals are really important to determine whose proposals and statements are authorized and followed. Discourse is an active resource that can be used to force certain group interests and diminish other interests. In the discourse analysis by Hager (1995), he states that actors fight for argumentative victory against rivals and thus they conceptualize story-lines to reduce differences and to connect the actor to the other actors. Here affinity of interests happens but the same understanding upon story-line or narrative then ties them together in the discourse coalition.

In the case studies bellow, conflicts develop around the differences of discourses that are differences of points of view about who have right to govern the *regreening* and to what extent their duties are, in the end in the third case the dispute also comes to the discussion about how *regreening* should be carried out. The case studies show how power and knowledge finally determine whose discourses are followed. However my research finding shows that conflicts do not always appear candidly, it is there but people express it delicately.

5.1. Inter-agency conflict, *regreening* in competing claim

In this section I will describe how is conflict emerging between the government agencies related to the implementation of *regreening*.

I was explaining in the previous chapter that *regreening* in Gunungkidul is mostly done by forestry agents, and in the district government body it is implemented solely by Dishutbun Gunungkidul. In Gunungkidul district government, the mandates upon the

implementation of conservation activities are actually placed on the shoulder of several government institutions. Each government institution focuses its activities on specific management sectors with specific management techniques. However in many cases in the day to day government practices, it cannot be avoided that governing environmental problems creates what I call as problems in '*grey area*', where several government institutions have interests and claims on its right to be able to manage such problems. It does not really matter when each of the institutions is aware of common problems and tries to collaborate to solve the problems based on each expertise and capability. In the case of Gunungkidul district government there is no coordination consequently, the '*grey area*' problems are competed and there is no effort to work in partnership to solve such problems.

The improvement of quality of conservation areas has become the concern of Kapedal Gunungkidul. Kapedal is a Gunungkidul government institution for controlling the negative impact of human activities on the environmental condition; within this duty this organization is required to carry out many restoration activities to improve the quality of the environment. However many of this institution's program plans cannot be performed mainly because the programs are considered as '*grey area*' programs where the core activities sometimes touches on what Dishutbun Gunungkidul does in its routine activities.

Kapedal Gunungkidul develops many conservation activities that are particularly set up to preserve spring and water quality, whereas such activities from Dishutbun Gunungkidul's point of view are similar to what they are doing in the *regreening*. Regarding this issue Dishutbun Gunungkidul explicitly advises to Kapedal Gunungkidul many times during internal government meetings to not involve in managing such problems, as for Dishutbun Gunungkidul it is clearly his responsibility and right to manage and control it, and for Dishutbun Gunungkidul there are no '*grey area*' programs since everything is clear.

As in the bureaucratic structure of the district government the level or echelon of Kapedal Gunungkidul is below the Dishutbun Gunungkidul¹⁰, Kapedal does not have power to force his "*regreening*" programs into the approval from Bupati and local parliament for implementation. I clarify that within district government organization structure, each institution has different level as I explained already in the chapter 2, where the lower level institutions do not have power over high level institution. Here the conflict of interests caused by different points of view is also hierarchical matter.

Although Dishutbun Gunungkidul claims are stronger than Kapedal Gunungkidul claims to '*regreening*' programs, it does not mean that they will directly accommodate those programs into their program planning and implement it in the field. It is because the planning process for solving the problem takes at least a year. I will illustrate my explanation with an example:

For the program of 2008 fiscal year, each district government institution in Gunungkidul designs his programs, and the programs are presented in the district government forum.

¹⁰ Dishutbun Gunungkidul echelon is 2 meanwhile Kapedal Gunungkidul echelon is 3.

This forum serves to synchronize programs among the government institutions and is used to assure that there is no overlap among the district organizations. Kapedal Gunungkidul designs several activities and Dishutbun Gunungkidul as well, the Kapedal Gunungkidul experiences that when this organization develops activities that can be considered as *regreening* activities, the activities will be directly halted by Dishutbun Gunungkidul with the reason that such activities are part of their organizational tasks and function. Since for the year of 2008 Dishutbun Gunungkidul itself already designed several activities, Kapedal Gunungkidul programs cannot directly be transferred into Dishutbun Gunungkidul programs for the year 2008, it may be allocated on the next year or not at all, it so much depends on the Dishutbun Gunungkidul decision. The most important thing for Dishutbun Gunungkidul is assuring that none of the district government institutions does the same thing as what they do.

Dishutbun Gunungkidul may have several reasons why they insist on claiming such programs, and they can provide many arguments for it, and keeping the fund allocated to their organization is of course ranking high among the reasons. For government institutions in Indonesia, sustainable funds for financing the organization activities is important, and it can be obtained by designing as many programs or activities as possible. Therefore programs are being competed for, because when they let other institutions do what they claim as their programs, they suffer financial loss. Rich organization also means wealth for its personnel. Within this situation every institution aims at for long term opportunities. Therefore the real partnership that is collaboration for governing the same problems is not developed consciously for the purpose of maintaining fund circulation for its organization individually.

Analyzing dispute between Dishutbun and Kapedal Gunungkidul, we can see how they develop their own deliberations on governing certain problems. Each party tries to seek an opportunity to take the role in the *regreening* activities. In this dispute the power possessed by Dishutbun Gunungkidul is successful on discrediting Kapedal discourse and convincing others that Kapedal views about his possibility to involve and develop *regreening* activities have to be considered as false. Dishutbun Gunungkidul is also able halting Kapedal interests to take the role in the *regreening* and finally putting Kapedal outside the *regreening* network. This dispute is also influenced by the discourse about government structure, where power possessed by Dishutbun Gunungkidul is mainly obtained by its given position which is higher than Kapedal position in the bureaucratic structure. Furthermore referring to Foucault, power in this case is something that is performed, it is a strategy to realize actor's will over powerless people or organizations through producing statements. Moreover accords with Foucault stress that in this case discourse becomes dominant when discourse is associated with its relation to power.

Coming back to the main title of silent conflict, this kind of dispute has never surfaced as a real quarrel (even with the same rank or the same structural level of organizations). There are many complaints rising but in the case described here it can be solved with persuasive approaches on one side of the opposition although there are no trade-offs being offered. Of course this situation creates an unproductive working situation and disadvantages for the purposes of natural conservation as a whole. It is apparently thing

that different from Hager and Foucault examples in their books where differences upon discourses are brought into the sharp institutional debates.

5.2. Intra-agency conflict

In this section I will present a conflict appearing in the internal Dishutbun Gunungkidul organization body. This organization apparently is not only facing complaints from its colleagues but also dissatisfaction from internal employees regarding the organization's performance and tasks distribution among the divisions of the organization.

However I will clarify that the working situation in Gunungkidul district government organization does not allow people to speak out their notions and feelings. In this organization, dissatisfaction also appears only in internal staff discussions. All decisions are made by the Dishutbun head, and when the organization program plans designed by the Program division have been approved by the Dishutbun Gunungkidul head, no body can raise any objections.

In the district organizations in general the head of the organization has wide authority to determine policies. In the Dishutbun Gunungkidul organization the head policies are spelled out by the Program division in the form of programs that will be implemented by organization divisions. The Program division designs all the programs for its organization divisions that are based on tasks and function of the divisions. The tasks and function of each division were legalized through Bupati regulation No 22/2006, hence each division has fixed tasks already. Based on the Bupati regulation *regreening* activities have to be done by the Rehabilitation and Conservation division, however in the actual *regreening* implementation, the Program division distributes some of the *regreening* activities to the other divisions in the organization. This matter apparently causes discomfort for the leader of Rehabilitation and Conservation division.

When I looked deeply into the Bupati regulation and tried to understand its content, the *regreening* might be done by other divisions such as Forest Product Arrangement and Preservation division, but this is limited to the specific areas such as conservation zones, meanwhile Rehabilitation and Conservation division might be more focused on governing critical farmer lands. Moreover the Enterprises Development division likewise carries out *regreening* but is focused on the development of certain plantation species. However the leader of Rehabilitation and Conservation division argued that it was not right interpretation. In his point of view Forest Product Arrangement and Preservation division for example should focus on preserving flora and fauna instead of planting activities, furthermore Dishutbun Gunungkidul should also not divide between forestry and plantation sectors on designing its programs as his division has a mandate to develop both sectors at the same time. But in fact many staff of this organization speak about forestry and plantation sectors separately. The different perceptions and understandings of regulations, tasks and functions are apparently the main cause of this internal conflict.

The decision on distributing some of the *regreening* activities to other divisions has the consequence that the real activities of those divisions are not performed properly. The Enterprises Development division for example has the task to carry out institutional strengthening for farmer forest groups, but this task has never been performed, they have even never come to the farmer groups' meetings. This is because this division and other divisions as well are busy with implementing planting activities. *Regreening* that is associated with planting activities in fact is a source for certain groups to get benefits as *regreening* involves lot of funds, therefore once again it is being competed. In other words, competition for access to *regreening* funds causes overlap of tasks between the Dishutbun divisions.

Let me now move to the implementation of *regreening* project in this organization. The implementation of the GERHAN project by the Program division itself is also being discussed. Since it is obviously against organization ethics, the designer cannot design, implement and monitor his own work. It may cause deviations on the implementation because the validity of the monitoring results will be doubted. Within this poor management system, it can be understood why many complaints are coming from the internal organization.

Analyzing this case, we see that the dispute has arisen as the Rehabilitation and Conservation division leader has different point of view with his colleagues about who should perform *regreening* and how it should be performed. However the Rehabilitation and Conservation division leader discourse has never become a dominant discourse in this organization because he is basically powerless compare to the head of the organization. Foucault (in Mills, 2003) supports my argument with his explanation that in the production of discourse "those who make statements who are not in positions of power will be considered to not to be speaking the truth". It means that the authority possessed by individuals or certain groups determines the legality of their utterances and deliberations. This also explains exclusionary practices described by Foucault and Hager, where the notions of Rehabilitation and Conservation division leader are then denied and only the head of the organization deliberations are accepted.

5.3. Intra-network conflict, state forest in resistance

The third case relates to the emergence of resistance by the local community to the manager of state production forest in Gunungkidul district. Actually this kind of resistance does not only happen in this area but also occurs in most of the teak production forests in Java. And based on Peluso's (1992) research in Perhutani areas, this resistance even started since the Dutch government dominated teak production forest in Java in colonial times.

Teak areas are characterized by specific geographical conditions. The soil quality in general is very poor, only certain plant species such as teak can grow well. With the low soil productivity farm production is also low as farmers cannot diversify production. The impact on farmers within this kind of area condition is they are poor economically. In the area surrounding the state forest, the land holdings of the farmers are too small to support

their livelihood, I call this kind of farmers peasants considering their small land holding. Many of the peasants even do not have land therefore they work temporarily on other farms during the planting session (*petani penggarap*) and when they have more money they rent the plot for their own production.

As the farm land cannot be expected to fulfill peasants' daily needs, forest is then seen as an opportunity to rescue the household economics. The land clearing has been started before the falling of Suharto in 1998, however the intensity was low at that time. The illegal occupation could still be controlled with pressure. However since reformation in post-Suharto era the occurrences of forest clearing have been increased significantly.

Dishutbun Yogyakarta tried several approaches to stop the illegal activities in the teak production forest through its forest guards, but since they did not offer any solutions for the peasants' problems such approaches were not succeed. Deforestation was not ended and conversion of the forest land for farm land was continuing. Although the tension of the conflict was raising, but there were no violations from Dishutbun Yogyakarta officials to the local community. My assumption is because the characteristic of the concession holder that is Dishutbun Yogyakarta is a civil service organization or government organization, hence although it manages state production forest, this organization does not think to get high profit from its activities as opposed to a private forestry company.

The NGO SHOREA comes as a bridging institution between local community interests and Dishutbun Yogyakarta interests. Since the involvement of this organization the number of forest clearings is reduced significantly in Gunungkidul district. SHOREA urges the local community to replant the state forest area with teak (the seedlings of the teak are provided by Dishutbun Yogyakarta) and let the local community utilizes the empty space between the teaks for annual crop planting. The main idea of such action is quickly reforest of the empty land. Of course their action is being communicated with Dishutbun Yogyakarta, although it was difficult on the beginning since for Dishutbun Yogyakarta the decision to let the farmers plant annual crops in the state forest land implies long term consequences. Dishutbun Yogyakarta is frightened that it can be used by local community to claim legal access to the forest land permanently.

Since the involvement of SHOREA the conflict between government and community has reduced. But then SHOREA shifts his movement not only to getting access for local community to utilize forest land for annual crop planting but also to get the concession for local community to manage the timber as private forest company. As I illustrated on chapter 3, they approached MoF directly, through sending letters and having several discussions with high functionaries of the MoF. SHOREA tried to convince MoF that Community Based Forest Management (CBFM) is the best method for MoF to conserve the forest in this area. It was not easy for SHOREA and local community to convince MoF of their idea to hand over the timber management to local community; the discussion to get a concession was even stopped. The approach to Dishutbun Yogyakarta was also not successful since Dishutbun Yogyakarta insisted that the utilization of forest land was fine but they did not want to release the right over the timber.

There was a significant change in the forest management paradigm by MoF with the enactment of Government Regulation No. 6/2007 about forest arrangement, forest management planning and forest exploitation. The Government Regulation No. 6/2007 as stated in the article No. 94 gives opportunities for local community surrounding the state production forest to utilize the forest area including the chance to harvest not only non timber forest products (NTFPs) but also the timber product itself, however based on the article No. 84 it is done through development of partnership, social forestry (CBFM) or village forest mechanisms. Furthermore regarding the article No. 94, in the article No. 95 government from national to district level has mandate to facilitate local community involved on the CBFM with institutional strengthening, enterprises development, training, education etc. This regulation legalizes the involvement of local community in state forest management whether Dishutbun Yogyakarta like it or not, and it has to be followed and implemented by all forestry agents. In December 2007 after having informal meeting with SHOREA and many other NGOs in Jakarta the Director of Dirjen RLPS decided to give 25% of the state production forest in Gunungkidul to be managed by local community. It means that the local community gets the right also to the timber and not only to utilize forest land for annual cropping.

However the struggle is not ending yet, Dishutbun Yogyakarta does not directly let local community to take over management of the timber. They insist to get a share of the forest product. They argued that the success of local community on getting concession over the state production forest was also based on its strong recommendation to MoF. Until I finished my field research in the end of March 2008, the dispute about the forest product sharing was still going on. In the interview, the SHOREA director stated their willingness to share the forest product to Dishutbun Yogyakarta as the profit of Dishutbun Yogyakarta is used for financing province programs. It means that the benefit will also be delivered to Gunungkidul society. They were in the process of discussing and negotiating the benefit sharing between local community and Dishutbun Yogyakarta, and SHOREA was mandated to calculate the fair of benefit sharing for both parties. SHOREA, in the interview I had (February 2008), thought to propose 70% of the forest product for local community and 30% for Dishutbun Yogyakarta.

Mills (2003) explains that Foucault is interested in studying processes of exclusion which lead to the production of certain discourses rather than others, where the same processes also happen with the production of knowledge. In the dispute between SHOREA and Dishutbun Yogyakarta, the difference discourse on how to govern forest and community is influenced by the reality that they have difference knowledge in mind regarding forest management techniques. The differences of knowledge and points of view are so much influenced by the shift on the focus of the forestry department of the universities in Indonesia which emphasizes on developing social forestry programs for their students. In Gadjah Mada University where most of the SHOREA staffs were studying, the shift from the timber management practices focus of teaching was started in 1994. Since then the forestry department curricula have emphasized on social aspects to governing forestry problems particularly conflict problems occur between local communities and the state.

In this new concept of forest management, social problems are treated through social approaches and it has to be included in the forestry planning.

The knowledge of younger generation forestry agents is very different from the knowledge of most of the forestry agents (Dishutbun Yogyakarta and MoF staff) that were studying in the forestry department before 1994. The focus of the older generation is mainly on the timber management without paying attentions on the social forestry problems. This difference knowledge background is the main factor that makes them develop different discourses about forest management practices. In the national level I cannot say that this situation is mainly influenced by Gadjah Mada University as other reputable universities such as Institute Pertanian Bogor also develop the same notions, and together with NGOs they influenced national policies so finally Government Regulation No. 6/2007 was enacted as a foundation for the implementation of CBFM. As the idea to develop CBFM has become a national agenda, this situation obviously benefits SHOREA and its movements. I would say that in the end Gunungkidul community gets the concession over the timber also shows that SHOREA discourse is proven to be powerful as the concession right is not given to every CBFM area, although this success is obviously supported by Government Regulation No. 6/2007.

Knowledge is a powerful tool that can be used to press certain ideas till those ideas become unproductive and are left out from the debate, subsequently only appropriate knowledge that is considered as true will be followed. In the development of discourse, knowledge is also used to convince other parties to accept the discourses actor proposes. The function of knowledge is the same as the story-line in the Hajer's theory of discourse (1993). In this case the knowledge about social concepts in the forest management then becomes a dominant discourse when it is accepted by other parties. Furthermore referring to Hajer's notion about discourse coalition, the acceptance to discourse ties them together in the coalition as it is shown from the coalition between SHOREA, MoF and Dishutbun Yogyakarta on the development of CBFM in Gunungkidul district.

5.4. Conclusion

Forestry conflict is about power struggle on communicating notions or discourses. Actors from different backgrounds and understandings come together to seek position and take role to assure that he gets benefit and his interests are addressed. As *regreening* is seen as a forum where actors can expect to gain benefit, it is much competed for. On the competition actors develop his argument and try to eliminate other actor's notion, and if possible put them outside the network. The coalition among the actors is developed only when they have the same values to be shared. However I will highlight that conflict is not always emerge openly but people feel it and involve in it.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

With the understanding about the important of collaboration and inter-agency partnership for the success of organization programs, particularly for organizations working in the public service delivery such as forestry agencies, we come to the comprehension about what factors influence the less success of *regreening* or land rehabilitation programs implementation for governing Oyo sub-watershed. The whole narratives I was presenting in the previous chapters tell how changing working structure of government organizations based on the decentralization framework makes the implementation of *regreening* cannot be done smoothly, moreover the *regreening* implementations are constrained by the emergence of conflicts and competing claims among the involved actors toward the program/project funds and the failure of the government to work together to solve the problems.

Recently decentralization is not offering any promises yet for improvement of government performance on carrying out his tasks regarding *regreening* mater. In many cases this new concept of state management is understood as a massive devolution of power from central to local government, hence local government acts in rather autonomous way without control from central and provincial government. Decentralization obviously undermines the traditional working mechanism of the *regreening* where before decentralization had been applied central government that is MoF had many hands at the district level to carry out his orders, but then this changes dramatically as forestry agency staff at the district level is not MoF staff anymore in the decentralization framework. The impact is every forestry program coming from MoF or its *deconcentrated* organizations has to be approved by the district government and moreover has to be done by district government as well. The role of MoF is merely as a donor for *regreening* activities. The echelon rank system also hinders the possibility of the lower level government organizations to work in partnership with the higher echelon organizations. This condition is presented by unequal cooperation between *deconcentrated* MoF organization that is BP DAS SOP and district forestry offices where BP DAS SOP does not have power to control the implementation of *regreening* in the Oyo area by district forestry offices because the echelon position of district forestry offices is higher than BP DAS SOP.

Since decentralization undermines the whole government working structure, legal framework improvement has been taken to anticipate further messy situation with the enactment of Law No. 32/2004. As decentralization should be used as a tool to enhance government capabilities to perform fast growing tasks and overcome many complex problems. Decentralization should also be used as a vehicle to empower local resources including local government to be more public service oriented. However the promulgation of the new decentralization Law No. 32/2004 does not bring positive changes and does not correct the past deficiencies caused by unclear directive of the Law No. 22/1999 yet. Within the new law the position of some *deconcentrated* organizations remains the same, therefore in this research there is no significant change regarding cooperation mechanism between BP DAS SOP and district forestry offices. Moreover less initiative is taken by provincial government to play role in the supervisory function

to districts under the new law, this fact causes local development programs are performed sectorally without inter-agency collaboration. The fact that provincial government has experiences on coordinating many different agencies between and within districts during the New Order shows their involvement is still important.

The government decision to more focus on the development of farmer forest for supporting ecological condition and not only rely on the existence of state forest is an appropriate decision, because farmer forest beside functions to enhance forest covers, this also provides economical benefit for the farmers itself. With this strategy hopefully the dependence of the farmers to the state forest particularly those who are living surrounding the state forest with small land holding can be reduced. However the effort to develop land rehabilitation program whether it is on the farmers' lands or in the state forest is not followed with the establishment of cooperation and partnership with other relevant stakeholders such as those who are working on animal husbandry and fishery sectors, industrial and trading sectors, tourism sectors and so forth to support forestry programs, whereas collaboration with relevant stakeholders is important. The success of *regreening* activities can only be reached if there is no dependence of local community to agricultural activities. Meanwhile the dependence of farmers to agriculture can only be reduced if government develops collaboration with other relevant stakeholders in order to diversify rural livelihoods which are particularly objected to reduce farmers' dependence toward forest land and timber. The facts that forestry activities are done sectorally without large involvement of other stakeholders is the main factor causes the less success of rehabilitation programs so far. The involved actors are mainly those who have been working for forestry sector several times. The collaboration is also developed exclusively and refers to Rhodes (1997) it can be considered as *policy community* where only limited number of participants involves and with consciousness on applying exclusionary system for others, in which land rehabilitation program or *regreening* network is developed merely around the forestry agents.

The reason for applying exclusionary system for other stakeholders particularly those who are coming from government is because government forestry actors do not want to share scarce resources in this case program/project funds to its colleagues. Meanwhile the success story of independent NGOs such as SHOREA hence they can involve in the *regreening* network is because they have unique power in the form of knowledge. The knowledge about how to treat the forest and community appropriately is produced and it results in development of CBFM in the state forest and certified wood in the farmers' forests. This knowledge is apparently accepted by the government therefore the government and NGOs build coalition for development of CBFM and farmer forests.

The development of coalition in the *regreening* network is done because basically the actors depend one another. Each actor provides different resources, and other actors in the network lack of such resources. The coalition among government agencies is based on the funds and programs dependence, one relies on the program/project funds meanwhile the others need opportunities to implement their program otherwise the function and the existence of the organization will be questioned that is shown on the coalition between BP DAS SOP and district forestry offices. Meanwhile NGOs emerge in

the *regreening* network and offer values to government to be shared and common goals to be reached that are improving forest and environmental quality. The fact that NGOs need government support to legitimize their actions is cement for development of *regreening* collaboration, meanwhile the involvement of NGOs in the government activities is obviously increasing government public accountability. Although indeed in the coalition and collaboration not all of the involved parties are equally benefit.

People see attempts from local government to enhance his working performance through development of *bottom-up* approach system by empowering public to participate directly in the government program designing process. This mechanism promises that community interests are addressed in the government programs' planning, although in the end the decision about which public inputs will be accommodated in the government plans depend on the government deliberations but at least this process synchronizes community needs and government plans. More specific regarding *regreening* activities such process obviously gains more support from forest farmer groups as the actual programs which are implemented in the field meet what they need and hopefully it will produce better results.

Yet this process needs the seriousness from the government to give more opportunities for the society by establishing good mechanism for public inputs delivery, and the most important thing is the willingness to reduce government involvement in the decision making process. Moreover the fact that a lot of deviations are still coming as an impact of poor management system in the *regreening* implementation shows that program has to be designed with careful calculation to avoid further failures, therefore the failures of planting activities for example because of improper arrangement with the planting session do not necessarily to happen. The control mechanism has to be developed as well to assure that the program is implemented as stated in the program planning. Of course it requires willingness from the government to work harder and more professional, and this should also be supported by the availability of appropriate technologies, and based on my observation technology is not an obstacle anymore as some forestry agencies in this research are equipped with modern tools already. The problem rests on the efficiency and professionalism of the government personnel.

Analyzing how conflict appears among the involved actor is objected to get to know what the source of poor outcomes of *regreening* activities so far. My research shows that poor *regreening* results are caused by pitfalls of individual organization working mechanism. Programs selection mechanism that is based on the sectorally deliberations which are not allowed other agencies to involve and take the same role to manage the problems causes many important targets are not carried out. Moreover such mechanism tends to lead the occurrences of conflict particularly when more than one agencies claim on its right upon the programs. Unclear legal framework also causes the interpretation about role and function of each organization or group is done differently and it makes conflict cannot be avoided. Conflicts in this thesis basically emerge as each actor develops different points of view about who should perform and how should *regreening* be performed. The actors want his views are accepted as the acceptance of actor notions and ideas means the actor interests are addressed. Therefore they fight in the argumentative battle in order to make his notions become dominant discourse and are recognized by others. Such conflicts,

although in this research do not appear openly, hinder the implementation of *regreening* with consequence that are poor outcomes.

Finally when we go back to the question what factor influences the less success of the *regreening* implementation, the answer is because there is no inter-agency collaboration on the development of *regreening* activities. And why collective action is not working, because it is consciously maintained by government forestry agencies to assure its dominant role upon the forestry activities. Collaboration means distribution of roles and furthermore distribution of programs and programs' funds, and it means less earnings in the government forestry agencies points of view.

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