

**Mainstreaming Local Wisdom:
Indigenous People Collective Action in Rainforest Management
(The Case of Indonesia and Philippines)**

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Abstract

Indigenous People's right of the land and its natural resources is one of inheritance rights gotten from a long social process. The right is not given by state, so that to accommodate the rights, state requires confessing their right of the land and its natural resources. The biggest problem relating to this community right in Indonesia and the Philippines this time is that there is too much constraint must be faced to accomplish the rights. It's caused by the overlap of the government regulation and immeasurable understanding to the Indigenous ancestral domain and its natural resources. In the case of Indonesia, the decentralization of forest resource management authority to local governments after the Soeharto' regime was falling down in 1998 has resulted in a situation in which district governments are neither accountable upward to the central government nor downward to the local people. The decentralization of authority without appropriate devolution processes or control mechanisms has resulted in the decentralization of opportunistic behavior that is in direct opposition to the development of good local forest governance. Meanwhile, in the case of Philippines, the outright disregard of the indigenous peoples collective right over their ancestral land and its resources have led affected indigenous people to mount protest actions. But instead of addressing their legitimate grievances, the Philippine government has more often than not deployed police and army troopers to meet the people's protest. Instead, the key factor to manage forest resources are needed to build cooperation and collaboration between local government and local people in sharing local knowledge and local wisdom by applying Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM) as major strategy for the sustainable development and social justice that provides a stable legal framework to guide that smooth implementation.

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I. Introduction

It is only since the mid-1980s that indigenous peoples in both countries have made their demand for recognition of their right *'to give or withhold their free, prior and informed consent to actions that affect their lands, territories and natural resources'* a central part of their struggle for self determination. Although the underlying principle that people should be free to make choices about the way they are governed and what happens on their lands is as old as history and probably older, the notion of 'Free, Prior and Informed Consent' (FPIC) is a much more recent expression.

During the regimes period in both countries from about 1970s to 1990s, the indigenous people groups were being suffered by some political marginalization policies that released by both governments. They were being oppressed and being intensified by so-called development programs which are actually designed for resource extraction especially in the homelands of indigenous peoples. Bilateral and multilateral aid agencies and multinational companies are pushing projects such as large dams, corporate mining, commercial logging, and commercial agricultural production that completely disregards the rights of indigenous people as if their integral existence with nature were just incidental without relate it to their historical context at all.

Respect for the right of indigenous peoples to FPIC has come to be appreciated as a crucial tool in the achievement of social and environmental sustainability. Observation of indigenous peoples' right to FPIC should also help to ensure that imposed development schemes would only go ahead on their lands where impacts on indigenous peoples had been addressed to the extent that the peoples themselves were assured that the projects would bring them long-term benefits.

After both regimes were falling down, the forest policies in these countries were changed. It seemed that the right of indigenous peoples to FPIC is now increasingly recognized bit by bit in accordance with jurisprudence of international human rights treaty bodies. Observation of this right has now been recognized as best practice or as required policy in a number of standards including in all kind development projects by involving themselves to participate in managing their natural resources and in forging their local wisdom under the program of community based forest management (CBFM). However, in fact, recognition and enjoyment of a right are two quite different things. The gap between what is increasingly accepted to be a requirement of international law and actual practices are still very wide.

This case would be elaborated more in-depth in this paper that specifically examines broader the case study of local rainforest management in Jambi province, Indonesia and Cordillera, the Philippines whereas the indigenous people get involved in its participation after the regime ended.

II. Decentralization Policy: A Challenge for Indigenous People Participation in Jambi's Rainforest Management

In the case of Indonesia, the forestry sector is perhaps one of the most complicated areas of governance with possibilities for notorious consequences and negative impacts after the authoritarian New Order regime ended in 1998 with the spread of economic crises and political turmoil. Valuable forest resources are at the root of conflicts over power and authority between political and business interests.

After the Soeharto's regime was falling down in 1998, Indonesia immediately changed their political structural from centralization to decentralization. Actually, to be truly successful, decentralization needs certain conditions to exist (Litvack, et al. 1998). Democratic decentralization can be a promising means of institutionalizing and "scaling up" popular participation which can make community-based natural resource management more effective and accountable to local people. However, decentralization can also lead to conflict, particularly when it involves the transfer of ownership and use of valuable natural resources (Ribot 2002).

Indonesians perceived decentralization as an instrument for improving the social, political, and economic situation of the nation. In the forestry sector, there were growing expectations that with the decentralization process district governments would implement better forest resource management regimes, the benefits of which would accrue to local people. Nonetheless, the implementation of decentralization has faced a number of challenges. The decentralization to local governments of the authority to manage forest resources has resulted in a situation where those now responsible are accountable neither upward to the central government nor downward to the local people. The adverse political interference in CBFM projects and the lack of stability as well as the complexity of government regulations were seen as major potential threats. This result suggests there is a lack of the public faith and confidence in the initiatives of the local and provincial government policies and their intention to local community forestry.

The ethnography research for this case study was conducted over one and half years, starting from 2003 to the end 2004 when the author was working with one NGO that focuses on indigenous people empowerment in Jambi¹ province. The observation participation had chosen by the author in gathering primary data in order to get involved intensively live in with the Orang Rimba indigenous people in their habitat that it is located in Bukit Dua Belas National Park. Some relevant instruments have been developed during the field research conducted, such as conducting observation, informal in-depth interviews, as well as dialogues, and consultations with various stakeholders involved with and committed to rainforest resource management at the provincial and district level.

The forestry sector is perhaps one of the most complicated areas of governance with possibilities for notorious consequences and negative impacts. The delegation of authority has in fact resulted in the decentralization of power to the private sector backed up by the personnel of police and military institutions. The forestry sector in Jambi has had difficulty coping with the consequences of decentralization, especially in

¹ Jambi is located on the island of Sumatera and is comprised of nine district and city governments. The province is rich in forest, fish, oil, and other natural and mineral resources, and serves as a tourist destination.

production forests which can easily become the source of conflict. Forest destruction is primarily due to the rampant illegal logging and illegal wood-based industries, as well as encroachment and unauthorized forestland conversion for other purposes.

Actually, the province has 2,179,440 hectares of forest, or nearly 43% of a total land area of 5,100,000 ha. At the end of 2001, there were more than 200 illegal sawmills; by early 2003 that had increased to more than 300 illegal sawmills (Provincial Forestry Service report, 2003). Forests degradation has been very significant and has resulted in environmental consequences such as flooding, landslides, and fires. Illegal activities in logging have also disrupted the timber market, resulting in significant transaction costs and prices that cannot be based on the real costs of production.

Logging and wood-based processing companies have played key roles in shaping the patterns of forest resource governance in the province; they are, in fact, the most powerful institutions in the process. As market forces are the primary drivers of illegal activities in forest exploitation, it can be said that market forces have been destructive and are associated with deforestation and the ensuing environmental disasters, the exploitation of local communities, and the misuse of institutions' authority and power.

Decentralization Law No. 22/1999, "On Regional Governments," and Regulation No. 25/2000, "On the Authority of the District and the Provincial Government" for enforcing this law, stipulate the power and authority delegated to the districts as well as the responsibilities of the districts when implementing the decentralization law. Law No. 41/1999 and District Government Autonomy Law No. 22/1999 have made it clear that the conservation and rehabilitation of forests are the responsibility of the central government. This has resulted in the ambivalence of many district government officials toward forest rehabilitation and conservation. Government Regulation No. 6/1999 and Ministerial Decree No. 05.1/2000 regulate forest exploitation. Nonetheless, District governments have not paid much attention to these regulations, thus, it made them more powerful (Indonesian Decentralization Law, 1999).

Officials from the Natural Resource Conservation Agency also complain about being powerless when they encounter illegal logging or the transportation of illegal logs from conservation forests. Loggers are often protected by military and police personnel as well as by officials of district forestry services. Several times when Natural Resource Conservation Agency officials confiscated illegal timber, military and police officers returned the confiscated logs and never tried to bring the case to the justice.

Therefore, in fact, forest resources have been exploited without considering the environmental consequences of human actions. Policies passed by district governments' focus solely on the territory under their jurisdiction while ignoring the role and authority of the provincial government. The coordination and consultation among them that is required by law has simply not occurred (Simarmata, 2002).

In many cases, shadow institutions, those invisible institutions, organizations, and networks backed by private companies, gangsters, and military personnel with money and power to organize illegal logging activities that are significant players in the province. These institutions do not have any role in formal government institutions, but they are influential in government policy-making and implementation. The private sector, including forest industries, concession companies, capital owners, and exporters, play key roles in shaping the patterns of forest governance there.

One of the largest forest companies in Jambi provides facilities for government officials if they visit the field, as well as regular payments for officials at the district, sub-district, and village government levels. Officials do not stay in local hotels because the facilities prepared by the company are more luxurious. Therefore, the company can act with impunity in breaking forest laws. This company also coordinates with the local community to conduct illegal logging in Bukit Dua Belas National Park. Accesses to these National Parks are gained through the company's concession areas, which have no more timber to harvest. If the community members sell illegal timber taken from the national park to the company, they are safe. If community members do not sell their timber to this company, forestry officials will confiscate their chainsaws. These machines are returned to the local community when they agree to supply logs to the company. Collusion among company staff members and local military and district officials is seemed so strong and well-organized in the practical level.

II.1 Mainstreaming Local Wisdom of Orang Rimba: The Roles of NGOs in Emerging Collective Action in Rainforest Management

Sustainable development and management of global and regional resources is not an ecological problem, nor an economic one, nor a social one. It is a combination of all three. And yet actions to integrate all three typically have short-changed one or more. Sustainable designs are driven by social interests that can act as if community development and empowerment of individuals encounter no limits to the imagination and initiative of local people. Nonetheless, in fact, valuable forest resources are at the root of conflicts over power and authority between political and business interests in term of implementing better forest resource management that in fact, it gives disadvantage to local people by ignoring their participation possibility in the matter of implementing their local knowledge to manage natural resources on their own land by exceeding their local wisdom in practical level as a collective action that based on their own traditional norms and values.

Bukit Dua Belas National Park is the habitat and livelihood of the Orang Rimba. This Park becomes a specific model of Panarchy² due to it was established to accommodate the rights of Indigenous People which is Orang Rimba that their life is completely rely on its natural resource in the jungle. The Bukit Dua Belas National Park management is based on assumption that this national park and its empowerment for the Orang Rimba would give many alternatives for their better livelihood in lines with modernization process without changing their traditional culture extremely. Nonetheless, under the centralized-government, forest-dependent people tend to be marginalized, thus in the current situation they are being exploited. Local communities remain largely disenfranchised, though some have been acting as the spearhead in defending illegal

² Panarchy is the term that devised to describe the evolving nature of complex adaptive systems. It encapsulates how novelty and change coexist in a context of persistence and stability. The panarchy summarizes succinctly the heart of what it defines as sustainability. The whole panarchy is therefore both creative and conserving toward continuity (Holling, 2000)

activities. With the decentralization process there is increasing evidence that communities increasingly pressure to claim or reclaim their rights over rainforest resources. These claims may be legal or illegal; several forms of community claims to forest resources have been identified in Jambi. Some communities claim their right to access their traditional forests and to provide illegal logs to private companies and illegal sawmills.

These communities will defend the logging companies or forest industries if these companies face legal action with regard to illegal forest exploitation, protesting any effort to close down forest industries on which their livelihoods have become dependent. Local communities have claimed forestlands near their settlements and have converted them into agricultural production systems. Some communities also assert their rights to customary forests, including forestlands that have been occupied by the government or private companies. In these cases, they demand that the government recognize their traditional institutional (*Adat institution*) rights and control over forests resources.

In several field visits I observed that the Indigenous people pressed their rights to forest resources whether they are acting legally or not. This has resulted in enforcement problems when the same communities that are implicated in illegal logging. With the presence of the army, local people were prevented from harvesting. They protested that the presence of the army cost them their incomes. One can question where the local community found the money to hire these large trucks, information from the field suggests private companies with large resources hired the communities to protest that claims over traditional or customary forests have also affected private companies.

Actually, two other characteristics recognized as important in identifying indigenous peoples are: relative *political marginalization* and special ties, and *relationships with their customary lands and resources*, closely connected to their cultural identity. The last one examines that close ties of indigenous peoples with their customary lands, waters and resources are particularly relevant for conservation management, leading to recognition of indigenous peoples as important actors that manage their own high-biodiversity areas in the jungle and also to the identification of natural resource-related characteristics often associated with indigenous communities by applying their local wisdom. With the historical relations of indigenous peoples to their land and territory as the material base of their survival, they have the inherent right to their land and their collective right to exist as indigenous peoples must be protected and guaranteed to ensure their continuing survival. Nonetheless, the pressure of forest resources, such as village plantation, illegal logging and forest encroachment are being big threat for the forest sustainability and their livelihood.

In the case of Jambi province, Non-governmental organizations play key roles in emerging collective action for the Orang Rimba as well as giving better understanding to both local and provincial government about the indigenous knowledge and their local wisdom in implementing rainforest management by forging local people participation. NGOs in Jambi are working under the guidance of KKI-WARSI (*Warung Informasi Konservasi*) have struggled to accommodate the rights and access of the *Orang Rimba*, who are in a difficult position because their traditional territories have been under pressure from logging activities and the expansion of villagers permanent agriculture. NGOs have strongly urged the government to immediately close those forest industries which are technically and financially are not feasible.

II.2 Hompongon: Bridging Development Gap and Bringing Local Wisdom to the Practical Level of Resource Management

KKI Warsi as the frontline NGO that has been usually worked with indigenous people has also assisted the Orang Rimba in developing their economic self institution that its final goal is to preserve the rights and natural resources of the indigenous group in Bukit Dua Belas National Park. Since 1997, this institution has been developing the rubber plantation around the National Park, which is called hompongon³. This mechanism built by KKI Warsi to particularly manage and open the access for the Orang Rimba to sell their rubber harvest and the other forest resources to the local market with the competitive prices. Basically, the long term goal of this institution aims to build a solid partnership between Orang Rimba and local government institution to manage National Park resources simultaneously and continuously.

Instead applying RTPN (Buffer Zone Development Planning), KKI Warsi as the think tank NGO has also applied zone area to extend the function of hompongon itself in line with conservation concept and try to promote the Orang Rimba's indigenous knowledge as well as their local wisdom in managing the rainforest resources. Hence, in fact, two buffer zone areas are already implemented and developed by the Orang Rimba's knowledge. Those zones are composed of main zone and utilizing zone, which is the spatial management, has also carried out by the local people through applying the limited space in order to move out all villagers' cultivation fields that have been developed inside the National Park.

Management activities that have been developed by the Orang Rimba under the collaboration with KKI Warsi, not only touches the issue of plantation but also applies capacity building activities and advocacy process, such as land redistribution and campaign for Orang Rimba's rights in the effort of garnering support both from local government and public society generally. Basically, the outcome of this goal was very tangible and vibrant enough to forge their collective action by applying and implementing their local knowledge and local wisdom in rainforest management. The most successful advocacy so far is the recognition process of Orang Rimba's habitat and their guaranteed-livelihood in the jungle by the national government that covers area about 60.500 ha. Nonetheless, on the other side, the encroachment and illegal logging are not to be able to avoid immediately due to there is not yet certain policy that implemented by both National and Provincial government in the era of decentralization to reduce a lot of illegal activities.

Basically, overall, the tangible outcomes that have been produced by the Orang Rimba in collaboration with KKI Warsi in the process of Rainforest management have been touched some critical points, such as:

- Hompongan plantations in many locations are being effective functioned in halting encroachment activities carried out by villagers. Furthermore, these plantations have been contributing a lot to increase the economic income of their household.
- The Self-economic institution is already implemented and carried out by themselves in

³ Hompongon is agro forest activities through planting rubber as a basis plantation that can be functioned as buffer zone to protect the rainforest resources inside the jungle from illegal destruction practices that usually carried out by either private companies or villagers in exceeding their practices of illegal logging and slash-burn cultivation. These plantations have been planted outside and surrounding the Bukit Dua Belas National Park.

collaboration with KKI Warsi and the youth of Orang Rimba's cadres to formulate the rules of resources marketing after having some trainings together with community leaders that conducted by the KKI Warsi's staffs.

- There are a lot of supports that come from either National or Provincial or District Forestry Department, in term of supporting health care access easily by giving out the healthy card for the Orang Rimba, rubber seeds and cultivation equipments for villagers in supporting the Cultivation Development approaches, which is particularly implemented in the villages around the National Park.

Even though, some focal points have been produced in supporting the achievement of the main goal, nonetheless, it seems that there are still a lot of obstacles that have been facing further. The obstacles that I mentioned are basically related to the issue of responsibility management that should be undertaken by the provincial government institution, which is called BKSDA in the process of the National park management. However, this institution seems only focus on the security issue of the forest without applying the concept of forest management comprehensively.

Presently, one of the key problems that have been facing in local people participation involvement in rainforest management is also related to the issue of partnership between BKSDA (Provincial Level of Forest Department) and the Orang Rimba, that now is only focusing on meeting forums and choosing the Orang Rimba's conservation cadres without any further planning to formulate the Public Services Unit that can contribute and promote the adaptive ecosystem management of Bukit Dua Belas National Park that can be built under the collaborative actions that involves many potential actors and organizations indeed. Thus, sometimes the most difficulty in doing rainforest resource management in Bukit Dua Belas National Park is lack of partnership and collaboration platform as a basic framework that can be implemented in building the attitude of respect each other and building socio-cultural sensitivity amongst those key stakeholders that backed by the strong willingness to save rainforest resources together for the next generation.

The other obstacle that has been facing presently in term of applying partnership in forest resource management in Jambi is related to evidence that the central government seems still hesitate to authorize their power to district governments in managing rainforest resources. It seems that the central government efforts to develop regulations show signs of attempting to regain control and jurisdiction over forest resources. The central government issued Government Regulation No. 34/2002, "Concerning Forest Structuring and Development of Forest Management Plans, Utilization of Forests and Use of Forest Areas," as the first implementing regulation under Basic Forestry Law No. 41/1999. This regulation was intended to facilitate decentralization, including the introduction of some aspects of community based forest management. However, the policy for CBFM will be difficult to be implemented since the central government imposes too many restrictions. NGOs and district governments have analyzed and interpreted this regulation as an effort to re-centralize power and authority to the central government.

III. CBFM in the Philippines: Engaging Indigenous Community Organizers in Forest Resource Management

Philippine governments have been experimenting with social and community forestry programs for more than 30 years. While the first experiments with social forestry programs began in the early 1900s, it was not until shortly before the fall of the Marcos regime in 1986 that social and community-based forestry programs (CBFM) began their rapid rise to their current position as the leading forest land management program in the Philippines.

The Philippine national constitution of 1987 requires that natural resources can only be exploited or developed through joint ventures, co-management and co-production agreements amongst local communities, government and private organizations. The Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM) program was created in 1995 and upgraded in 1996 to become the national strategy to achieve sustainable forestry and social justice (Executive Order 263: Section 1).

The core objectives of the CBFM program are to democratize forest resource access, improve the socioeconomic welfare of upland communities, and promote the sustainability of upland resources (Pulhin 1998). The motto of the community forestry or people-orientated forestry programs is 'people first and sustainable forestry will follow' and it became the 'flagship program' for community forestry in the Philippines.

However, in fact, due to uncertain policy that implemented by the government, CBFM program does not work in involving indigenous people participation to manage their own ancestral domain which is located in the jungle that under the program of forest resource management, like the case of Cordillera people. It is because of the government's program that so-called drive for global competitiveness has led to the further liberalization of country's resources with the indigenous people remaining resources now thrown open to further exploitation by multinational corporations and other foreign investors. In spite of the government's claim of success in flushing out the indigenous people in the Cordillera, the heavy deployment of military forces in the region continues. Their deployment is now being eyed for exploitation for project such as large scale mining, energy projects, and eco-tourism among others. Given the government's development agenda in the Cordillera, the militarization of the region serves to protect these resources for foreign investors while suppressing the people resistance against development aggression.

The combination of desk research and in-depth interview that to multi-stakeholders for the Philippines case study was conducted over four months, starting from April to July in 2007, when the author was living in the country. Some relevant instruments have been developed during the research conducted, such as developing informal in-depth interviews toward NGOs activists, Community Organizers as well as dialogues, and consultations with various stakeholders involved with and committed to rainforest resource management, such as provincial government apparatus in the Philippines.

III.1 The Rights of Ancestral Domain and its Resources: Building Social Movement in Cordillera's People against the Regime

Since the formation of the Philippine State after the American colonial period, the Cordillera Region has always been regarded as a resource base for exploitation in the name of "national development". But this is actually to hide the motive of the ruling elite and foreign capitalists to have access and gain from the plunder of the indigenous people resources. Under the legal framework of the State's ownership of public lands and resources, successive Philippine governments institutionalized the outright denial and non-recognition of indigenous people rights over their land and resources through the enactment of several laws, decrees and policies.

Forest areas were leased out to commercial logging companies. Logging operations did not only lead to the dispossession of the Indigenous ancestral domain, but also resulted to the depletion of forest resources, of wild animals and destruction of watershed areas. Because of the ill treatment of loggers to the indigenous groups, they were forced to move further in the interior of the forest, or moved to outlying areas where their discrimination has been prevalent.

The outright disregard of the indigenous peoples collective right over their ancestral land and its resources, and the adverse impacts of destructive projects such as those cited above have led affected indigenous people communities to mount protest actions. Out of these life-and-death struggles, a call for a people's movement for the defense of their ancestral land was raised in the early 80's and this reverberated throughout the region. There was an enthusiastic response among the various tribes, despite the continuing militarization of the area. Several consultations and conferences were held involving tribal leaders and elders, workers, peasants, the womenfolk, church people, students and professionals, even as pocket resistance continued. In 1984 a region-wide multi sectoral organization was established, which is the Cordillera Peoples' Alliance or CPA.

This organization lost no time in launching region-wide campaigns for the recognition of indigenous people rights. As a result, its membership and influence grew. Aside from the CPA which is made up of people organizations, the indigenous peoples also put up non-government organizations (NGOs) and human rights institutions to address their need for people-oriented development and the protection of their civil and political rights. This was also received warmly by the people. This grassroots people empowerment should have been welcomed by the Aquino government recently installed then into power by a popular revolt in 1986.

III.2 Stakeholder Roles in CBFM Implementation: Building Collective Action of Indigenous People in the Philippines

In Philippines, the CBFM programs have been designed to encourage re-vegetation for a number of reasons, including the conservation of biodiversity, stabilization of soils, diversification of agriculture and supply of timber. The programs are supposed to provide a mechanism for the granting of tenure security to households that utilize land officially classified as public forest land. The rationale of this approach is that once communities and households that use forest lands are given security of

property rights to these lands and forests, they will work to manage them sustainably for the benefit of both their communities and society at large. Poverty and lack of employment opportunities are recognized as major impediments to the protection of remaining natural and residual forests (DENR 1990).

Most CBFM areas are divided into a number of zones by management plans that provide various resource-use rights for the community. These zones may include a 'protection' zone, where no harvesting of timber products is allowed but some non timber products can be harvested sustainably, a 'limited use' zone that buffers the protection zone where some portion of the timber may be harvested, and a 'production' zone where timber harvesting is permitted. An integral part of the CBFM program is the use of community organizers (COs), who are employed to help establish and maintain community organizations and who are critical in assisting the community organizations to comply with their forestry contracts. The CO role includes facilitating the formation of people's organizations and providing advice about the preparation of the plans and applications for permits required to establish and later harvest planted areas. The COs role is also to build the capacity of communities to establish sustainable enterprises and community forestry programs usually involve some 'livelihood' component to provide participants with some immediate income.

Basically, communities are required to form community organizations to be eligible to enter into a CBFM and gain access to the CBFM program supports. The functions of community organizations include:

- Providing a legal entity that can enter into contracts with partners;
- Providing a point of entry to communities for the provision of training and funds;
- Providing a forum for the resolution of disputes within the community;
- ensuring equitable resources sharing in the community following the signing of CBFM
- Providing community members with training in organizational, financial and enterprise management.

In some cases, the communities already have cooperatives for buying, marketing or processing agricultural produce, and these organizations can register as a people's organization to apply for a CBFM. Where the agreements cover cleared land, the people's organization is usually contracted under the agreement with the DENR to plant the cleared area, a task for which they receive payment. This provides the community organization with a source of funds that can be paid to members involved in the planting activities, or used to build up funds for later investment in forestry or non-forestry livelihood projects, such as fishponds, health service infrastructure, and so on.

The difficulty involved in ensuring the indigenous people form and maintain community organizations is widely recognized. These indigenous groups are potentially the weakest link in the CBFM program, the success of community forestry being heavily dependent on building a community's capacity to develop and manage a collective resource (Bisson *et al.* 1997, Pulhin 1998, Donoghue 1999, La Vina 1999, Guiang 2001a and b). Many of the communities involved in the CBFM projects have low literacy levels, lack financial resources and do not have a history of utilizing resources in a collective manner (Donoghue 1999).

Community organizers contracted from 'assisting organizations' are a standard part of CBFM projects. Some CBFM sub-programs use community organizers from NGOs and the USAID funded Natural Resource Management Projects (NRMP), while

others use DENR or LGU personnel. Early community forestry schemes were criticized for not paying enough attention to the formation of community groups or community capacity building (UNAC 1992). One factor that has been identified as restricting the success of CBFMs and other community forestry programs elsewhere is the failure of many assisting organizations to take account of the diversity of socio-economic circumstances within communities (Raintree 1987, 1991, Bisson *et al.* 1997, Pulhin 1998, Donoghue 1999, Contreras 2000).

Some CBFM projects in the Philippines would show that NGOs oftentimes regard the community as a homogenous grouping with similar interests. There is little if any conscious effort exerted on the identification of the different interest groups, including those whose source of livelihood are mainly dependent on the local forest resources. This has contributed to the perpetuation and reproduction of inequity in terms of access to forest benefits in favor of the local elite. (Pulhin 1998, p.5).

For community organizations to be sustainable they need to be assured of dependable incomes to finance their activities and sustain community interest (Guiang 2001b). The community forestry programs have not yet achieved this. Initial community forestry programs focused on the reforestation of cleared land with communities not given access to residual forest resources until the mid 1990s. Communities received income through contracts to plant areas but they frequently have had to wait long periods for payment. This meant some ended up worse-off than before because they had neglected other farming activities (Donoghue 1999). Communities without access to residual forests have few resources to use for development activities (Guiang 2001b).

On the other hand, Non-government organizations can potentially act in three roles as part of the CBFM program, namely undertaking research and development of livelihood projects, being legal and political advocates for communities, and as assistance providers through providing community organizers, planting materials and support for the development of alternative livelihood enterprises (Quesblatin 1994, Donoghue 1999). NGOs play a vital role as advocates for upland communities trying to protect their landholdings and forest areas from illegal logging activities and from local powerful interests who occasionally lay claim to their land and tree resources.

If the Indonesian case tends to blame each other between the central and local government that seemed create friction and conflict in leading rainforest management activities due to decentralization policy that has created the overlapping roles and responsibilities between the government in all levels, in the Philippines, it seems extremely opposite with Indonesian's while the local government has responsibility for forest and natural resource management that has been increased in the past 10 years in an effort to decentralize power in the central, to allow local self-determination, and to facilitate the use of local knowledge to treat local problems and issues. The administrative areas of Local Government Units (LGUs) are municipalities each of which covers a number of barangay⁴.

The LGUs are expected to initiate CBFMs, support CBFMs financially and technically, incorporate CBFMs into local land-use planning schemes, maintain protected areas, and catch and charge those who violate forest protection laws (La Vina

⁴ A barangay is the smallest area of government in the Philippines and in rural areas usually encompasses a number of sitios, or small hamlets of dwellings.

1999). Unfortunately, the increased responsibilities of LGUs have not been matched by increased budgetary allocations. The ability of LGUs to draft their own policies is strictly limited (Lu 1998, La Vina 1999). LGUs are supposed to be consulted in the preparation of applications for CBFMs. However a number of municipal administrations have claimed they only hear about CBFMs when difficulties arise (Emtage 2004). LGUs also provide advice to communities about community forestry programs.

Basically, the strategy employed by successive Philippine governments toward Cordillera indigenous people has been to provide individuals, households and communities with some security of tenure, and assistance with livelihood programs, in the hope that this will be sufficient to inspire them to establish sustainable farming practices and protect their lands from illegal logging.

A number of issues constrain the development of small-scale and community forestry in the Philippines. *Political and institutional issues* include instability in the policies and regulations relating to forestry, inconsistencies in the separation of responsibilities and resource allocation between local and national governments, bribe-taking by government officials, and the variable political support for community forestry among government agencies. *Financial issues* include the lack of government funds to support community forestry programs, the high degree of reliance on funds from international sources, poor infrastructure in rural areas, and the lack of development of markets for small-scale forestry. Among *social issues* are lack of trust between rural communities and government agencies, difficulties in establishing and maintaining community organizations, and in many cases the lack of experience of community partnerships and cooperation. *Environmental issues* include the degraded condition of lands and forests that communities now manage which increases the difficulty of successfully establishing and managing trees in these areas and limits the potential to extract resources from them.

On the other side, many different stakeholder groups involved in the community-based forestry program each have a different role to play. Effective communication between these stakeholder groups is vital for the success of the program, yet it is apparent that many of the groups are not aware of the activities of the others and are uncertain about their own roles (Emtage 2004). Despite the existence of multiple stakeholder forums such as the Regional Distillation Groups, the rules and regulations that govern the program remain a mystery to most stakeholders. The involvement of a number of government departments in forest land management issues, including DENR, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Agrarian Reform as well as the LGUs, emphasizes the need for their activities to be coordinated to avoid duplication and conflict. Therefore, the leadership by the national government is urgently required to stabilize the policies relating to the program and provide comprehensive information, education and communication campaign to support CBFM. Meanwhile, the problem of corruption and tolerance of illegal activities is also widespread in the Philippines and is seen as official policy by people on-the-ground. Forest policy in the Philippines is still effectively based on Presidential Directive (PD) 705, issued in 1975, though with numerous subsequent modifications. There is a need to reformulate forest policy to make it internally consistent and operational.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Decentralization in Jambi has been implemented with limited preparation and a weak and inconsistent legal framework. Authority has been transferred to district governments without appropriate guidance or control mechanisms. In response, district governments have become more authoritative and powerful as characterized by the misuse of this power and authority, and are implicated in notorious opportunistic behaviors. Control mechanisms regulating the accountability of district governments upward to the central government or downward to the local people have been weak or non-existent. Thus, the position of the local community remains difficult, and members have become the victim of the struggle between central and district governments, and between the private sector and each.

Meanwhile the Philippines' case seems cautioned that many operational issues need to be addressed before the CBFM policies translate into sustainable community empowerment and development, since there are indicated many stakeholders involved in forestry and many challenges confronting the successful operation of community forestry programs and the development of smallholder forestry.

In order to achieve the goals which have been established for the CBFM program in these two countries, basically considerable cooperation and communication between a varieties of stakeholders is completely required. Fundamental problems for those involved in the program are the lack of continuity in resources to support program implementation, the economically and socially marginalized position of indigenous communities, and the underdeveloped nature of the institutional framework in which the program operates. The way that the stakeholders involved in the program cooperate to respond to these challenges will be critical to ensure its effectiveness in community forestry projects in these two countries.

As the recommendation, the author argues that the challenge for expansion of community forestry projects goes far beyond teaching communities about sustainable cultural practices, which is the capacity building or 'empowerment' of highly marginalized indigenous communities appears to be an even more fundamental factor to the success and sustainability of community forestry in both countries. Moreover, for Indonesian case, especially, the existence of shadow institutions that influence the management of natural resources through financial influence should be minimized. In order to improve accountability at the district level, the central government must improve its accountability downward to the public. Control mechanisms or accountability measures at district, provincial and central government levels need to be improved to the performance contracts of government officials to promulgate appropriate policies for CBFM projects.

Moreover, public participation in assessing the performance of these two governments are also needed for imposing accountability measures and enforcing them because the practices of corruption has been decentralized, institutionalized, and often classified as a way of life. Meanwhile, land and resource tenure policies need to be taken into account in reforming forestry sector policies for applying Adaptive Ecosystem Management and global challenge in conservation ecology.

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