



**Collaborative Forest Management:
Community's Livelihood vs Forest Conservation**
A Case Study of Sebangau National Park, Indonesia

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Maria Theresia Astika Roviana
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Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Georgina M. Gómez

Prof. Dr. A.H.J. (Bert) Helmsing

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

Postal address:

Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

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List of Acronyms

CIFOR	Center for International Forestry Research
CKPP	Central Kalimantan Peatland Projects
Formas	<i>Forum Masyarakat</i> (Community Forum / Organization)
MEF	Ministry of Environmental and Forestry
MPA	<i>Masyarakat Peduli Api</i> – a formal community organisation dedicated for forest fire prevention and firefighting
Pam Swakarsa	<i>Pengaman Swakarsa</i> – a voluntary (informal) community group dedicated for forest fire prevention and firefighting
SPTN	<i>Seksi Pengelola Taman Nasional</i> – National Park Management Section (local unit)
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

Abstract

The debate on the concept of natural resources conservation and local livelihood has been raised for a long time in development studies. Models of forest governance which centralising on the role of community is widely implemented. Forest conservation strategies is now promoting to include local development strategies. Collaborative management of forest conservation emerged and became the main strategy of environmental organisations in combining the concept of conservation and local livelihood. Community participation in the management process is viewed as the key to success. This paper present a study on collaborative management approach as a forest governance approach. By researching the process of developing the collaborative management approach in Central Kalimantan, this study would like to highlight that balancing environmental interest and livelihood interest will take long journey and need continuous willingness of every stakeholders to open up and contextualise the approach. Additionally, this research will examine the benefits of collaborative management in balancing the forest conservation efforts and the community's provision for sustainable livelihoods. A qualitative approach through secondary data study, semi-structured interview and observation has been applied to examine the case study of Sebangau National Park in Central Kalimantan Indonesia. The study showed that bringing together stakeholders to negotiate and coordinate to find solution for conservation and livelihood interest is not an easy work. Some challenges derives from the government side and dynamics within the community might hinders the process of developing collaborative management in place.

Keywords

Forest governance, collaborative management approach, conservation, livelihood, community participation, Sebangau National Park, Indonesia.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Community has largely been left behind in terms of forest governance, particularly in forest conservation governance. There continues to be conflict between community and government in dealing with the issues of securing livelihood and protecting natural resources. Collaborative management approaches have emerged as an effort to offer win-win solutions for this ongoing conflict. It serves as a bottom-up approach which emphasises the '*participation*' of stakeholders in fulfilling local needs and at the same time, achieve sustainable management of natural resources (Fisher 1995:7, Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004:xxi). This paper examines the realisation of such a collaborative management approach in the Sebangau National Park, Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. In spite of the amicable collaborative management practices, the study reveals that this approach still reflects a top-down methodology, according to the community perspective. This is as a result of the process initiated by central government and the forestry authority at the local level. An additional challenge has been policy constraints on the collaborative management planning between the forest authority and local communities. There also continues to be issues of elite capture, lack of capacity, and power relationship struggles within the local community. This has impacted on collaborative management approaches and overall governance in this particular area, at the expense of community livelihood and resource conservation.

From the period of 1970 to 1990, Indonesia was the world's major provider of timber products (National Encyclopaedia 2015). A sizeable number of private sector companies held forest concession permits from the local Indonesian government (Bappenas 1989, MEF 2002). At the time, significant logging activities occurred throughout Indonesia's archipelago. Fulfilling the huge demands for timber products, the forest industries applied any means of production. Detrimental logging activities occurred in many places without reforestation (Bappenas 1989, FWI 2001, Purwanto 2008). These uncontrollable logging activities resulted in substantial deforestation and degradation of forestry resources. The government of Indonesia, through the Ministry of Forestry (now: Ministry of Environmental and Forestry - MEF), recognised the issue and converted allocated forests into conservation areas¹ in the form of national parks. The change of forest function had an economic repercussion on communities living in the buffer zones of the national parks. Prior to this change in legislation relating to forest function, the community had limited access to the

¹ Law of Republic of Indonesia Number 41 Year 1999 on Forestry. Indonesian government classified forest by its main function: protection, conservation, and production. Protection forest refers to forest which is protected from destruction and functions as buffer for the ecosystem especially for water management, maintenance of soil fertility, and prevention of flood, erosion and drought. Hence, it can protect communities from natural disaster caused by ecological destruction. Conservation forest refers to forest which functions as a protection of the ecosystem, but it can also accommodate other interests, for example social/cultural, recreational and tourism purposes in the area. Production forest refers to unprotected forest areas where people are permitted to access and utilise forest products.

forest for their livelihoods - fishing in the rivers, sustainably harvesting trees, woodcutting for sawmill industries and supporting forest concessions of private sector companies. There were also local farming activities within the forest. The legislative changes have resulted in the community losing their livelihood. They are no longer permitted to access the forest. This condition has created conflict between the community and government on the issue of securing community livelihood and conserving the forest.

In an attempt to resolve the conflict, the government of Indonesia initiated the collaborative management approach for managing the national parks through Ministerial Regulation number P.19/Menhut-II/2004 on Collaborative Management of Conservation Area. The collaborative management approach refers to the creation of joint activity/problem solving action between the stakeholders for a more effective and participative natural resource management in the area. It aims to conserve the forest area while increasing local economic development.

It is perceived that increased participation may create greater support and a more accountable government when it comes to managing the environment through a collaborative management approach (Jeffery and Vira 2001:1, Irvin et.al 2004, Turyahabwe et al. 2012:53, Mansuri and Rao 2013:1). Community participation is seen as a method to encourage change by increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of forest management. Conserved forests are expected to generate economic benefits by improving local livelihoods and social conditions through increased employment and the exclusion from the forest of non-collaborative management actors (e.g. poachers from neighbouring villages or other places) (Turyahabwe et al. 2012:53)

There has been a significant amount of literature written in an attempt to understand the Indonesian government's collaborative management approach and shift in paradigm of forest governance. A continuous theme is the need for community participation to support the government's efforts in conserving the forest and improving community livelihoods (Anshari 2006, Dunggio and Gunawan 2009, Safitri 2010, Bismark and Sawitri 2014). However, community participation in forest governance does not always mean that the community is considered in the decision-making process or that the government in reality implements a collaborative management approach. This research may contribute to such literacy and research gaps in existing studies, with a particular focus on community participation in collaborative management approaches dominated by a government's perspectives. Additionally, this research will examine the benefits of collaborative management with regard to balancing the forest conservation efforts and the community's provision for sustainable livelihoods.

1.1. Research Objectives and Research Questions

This study aims to contribute to the literature on collaborative management approaches as a forest governance model in Indonesia, and Sebangau National Park. The research objectives are as follows:

1. to study the collaborative management approach conducted in Sebangau National Park;

2. to understand the collaborative management approach between community and government for resolving the issues of securing community livelihood and simultaneously conserving the forest in Sebangau National Park; and
3. to analyse the community's role that contribute (or do not contribute) participation in a collaborative management approach in the Sebangau National Park.

In order to achieve these objectives, this research will focus on a main research question: **in what ways has the collaborative management approach presented a compromise between livelihood acquisition and forestry conservation in the Sebangau National Park?** This research question will be elaborated into the following sub-questions:

1. How were the socio-economic condition of villages in the buffer zone of the Sebangau National Park affected by the forest function changes legislation?
2. What is the status of the collaborative management approach in the affected areas? How do the community and the Sebangau National Park Authorities interact in terms of developing the collaborative management approach processes within the area?
3. Which 'community' groups are involved in collaborative management approach in Sebangau National Park? What are their roles in the collaborative management in the Sebangau National Park?

1.2. Methodology, Limitations and Ethical Consideration

A qualitative approach was conducted through fieldwork in three separate villages located in the buffer zone of the Sebangau National Park with semi-structured interviews as data collection methodology. The fieldwork was conducted during July and August 2015. In addition to the fieldwork, a secondary data study of published and unpublished materials were also undertaken to gather a diverse and broad-ranging assessment of the topic. The source for secondary data study was largely from the forest governance regulations in Indonesia, journals and articles on forest governance of national parks in Indonesia, the annual and statistical report from the Sebangau National Park Authority, and interviews with community and Sebangau National Park Authority staff members.

In order to understand the context where collaborative management approach is applied, the first part of this research was focused on the socio-economic condition of the villages in the buffer zone of the Sebangau National Park before and after the forest function changes were implemented. The second phase of the research focused on the process of collaborative management approach development in selected villages in the area. This phase also includes a stakeholder analysis of the approach. The last phase of the research focused on understanding the role of the community in participating (or not) in the collaborative management of the Sebangau National Park.

The scope of this research is at the village level. According to the Collaborative Management Report (Awang 2008), five areas planned to implement the collaborative management approach, namely:

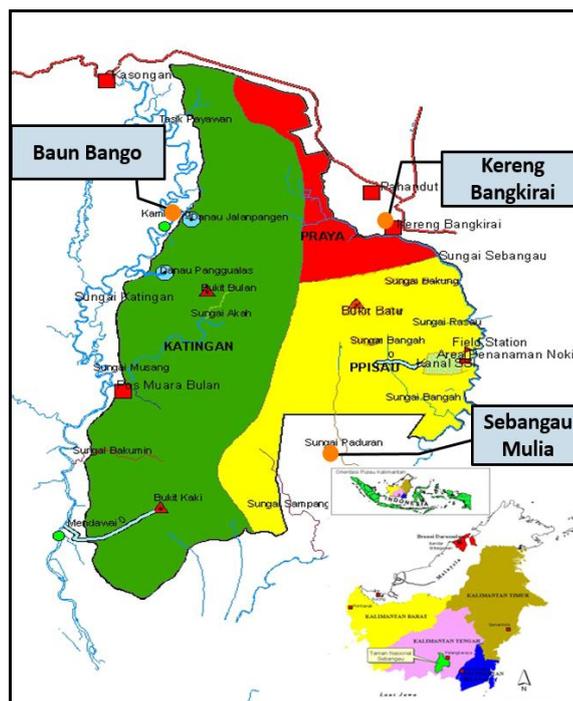
Table 1. Villages of Collaborative Management. (Adopted from Awang 2008)

Palangkaraya (1 area)	Pulang Pisau (1 area)	Katingan (3 areas)
Kereng Bangkirai, Sebangau Sabaru, Sebangau	Sebangau Mulia, Paduran Paduran Sebangau, Paduran Sebangau Permai, Paduran Mekar Jaya, Paduran Sebangau Jaya, Paduran Paduran Mulya, Paduran	Baun Bango, Kamipang Tumbang Ronen, Mendawai Mendawai, Mendawai

Three of these villages were selected as sites for this research based on the following considerations: (i) the selected villages are stakeholders in the pilot project of collaborative management approach in the area; (ii) location, i.e. distance of the village from the Provincial Capital City where the Sebangau National Park Authority is located; and (iii) accessibility of the village (related to logistical arrangement and the possibility of welcoming the researcher into the area). The three villages are shown in Figure 1 and details are given below:

1. Kereng Bangkirai village, Palangkaraya Municipality. This village was chosen because it is located in the territory of the National Park Management Section I (*Seksi Pengelola Taman Nasional - SPTN*) Palangkaraya. It can be accessed within 40 minutes by car from Palangkaraya, the capital city of Central Kalimantan Province. This village is the gateway to access the Sebangau National Park territory.
2. Sebangau Mulia village, Pulang Pisau Regency. This village is located in the territory of SPTN II – Pulang Pisau, which is positioned approximately 120 km from Palangkaraya, and 14 km from the Sebangau National Park territory. This area is a transmigration area which has been inhabited since the 1980s.
3. Baun Bango village, Katingan Regency. This village is located in SPTN III - Katingan. It is positioned approximately 154 km from Palangkaraya. During the 1990s, this area was full of sawmill industries which operated to support both legal and illegal logging activities.

The three villages were selected as they experienced dialogue with the government in the initiation of the collaborative management approach, and to some extent ‘participate’ in community assistance projects in Sebangau National Park. They, therefore, allowed the researcher to generalise the findings of the study, but also to some extent differentiate the findings in terms of their degree of interest in being involved with the development of the collaborative management approach in the area.



(Modified from Liburan-wisata 2015)

Figure 1. Map of Sebangau National Park and Illustration of Selected Villages Location

During the fieldwork, the semi-structured interview was employed as a tool to gather data and information from informants. The informants were purposely found by using snowball sampling by contacting the gatekeepers in the area. Forty-four informants were interviewed during the fieldwork (Table 2). During the interviews, all of the informants refused to give permission for voice recording of the conversations, but the rapid writing of notes was permitted.

Table 2. List of Informants

Institution	Description	Technique
Sebangau National Park Authority	1 Head of Institution 3 staff members (work in monitoring and evaluation division, and in charge of annual report and statistical data of Sebangau National Park)	Individual Interview
Kereng Bangkirai village	14 people – most of them works as fishermen, and their wives are homemakers, i.e. they stay at home and do indefinite job such as opening small grocery shop, making clothes, etc. 2 people who live in Kereng Port area	Group interview
	1 person local leader of the Formas community organisation who also serves as the secretary of the Customary Council	Individual interview
	1 person Village Leader	Individual

Institution	Description	Technique
		interview
	2 people from SPTN I – part of Sebangau National Park Authority	Individual interview
Sebangau Mulia village	12 people. Most of the community work as farmers.	Group Interview
	1 person – village chief who serve as Formas leader.	Individual interview
Baun Bango village	3 people. (Limited interaction due to the working hour of the community. Most of them work in palm plantations in the area)	Individual interview (informal)
	1 person – Senior member of Hindu Kaharingan Customary Council	Individual interview
	1 person – Formas leader	Individual interview
WWF Indonesia in Central Kalimantan	1 Senior Officer of Socio Economic Development Coordinator	Individual interview
Palangkaraya University	1 Lecturer	Individual interview

(Source: Fieldwork)

The limitations encountered in this research were closely related to time constraints due to the long holiday practice of the community concerned. In Central Kalimantan, the Eid Mubarak celebration informally can take up to three weeks. Hence, it was challenging to conduct longer visits to the community and the official government offices. Additionally, there were limitations in finding reference materials especially material specific to exploring the implementation of collaborative management in the Sebangau National Park. During the fieldwork, the researcher encountered difficulties in gathering reports, data and information from the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) in Indonesia in Central Kalimantan and the local community due to the disorganised filing system in place. Some documents gathered during this fieldwork came from the Sebangau National Park Authority. Most of the documents were regulations, the latest annual report and statistical data (2014). However, among these documents, there was no specific implementation report related to collaborative management. In an attempt to complement the reference material on collaborative management, secondary data was also gathered from the Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), a leading research institution that conducts research on forest and landscapes management around the world².

An ethical consideration in this research is that people are interested in obtaining monetary reimbursement to fulfil their basic needs. They were reluctant

² <http://www.cifor.org/about-cifor/>

to provide information without the presence of a financial incentive. During the fieldwork, the community in Baun Bango and Kereng Bangkirai village were reluctant to provide more information other than normative answer. Once the money was given, they shared many more stories and more information. A different story was experienced in Sebangau Mulia village. The community in this village welcomed the researcher and were willing to have discussions without seeking additional funds.

This research paper has been structured into six chapters. Chapter 1 provides the background of the study, the research objectives and research questions, the methodology employed to obtain and analyse the data, and the limitations and ethical consideration encountered during the research. Chapter 2 outlines the relationship between livelihood, conservation, the collaborative management approach, and community participation as a conceptual framework. Chapter 3 sets the context of the Sebangau National Park. Chapter 4 focuses on the process of the collaborative management approach and presents the stakeholder analysis of Sebangau National Park. Chapter 5 focuses on community participation in the collaborative management approach. Chapter 6 outlines the conclusion of this research and the hypothesis.

Chapter 2 Conceptual Framework

This chapter will elaborate on a number of relevant concepts as the framework of the research: the linkage between livelihood and conservation; the collaborative management approach; and community participation. This conceptual frameworks help to analyse the interaction between stakeholders involved in the collaborative management approach, how they negotiate their interests, and the role of the community and the influential factors that affect their participation in the collaborative management approach

2.1. Linkage between Livelihood and Conservation

Livelihood can be defined as the means (in terms of activities, assets and access) of an individual or household to gain a living (Chambers and Conway 1991:5, Ellis 1999). For people who live surround a forest, forest becomes their source of income and livelihoods (Byron and Arnorld 1999). The forest provides the security of people's livelihoods through the provision of various products and services, such as timber, non-timber products, land, environmental functions, and cultural functions (Nguyen 2005). Meanwhile, conservation is defined as the management of a natural resources to protect and nurture the natural condition of ecosystems, habitats, wildlife species, and populations for lasting their existence (IUCN n.d.). Sunderline et al. (2005) argued that forest conservation is usually conflictual with the livelihood improvement.

Salafsky and Wollenberg (2000) researched forest management approaches around the world. They identified three type of link between livelihood and forest conservation: no linkage, indirect linkage, and direct linkage. 'No linkage' refers to the total exclusion of livelihood activities from the parks or protected areas. In this approach, parks and protected areas mostly serve the conservation interest without considering local economic development. Moreover, communities' livelihood is seen as a threat to conservation (Ibid. 1422). In this case, government strategies focus on legal enforcement to exclude the community from the protected area (Ibid.). 'Indirect linkage' refers to the approach where support provision for local livelihood is needed in order to succeed with conservation. This is realised through the establishment of spatial zones with clear boundaries between core zones (prohibited area) and buffer zones, where communities can carry out their livelihood activities. This approach offers economic substitution activities for the community, where government and other actors provide assistance to communities to set their economic activities in the buffer zones of the protected area. However, in this approach the livelihood is indirectly linked with conservation, and it has little consideration of the condition for the protected areas. As a consequence, local economic activities will most likely expand into and interfere with the core zone (Ibid. 1424). 'Direct linkage' refers to the development of a 'dependent relationship between the biodiversity and the surrounding people'. This approach acknowledges the local community's role in maintaining the conservation area. It is assumed that by providing access the conservation area by the local community, in order for them to obtain benefits from it, then the people will support and conduct conservation behaviour (Ibid. 1425).

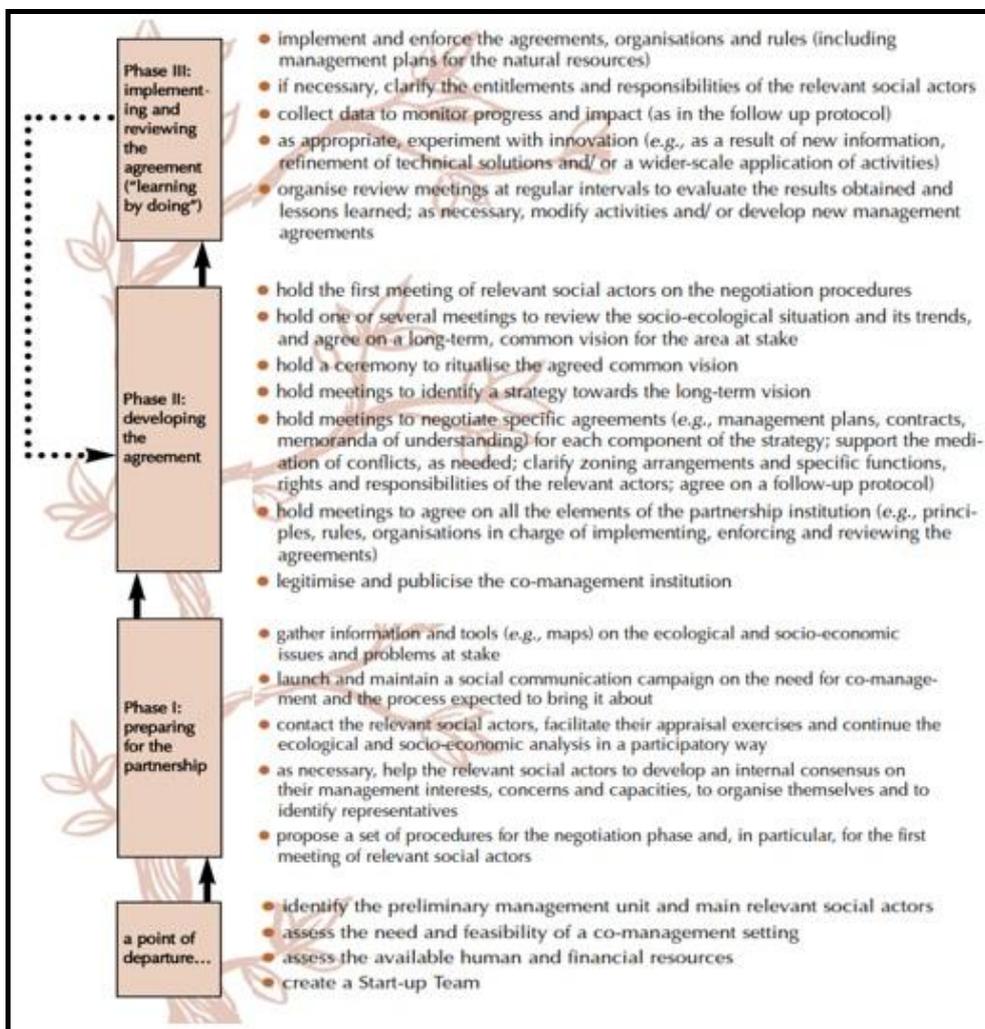
2.2. Collaborative Management Approach as a Forest Governance Model

The concept of collaborative management was initially promoted by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in 1996. It can be defined as power sharing between government and community to manage natural resources (Pomeroy and Berkes 1997:466). Other scholars defined it as joint action/collective action between key stakeholders (especially governments, environmental organisations, community groups and other stakeholders) in a natural resources area with the purpose of implementing joint management of the conservation of the protected area (Conley and Moote 2003, Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004:69, Carter and Gronow 2005:2, Turyahabwe 2012, PRCF 2015). From these definitions, collaborative management varies in actors; it can be between state and community, between communities, between communities and private sectors/NGOs, or other interests groups within the local community. The models of collaborative management arrangement vary between involving the community for consultation prior to the initiation of the approach, to a partnership or active participation in which the community is involved in the design, implementation, and monitoring evaluation of the policy with advice and assistance from the government (Pomeroy and Berkes 1997).

Globally, collaborative management is implemented in many countries, for example: India, Nepal, Philippines, Latin America, Canada, United States, Australia, and many African countries (Turyahabwe et al. 2012, Carter and Gronow 2005, Matthews and Missingham 2009). It is widely recognised that collaborative management can bring changes in terms of ecological, socio-economic, institutional, infrastructure and policy for all stakeholders in forest governance (Turyahabwe et al. 2012:52). Experience from the Hill Community Forestry Programme in Nepal shows a successful collaborative management practice. In this programme, the state still owns the forest, but the user group has control of the trees. Furthermore, some forestry department's duties have been handed over to the forest user group with a degree of authority along with it. The forest user group has an obligation to manage the forest based on an agreed operational plan, but they have the right to decide the selling-price of the forest products and also how to spend their income (Carter and Gronow 2005:7). Another example is from the Model Forest Program in Canada. This programme emphasises the partnership forum between people and organisations in achieving sustainable forest management. It provides a space for building shared understanding, knowledge, expertise and resources to find innovative solutions for the environmental challenges in place (Carter and Gronow 2005:13). Not all implementation of collaborative management is successful. An example from Wombat in Australia showed that the dynamics of the collaborative management process might lead to unresolved contradictions and conflicts between its stakeholders (Matthews and Missingham 2009). Instead of protecting the forest and providing alternative economic activities for the community, it is possible that the forest might become more degraded and deforested, leading to bigger conflict between the stakeholders in forest governance.

As a multi-stakeholder method, collaborative management offers a response to many challenges in development and conservation. Some of the

main benefits are: a neutral place to exchange and discuss diverse opinions and interests when conflict has arisen between stakeholders; instruments to enable dialogue and participatory decision making for a more responsive policy-making process; the provision of an arena for harmonious power relations between all stakeholders at local and global levels in response to globalisation and decentralisation phenomena; and lastly tools to promote and exercise a local governance system in natural resources governance (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004, Carter and Gronow 2005). Additionally, collaborative management practices also act as a mechanism for communities to tackle the threat of natural degradation and poverty; to achieve greater effectiveness and efficiency in managing the natural resources; to ensure the distribution of equity and reduce rural poverty; as a mechanism for negotiation between the stakeholders; and lastly, as a form of social institution at the local level (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004, Carter and Gronow 2005).



(Source: Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004:139)

Figure 2. Phases of a collaborative management process

The development of collaborative management cannot be separated from the object and actors that are involved in the management (Figure 2). The process of developing collaborative management starts with analysis of the natural resource management unit (as the object of the system), followed by the stake-

holder analysis to identify the social actors that are involved in the area (affected groups, concerned groups, dependent groups, groups with claims, impacting groups). It also includes the capacities and comparative advantage of the actors, such as managers and users, holders of knowledge and skills, neighbours, traditional authorities, national authorities, well-trusted individuals, and potential investors (Fisher 1995, Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004: 117-125, Carter and Gronow 2005). The analysis should also include the special circumstances in the particular area. This analysis reflects the high degree of contextualisation of the approach. Following the contextual analysis, a feasibility study is carried out on the necessity and the potential benefits and obstacles of developing collaborative management in a particular place (Fisher 1995, Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004: 128 - 135, Carter and Gronow 2005). If the feasibility study shows that collaborative management is needed, the next step may be conducted: gathering the actors, developing the agreement, and at the end of the cycle of implementing and learning, the approach may be implemented.

Looking at the definition, function, motives and the development process of collaborative management, this research understands collaborative management as an arena for each stakeholder to discuss and negotiate their interests, expectations, and possible contributions to the collaborative action. The main traits of this concept are the degree of participation of the stakeholders in the decision-making process relate to the agreed vision of the programmes, the kind of collaborative actions, the implementation of the programmes in partnership among the stakeholders, and the monitoring and evaluation of the programmes.

A number of literature presents criticism to collaborative management. They emphasise on the imbalance power relationship between the stakeholders involved in the approach. Conley and Moote (2003) noted criticism to collaborative management approach that the decision-making process is vulnerable to be co-opted by the powerful stakeholder involved in the approach, and the exclusion of 'external' actors from the approach. Carter and Gronow (2005) noted similar criticism which emphasise on the unwillingness of the powerful stakeholders to share their power to their new partners in the approach; the possibility of 'elite capture' by the local elites; and the issues of equity distribution due to unequal position between the stakeholders. In the collaborative management approach, all the stakeholders are suggested to have reciprocal communication and influence in decision-making process. In reality, governments tend to lead and just include other stakeholders in a consultative rather than a collaborative manner (Ansell and Gash 2008).

2.3. Community Participation

The collaborative management approach is following the notion of community participation (Turyahabwe et al. 2012). The concept of community participation became a mainstream idea in development in the 1940s with the main characteristic being the creation of participatory governance, opening up chances for communities to actively exercise their citizenship (Paul 1987, Cornwall and Gaventa 2000, Hickey and Mohan 2007). It emerges as counter approach to deal with the failure of the top-down development approach. In this context, community participation might serve as a social change that can achieve several purposes: increasing the 'empowerment' of the community,

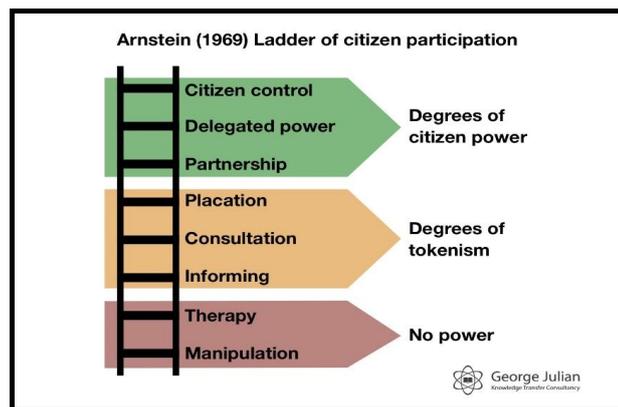
building capacity for community, increasing ‘effectiveness and efficiency’ of the project, and realising a shared contribution between actors in the project implementation (Paul 1987). Community participation can be defined as ‘a voluntary process by which people, including the disadvantage, influence or control the decision that affect them’ (Saxena 2011:31).

Cohen and Uphoff (1980) defined four types of participation. The first three was ‘participation in decision making’ which refers to participation in conceptualisation, valuation and plan development of ideas and alternatives actions. This type of participation ranges from ‘initial decisions’, ‘ongoing decisions’ and ‘operational decisions’. ‘Participation in implementation’ refers to participation through the means of resource contribution (workforce, money, material goods and information), involvement in administration and coordination tasks, and enlistment in a programme/project. ‘Participation in benefits or harmful consequences’ is closely related to ‘enlistment’ as that can bring potential benefits for the participant in terms material benefits (e.g. income, live-stock, lands), social benefits (in the form of services or public goods) and personal benefits (e.g. political power). Lastly, ‘participation in evaluation’ refers to the review of the overall implementation of the programmes/projects. In line with these ideas, Berner (2010:14-15) argued that participation can be seen from three point of view: participation ‘as an end in itself’ where it serve as an agency for individuals; participation ‘as a means to ensure quality, appropriateness and durability of improvements’ where it focuses on the degree of ‘ownership’ of the people’ and lastly, participation ‘as means to increase efficiency and cut costs by mobilizing communities’ contribution in terms of time, effort and sometimes money’. Saxena (2011) further emphasises that the core of community participation is in the interaction and capacity development of the stakeholders to find solutions for their issues.

With regard to the term ‘community’, it has been widely used in conservation management and livelihood studies since the 1980s (Kumar 2005:277). Community is defined as a residential unit with a heterogeneous identity and interests (Cohen and Uphoff 1980, Uphoff 1998). In line with this statement, Agrawal and Gibson (1999) argued that the various interests and actors within community influence its decision making process and the way that the community interacts with other actors outside the community. Cohen and Uphoff (1980) categorised four main actors in community participation based on background and responsibility, namely: (i) local residents, i.e. the community which usually become the target of development programmes; (ii) local leaders, who are the local elites, including ‘informal leaders’, ‘associational heads’, and ‘local office holders’ who usually conduct long-term work in the area; (iii) government personnel who are administratively placed in local level representing the state interest, and (iv) foreign personnel, which refers to foreign donors employees, immigrants, expatriates, etc. who work in the local area. Other than individual participation, people can also participate in a development program through community group. Uphoff (1998) defined a community group as a smaller part of the community which has proximity among its members (age, gender, religion, occupation, etc.).

Power relations within the community participation become a central issue. The success of participation is closely related to the level of people’s power or their access to power in the community participation (Arnstein 1969, Collin and Ilson 2006). In understanding power relation, Arnstein (1969) proposed

a ‘ladder of citizen participation’ to show three categories of participation. The first category is ‘non-participation’ or ‘no power’, which is the level where people are seen as passive actors in the decision-making process. The second category is ‘tokenistic participation’ where people can express their voice and gather information from a higher level of power, but they still do not have influence in the decision-making process. The third one is ‘degree of citizen power’, where people enjoy their power and have the privilege of actively influencing the decision-making process (Figure 3). In this ladder, participation is seen as a hierarchical order where powerless citizens engage in a power struggle in an effort to obtain more space and power to control the higher level of actors, while the powerholders resist any redistribution their power (Arnstein 1969, Collin and Ilson 2006). Critics of this model say that the ladder of participation has over simplified the relationship between powerholders and the powerless citizens, without considering the context in which this relation is situated. It assumes that participation can solve the problems of development when the powerless citizens successfully claim their control or power (Collin and Ilson 2006). Nevertheless, Arnstein’s ladder of participation still can help to identify the different levels of participation between the stakeholders in a development project/policy implementation (Collins 2004).



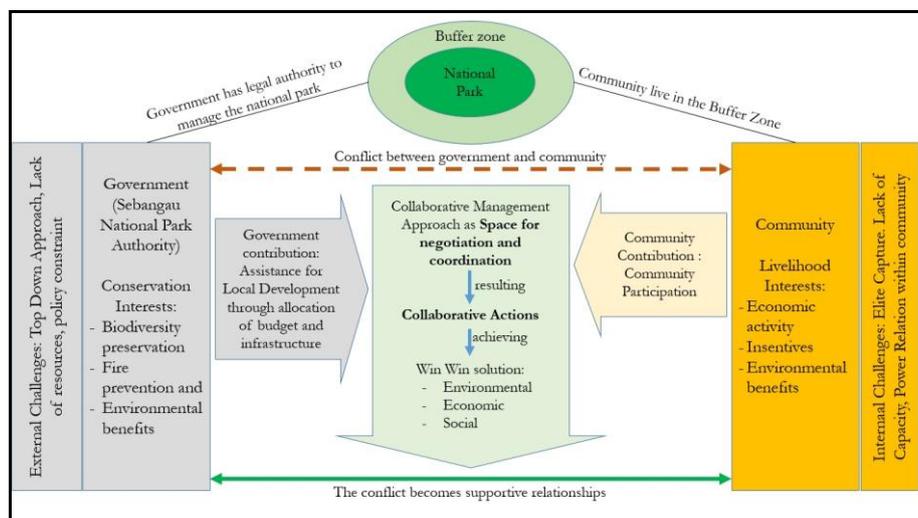
(Source: www.georgejulian.co.uk)

Figure 3. Ladder of Participation

Following the critics, Cleaver (2001:36) and other authors have argued that participation should deal with the complexity of power relations and politics between the actors involved. Cooke and Khotari (2002) argued that participation might reproduce the power relationship and create a ‘tyranny’ in the community. In line with this criticism, it is argued that community participation is vulnerable to elite capture practices where the powerholders misuse their power to influence the decision-making process for their own interests rather than for public interests (Dasgupta and Beard 2007: 230). Other authors argued that the mechanism of participation possibly creates a patron-client relationship between the powerless and the powerholders, which then creates social exclusion within the community (de Wit and Berner 2009, Khadka 2010). Mansuri and Rao (2013:66-79) warned that community participation might be constrained by coordination failure, possibility due to the lack of a cooperative infrastructure, lack of proximity in terms of culture/civic identity/knowledge, an unclear mechanism, and asymmetric information between the people who are involved in the community participation.

2.4. Collaborative Management Approach as a Space for Community Participation in Negotiating Livelihood and Conservation Interests

Based on the concepts above, this research attempt to establish how collaborative management become the means (Berner 2010) through which government and communities can negotiate, and coordinate their interests, expectations, and possible contributions to the collaborative actions. The collaborative action is seen as intended action to tackle the conflict and reform it into a supporting relation between the two stakeholders (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004:69, Carter and Gronow 2005:2, Turyahabwe 2012, PRCF 2015). This relationship will develop and help the participants to achieve their intention by realising the ideal conditions, in which a conservation area can provide environmental benefits, economic benefits for the community and the national park itself, and serve the social function of a national park in terms of accommodating local knowledge in the national park management and contributing to environmental research and education. In this case, the research firstly applied the categorisation of linkages between livelihood and conservation from Salafsky and Wollenberg (2000), in order to understand the opposition to the conservation policy in Indonesia. The most achievable way of examining the power relation between government and community is by looking at the process of development of the collaborative management at a local level, where community participation is most likely to occur. In doing so, the concept of collaborative management by Borrini-Feyerabend et al. (2004) was then applied to analyse the steps of developing collaborative management. This research then applied stakeholder analysis for natural resources management in order to verify the initial stakeholders who were involved in the process. Stakeholder analysis is defined as identification of stakeholders and their involvement in a decision-making process, in terms of how each stakeholder affects or can be affected by a decision-making process (ODA 1995:1, Reed et. al 2009:1933). Lastly, the research applies the concept of the ‘ladder of participation’ from Arnstein (1969) to analyse on the degree of participation of the community, and to identify the power relation in the approach (Figure 4).



(Author's Illustration)

Figure 4. Illustration of Conceptual Framework

Chapter 3 Life in Sebangau National Park

This chapter will provide the context of the research and answer the first sub-research question. It is about the description of the villages' socio-economic situations before and after the forest function change. This description will be used to map the existence of livelihood and conservation interests related to the Sebangau National Park territory.

The Sebangau National Park is located in the Central Kalimantan Province, Indonesia. It has approximately 568.000 ha area, situated between the Sebangau River and Katingan River, and spreading into three local government' authorities: Katingan District, Pulang Pisau District and Palangkaraya Municipality (Awang 2008:6-7, Sebangau National Park 2014:14). The Sebangau National Park has many environmental services for human wellbeing. As the area is the largest peat forest in Indonesia, it has a unique ecosystem and wide biodiversity. Various trees have a high commercial value in the market (Awang 2008). With regard to the fauna, there are at least 35 species of mammals in this area, 13 of which are classified as endangered species (Sebangau National Park Authority 2014). The rivers are rich with species of fishes, which have become the main source of food for the communities in Central Kalimantan (Sebangau National Park Authority 2014). The Sebangau National Park also strategically serves as a water catchment area in Central Kalimantan which endows the peat forest with an important function for irrigation, fisheries, transportation, and to provide clean water supplies for the Katingan District, the Pulang Pisau District and the Palangkaraya Municipality (Soehartono and Mardiasuti 2013:173). Moreover, the absorption capacity of the peat protects the surrounding area from flooding in the wet seasons. However, one of the characteristics of peat, when the peat's moisture level is very low, is that it becomes highly flammable. Combined with dry seasons in Indonesia, it is easy to spark fire in the forest (Awang 2008:6).

Before 2004, the Sebangau National Park functioned as a production forest (*Hutan Produksi – HP*) and production forest that could be converted for other function (*Hutan produksi yang dapat dikonversi – HPK*). These areas were managed by private sectors from other provinces which came to Central Kalimantan and extracted the forest under forest concession permit issued by local governments from the 1970s to the 1990s. During this time, sawmill industries rapidly established along Katingan River and many canals were built from the forest to the river to transport the wood out of the forest (Awang 2008:18).

3.1. Life before the Forest Function Changing

The area of Sebangau National Park is surrounded by 51 villages (Sebangau National Park Authority 2014:35). Many people who live in these villages rely on the forest for their livelihood, in terms of obtaining basic daily needs, such as: food, fishing, and medicines. Some of the community also economically benefit from harvesting wood for the logging and sawmill industries, or rattan for the rattan industries.

In Kereng Bangkirai village, the main source of the local community income was from the logging industries, from working as woodcutters or sawmill labourers (Awang 2008). The regional minimum wages for this kind of works was around €30 per project (Statistic Bureau of Palangkaraya 2004, Awang 2008). Sometimes, when the logging industries slowed down, they harvested trees to collect *jelutung* sap and sold it to the middleman. At other time, they farmed crops and fished in the river to fulfil their daily consumption needs (Sylviani 2008). From a social perspective, most of the people who lived in this area were Dayaknese. Part of their culture is that for a boy to be considered as a mature, independent and brave man, he should handcraft his own house, and this starts with collecting wood from getting wood from the forest as house material. In this case, accessing forest for wood was encouraged.³

In Sebangau Mulia village, people lived on the riverbank of the Kahayan River. This area is a transmigrants' village, a dedicated area for a resettlement programme by the government of Indonesia in 1985. The residents are mostly farmers from Java Island. To live in this area, they have to open up the forest area and regularly cultivate the soil by setting controlled fires in the fields. This way, the soil will be more fertile for planting rice, corn, and cassava, and will later provide more crops at harvesting time⁴. The success of the crop farming meant that the village was designated as 'the rice granary' for the area. The Sebangau Mulia village has similar experience with the Kereng Bangkirai village. As the location is near the forest, a big canal has also been built in this area to bring wood out of the forest into the Kahayan River, attracting more people from other areas to come and access the forest (Soehartono and Mardiasuti 2013). The canals in the area, besides transporting wood out of the forest, also quickly dried out the water supplies in the peat land, degrading the forest. Moreover, the peat became thinner, and its absorption capacity decreased. As a consequence, during the rainy seasons, Sebangau Mulia village and other surrounding villages experienced flooding. This flooding submerged the crops, and meant that they failed.⁵

Baun Bango village is located on the riverbank of the Katingan River where the logging industries, owned by private sectors from other provinces, operated. This inspired a number of residents to open sawmills in this area, providing job opportunities for other residents. Almost all men in Baun Bango village worked for logging industries or were sawmill labourers.⁶ Along with timber-related work, people also accessed the forest to find rattan to make furniture (Smith 2002), some of them brought rattans from the forest and planted them in their yard.⁷ Others worked as woodcutters to get *gemor* sap as a raw materials for mosquitos repellent (Soehartono and Mardiasuti 2013). However, this activity decreased the number of *gemor* trees, as no re-planting was done. Similar to the Kereng Bangkirai village, the residents of the Baun Bango village are Dayaknese. The community also accessed the forest to collect wood

³ Individual Interview with Formas Leader in Kereng Bangkirai Village, 27 July 2015

⁴ Group Interview with community in Sebangau Mulia Village, 6 August 2015

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Individual Interview with Formas Leader in Baun Bango Village, 7 August 2015

⁷ Individual Interview with Senior Member of Customary Council in Baun Bango Village, 7 August 2015

for building their houses. For daily consumption, people accessed the forest in order to find vegetation for food, medicine and cultural needs.⁸ They also fished in the river (Sylviani 2008).

The conditions in these three villages represent the uncontrollable logging and access to the Sebangau forest, which meant that the area suffered from high levels of deforestation and degradation.

3.2. Life after the Forest Function Change

Changing the forest function into a national park really affected people's lives in the Sebangau National Park area. As the logging and sawmill industries closed down, people had to look for another source of income. They had to rely on other economic activities that were previously done as complementary work (Sylviani 2008). Most people grew crops and fished. The crop farming was usually done by newcomers, and the fisheries were run by indigenous residents (Aji 2009).

In Kereng Bangkirai village, the forest function change made the community unable to work for logging industries, and as the result they lost their major source of income. To fulfil their daily needs, the community has to rely on fishing in the river for family consumption. Some people even start fisheries using *keramba* (bamboo cages for aquaculture), however their products are just for family consumption, even though the community in Kereng Bangkirai village is familiar with fishing in the river, and has inherited the fishing knowledge from their ancestors. Practically, they do not have the technical knowledge required for *keramba* aquaculture. Other people farm crops, but the income from this sector is relatively low as the products are sold directly without any value adding process (Aji 2009).



People fishing in Sebangau River (Hartanto 2015) Children and *keramba* (Author's documentation)

Figure 5. Situation in Kereng Bangkirai Village

A new kind of work is tourism. Some people in Kereng Bangkirai have started tourism services near Kereng Bangkirai Port (the village's river port). They made a porch at the edge of the port, providing a nice place for tourists to relax and enjoy the beauty of the black water and sunset, or the annual *Kelotok* Festival event on the Sebangau River. Along the way to the porch, three households opened small depots, serving instant noodles, snacks and drinks

⁸ Ibid.

for the tourists.⁹ The same households also provide transportation services for tourists who wants to down the river using a *kelotok* (a type of small wooden boat). They charged €10-17 per boat per trip. The *kelotok* owners usually also act as tourist guides. However, not many tourists use these *kelotok* services, as the price is relatively high. Domestic tourists prefer to enjoy the sunsets in the porch. Foreigner that come to the area are usually there for research in the national park, so they use the Sebangau National Park's services, as the price is competitive (approximately €25) and with it they also given a full package (research permit to enter the national park, guide from the Sebangau National Park, and speed boat with the facility to enter the area).

In Sebangau Mulia village, people continue to farm their crops. However, after the bad flooding, the soil is less fertile. In addition, the water supplies in the area have significantly dropped, and communities face difficulties irrigating their fields. As a consequence, their crop production has decreased. Influenced by the trends of rubber and palm plantations in Pulang Pisau, the majority of people in Sebangau Mulia allocate their fields as palm plantations. However, these palm plantation has not yet yielded any income, since the plantation is still young (Statistic Bureau of Pulang Pisau 2014).

Similar to Kereng Bangkirai village, the community in Baun Bango village are no longer able to work for logging industries and have lost their major source of income. Some people tried aquaculture using *keramba* in the Katingan River. However, their knowledge of *keramba* aquaculture is very limited. Consequently, the aquaculture failed due to the absence of strategy to tackle *keramba* aquaculture challenges, for example: uncontrollable water flows.¹⁰ Other people continue with their rattan business. However, as they cannot access the forest, they have to rely on their own rattan plants in their yard, which is not enough for a business. Longing for other sources of income, most people in Baun Bango village have shifted to work for palm plantations that operate near their villages.¹¹

Looking closely at the socio-economic situation of the villages in Sebangau National Park, it can be identified that there are two major interests of the local community related with the Sebangau National Park, a cash incentive (as part of the livelihood interest) and the environmental benefit (as part of the conservation interest). The cash incentive interests derives from the non-existence of logging and sawmill industries that has made the community in Kereng Bangkirai and Baun Bango villages lost their major source of income. On the other hand, their alternative economic activities have not provided enough income for the community. They suffer as their incomes are no longer sufficient to cover their daily needs. The pressure of economic needs has made people think that their impoverished condition is rooted in the existence of the national park. They wish that governments (the Sebangau National Park Authority) could provide alternative local development that can provide benefits to the community. The environment benefits interest can be seen from the experience of Sebangau Mulia village. They believed that the conservation of the

⁹ Informal Interview with community in Sebangau Mulia Village, 7 July 2015

¹⁰ Individual Interview with Formas Leader in Baun Bango Village, 7 August 2015

¹¹ Ibid.

Sebangau National Park will help them to deal with annual flooding disasters, and forest fire. With these two types of interest in the local community, collaborative management approach might become an ideal instrument for communities to negotiate their interests with the government.

Chapter 4 Collaborative Management in Sebangau National Park

This chapter attempts to answer sub research question two on the progress of the collaborative management approach, and the interaction of communities and government in the process of developing collaborative management. In this chapter, the ‘community’ is seen as a single entity that is represented by *Forum Masyarakat* (Formas is a type of community organisation at a sub district level). However, this research is aware that the term ‘community’ in reality consists of various individuals and groups with diverse backgrounds. Hence, further analysis on the community itself will be presented in Chapter 5.

This chapter start with the linkage between livelihood and conservation in Indonesia’s forest governance, follows with overview of the policy of collaborative management for forest conservation in Indonesia, the stakeholder analysis of this approach in Sebangau National Park, and the development and experience of collaborative management in the three selected villages, and ends with the lessons learned of collaborative management in Sebangau National Park.

4.1. The Linkage between Livelihood and Conservation in Indonesia’s Forest Governance

Looking closely at the national parks in Indonesia, it can be analysed that the government of Indonesia is legally accommodating the livelihood interest of local community through indirect approach (Salafsky and Wollenberg 2000) in the linkage of livelihood and conservation. According to Salafsky and Wollenberg (2000), indirect approach, characterised by the creation of spatial zones in the national park, will enable the government to facilitate the provision of alternative local livelihoods for the local community, while at the same time providing space for the community to take part in conservation efforts. This argument is valid in the definition of national park in Indonesia. According to the Law of Republic Indonesia number 5 Year 1990 on Conservation of Natural Resources and Its Ecosystem, a national park is ‘a protected areas which has its original ecosystem, managed using zoning system, and utilised for the interest of research, knowledge, education, cultural support, tourism, and recreation’ (Article 1 (14)). The zoning system is further elaborated in the Regulation of Ministry of Forestry P.56/Menhut-II/2006 on Zoning Guidance. The ministerial regulation stipulates that the zoning of the national park in Indonesia covers the core zone (*zona inti*) which refers to absolute protected and prohibited area from any human activities; the jungle zone (*zona rimba*) where part of the forest/natural resources has the layout, condition and capabilities to support the preservation of the core zone; the utilisation zone (*zona pemanfaatan*) which is allowed to be a recreation and tourism centre; and the miscellaneous/other zone (*zona lain*) which can be used as a traditional zone, religious/cultural zone, historical zone, or special zone. These two regulations confirmed the indirect approach in linking livelihood and conservation interest.

However, the indirect approach in Indonesia is contrasting with Salafsky and Wollenberg (2000) which argued that in indirect approach the livelihood provision usually gradually become more important than forest protection. The focus of indirect approach in Indonesia is placing more emphasis on forest protection. This argument can be drawn from the three main means of forest conservation management in Indonesia. According to the Government Regulation No. 28 Year 2011 on Management of Conservation Area, Ministry of Environment and Forestry (MEF) should manage the conservation forest through the means of: '(i) protection of life support system which focuses on securing the conservation area and eradicating any form of destruction caused by human activities, animals, invasive species, pest, diseases, or natural disaster (Article 24); (ii) preservation of biodiversity and its ecosystem which refers to activities of sustaining plants and animals' species and their habitat, creating wildlife buffer zones, ecosystem restoration and also conservation area closure (Article 25); and lastly (iii) sustainable consumption of biodiversity and its ecosystem, which refers to refers to utilisation of plants and animals' species and their habitat (Article 33) for the purpose of research, knowledge, education, conservation awareness activities, environmental support (e.g.: carbon storage, water catchment, etc.), and traditional use of nature (e.g.: opening limited access to local communities to extract non-timber forest products, to conduct traditional events in the forest, and limited traditional hunting to unprotected species). Reviewing the means, it can be examined that the first two means both are closely related to the conservation interest (IUCN 2015). Meanwhile, the third mean to some extent provides some room for livelihood interests (Chambers and Conway 1991, Ellis 1999).

4.2. Overview on the Policy of Collaborative Management for Forest Conservation in Indonesia

As the newest approach of forest governance in Indonesia (Safitri 2010), collaborative management might serve as an appropriate approach in realising forest governance between government (the National Park Authority) and its wider scope of stakeholders (private sectors, local community, and other actors). In managing the conservation areas, the government of Indonesia has developed at least three models of community-based forest management: the Customary/Indigenous (*Adat*) Forest model, the Forest Area with Special Purpose model (*Kawasan Hutan dengan Tujuan Khusus - KHD'TK*), and the Collaboration in managing Conservation Forest model (*Kolaborasi Pengelolaan Kawasan Konservasi*) (Safitri 2010:53). The customary forest model was initiated in 1999 as a legal framework for acknowledging the role of the customary/indigenous community in managing state forest. The forest area with special purpose model, also initiated in 1999, is dedicated to managing the state forest for educational and socio-cultural purposes (Safitri 2010:64). Meanwhile, the collaborative forest management model, initiated in 2004, became a model for the National Park Authority/conservation offices with regard to working together with other actors, such as private sectors or local communities for the management of state conservation forest (Safitri 2010:65).

Collaborative forest management in Indonesia tends to be seen as collective actions between stakeholders specifically designed to serve the conservation interest. This argument is in line with the global definition of collaborative management which emphasise on ‘the creation of joint action between key stakeholders to conserve the protected area’ (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004:69, Carter and Gronow 2005:2, Turyahabwe 2012, PRCF 2015). It can be identified by examining the definitions and the composition of the scope of collaborative activities that stipulated in the Forestry Ministerial Regulation P19/Menhut-II/2004 on Collaborative Management of Conservation Area. The regulation defines collaborative management as ‘the implementation of joint/collective activity or problem-solving actions (between the National Park Authority and other stakeholders in the area) to increase the effectiveness of the national park management’ (Article 1). While, the scope of collaborative actions covers: spatial management; management planning; development of area’s capacity; area utilisation; research and development activities on biodiversity and on socio-cultural aspects of the community; area protection and security, fire prevention and fire handling; capacity building for the National Park Authority and community; supporting infrastructure development; and community participation capacity building.¹² In Addition, the regulation also stated that all the stakeholders in collaborative management are required to have a formal agreement. This formal agreement should at least include types of collaborative activities, a support plan for the activities, the rights and responsibilities of every stakeholder, a defined period of implementation of the activities, and a post activity strategy (Article 5 subsection 2). It is confirmed the analysis that the collaborative management approach has to be participatory developed, as the regulation emphasises the collective agreement of the stakeholders (Conley and Moote 2003, Borrini-Feyerabend 2004, Carter and Gronow 2005, Ansell and Gash 2008).

The policy of collaborative management approach in Indonesia is argued as positioning unequal relationships between the actors (Arnstein 1969). It can be analysed from the P19/Menhut-II/2004 which specified that the actors who can work together in the collaborative management approach are central government, local government, local community, individual and NGOs/INGOs, private sectors, local/state-owned enterprises, academicians, and scientists who have concerns over environmental development (Article 4 subsection 3). Principally, all actors can be positioned as the initiator, facilitator or mentor of the management approach (Article 4 subsection 4). However, this regulation also mentions that the collaborative management should not change the function of the conservation area, and that the authority of forest management is still in the hands of the MEF (Article 7). This article put the government as the most powerful actor in the collaborative management.

Comparing the process of collaborative management in Indonesia with the collaborative management approach phases as presented by Borrini-Feyerabend et al (2004), it can be seen that they tend to follow the same phases (Table 3). However, looking more closely at the collaborative management approach in Indonesia, it tends to use a linear approach, as the process stops when the timeframe ends, or the agreement is ended by the stakeholders.

¹² Source: Attachment of P19/Menhut-II/2004

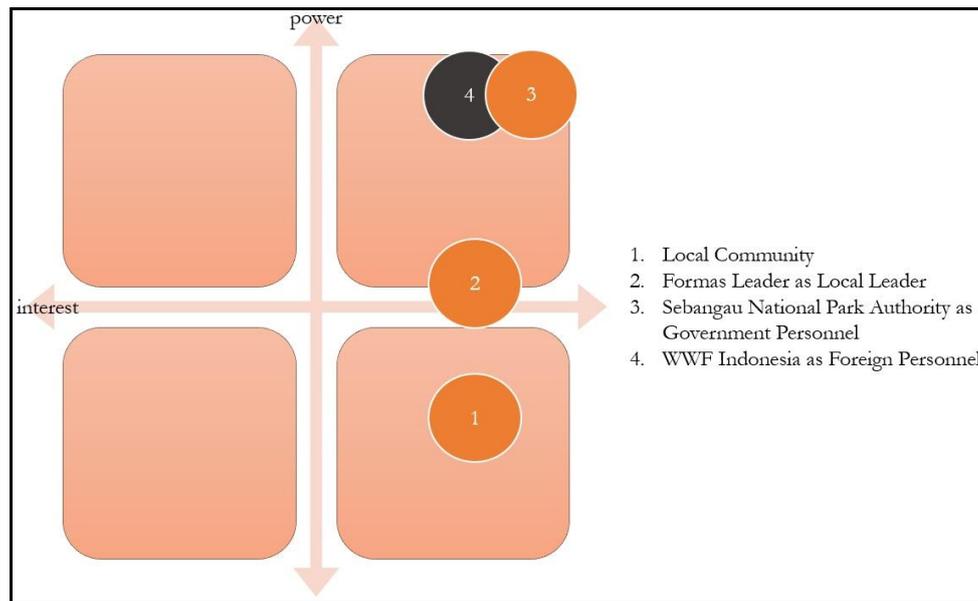
However, the collaborative management by Borrini-Feyerabend et al. (2004) adopts a cyclical approach in the process, particularly in the ‘learning by doing’ phase (Phase 3), assuming that collaborative action will sustain and create a ‘self-governance’ system.

Table 3. Comparison of Collaborative Management Development phases

Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004	P19/Menhut-II/2004
<p><u>A point of Departure :</u> Creation of start-up team, and assessment of the need, feasibility and potential stakeholders</p>	<p><u>Preparation phase:</u> Inventory and identification of potential collaborative activities in the area Coordination and consultation between the stakeholders Signing of formal agreement</p>
<p><u>Phase 1: Preparing for partnership</u> Ecological and socio-economic information gathering Communication and socialisation of the need and process of collaborative management Facilitating participatory ecological and socio-economic analysis with stakeholders Creating the roadmap of developing collaborative management: negotiation phase procedure and the first meeting of stakeholders</p>	
<p><u>Phase 2. Developing the agreement :</u> Conducting first meeting of stakeholders on the negotiation procedure Conducting meetings to review ecological and socio-economic analysis to find shared vision and mission between stakeholders Conducting meetings to negotiate the agreements, mediation of conflicts, clarifying zoning arrangement, right and responsibilities, follow-up actions, and partnership institution Legitimising and publicising the partnership institution</p>	
<p><u>Phase 3. Implementing and reviewing the agreement ‘learning by doing’:</u> Implementing and enforcing the agreement, organisation and rules Conducting monitoring and evaluation of the agreement implementation Conducting regular meetings to review, evaluate, and modify or develop a new management agreement (revisit phase 2)</p>	<p><u>Implementation phase:</u> Implementation of collaborative actions according to the agreement</p> <p><u>Monitoring and evaluation phase:</u> Conducting a collective monitoring and evaluation meeting as a corrective and learning process, and making comparisons with the agreed outcome of the approach</p>

4.3. Stakeholder Analysis in Sebangau National Park

As collaborative management focuses on creating a supportive relationship between stakeholders in the management of conservation areas, understanding the position and interest of every stakeholder through stakeholder analysis becomes very important (Borrini-Feyerabend et al 2004). Applying the categorisation of participants from Cohen and Uphoff (1980) with the concept of stakeholders (ODA 1995, Reed et al. 2009) in this management are the key local stakeholders in developing collaborative management in Sebangau National Park are Sebangau National Park Authority, Formas leaders, the community, and WWF Indonesia (Figure 6).



(Author's Illustration)

Figure 6. Stakeholder Analysis in Sebangau National Park

1. Local communities are the people who live in the buffer zone of the Sebangau National Park. They can be defined as the targeted stakeholder in the collaborative management. This analysis is in line with Cohen and Uphoff (1980) which argued that local residents refers to the target of development programs. In Figure 6, it can be seen that local communities have a relatively high degree of interest in Sebangau National Park and the buffer zone area, as they live and depend on the area for their livelihood. However, they have the least power to influence other stakeholders in the decision-making process in forest governance. In this position, the local communities are vulnerable to elite capture practise by more powerful stakeholders (Dasgupta and Beard 2007), and have a risk of being excluded from the management (de Wit and Berner 2009, Khadka 2010), as the result of power relationship complexity within the community (Clever 2001).
2. The Formas leaders can be classified as the local elites (Cohen and Uphoff 1980) since they are the leaders as well as the point of contacts of Forum Masyarakat (in English: community forum - here and after will be mentioned as Formas). Formas are community organisations in sub-district level. They were initiated by WWF Indonesia as part of WWF Indonesia

community capacity building project in 2005. Their main roles are representing the local communities in communication and negotiation with government (in this case the Sebangau National Park Authority) regarding communities' needs and interests in the conservation area. In Figure 6, it can be seen that the Formas leaders has a moderate power over the local communities and access to information and resources provided by other stakeholders. With this position, Formas leaders have a greater chance to support the implementation of the collaborative management approach, but they can also manipulate the situation for their own interests (Dasgupta and Beard 2007).

3. The Sebangau National Park Authority, as the representative of central government in local level (Cohen and Uphoff 1980), has the legal right to protect and manage the conservation forest. It also the initiator of the collaborative management approach in the area. Moreover, it has the authority to propose the design of activities that will be implemented in the area using government funds and resources. These roles positioned the Sebangau National Park Authority at the highest level of power and interest in conserving the area compared to other stakeholders. However, as Cohen and Uphoff (1980) has argued, as the government personnel administratively placed in local level, it usually represent the state interest rather than local communities' interest. This condition influences its relationship with other stakeholders, and might lead to the possibility of coordination failures due to the lack of cooperative infrastructure, unclear mechanism and asymmetric information (Mansuri and Rao 2013).
4. WWF Indonesia is identified as the foreign personnel (Cohen and Uphoff 1980), as it exists in the area as part of the foreign donors programs. It conducted community development programs for the local community in the area before advocating the Sebangau National Park Authority to initiate the collaborative management approach. With its roles as the facilitator and mediator between the Sebangau National Park Authority and the local community, it can be identified that the power and interest of WWF Indonesia are very high. However, due to the limited information on WWF Indonesia, this research will not analysis this organisation's action.

Collaborative management, which allowed the occurrence of community development assistance to bring social justice and sustainable livelihood, may not bring significant benefits for the local community due to the imbalance relationship between its stakeholders (Conley and Moote 2003, Carter and Gronow 2005, Ansell and Gash 2008). From the Table 4 which elaborates on the interests of all stakeholders, it is assumed that the collaborative management of Sebangau National Park can potentially have a positive result by bridging the conservation and livelihood interests of the stakeholders. However, the findings in this research suggest a different result. As presented in Figure 6, degree of power of all stakeholders is vary, and create unequal relationship between them. As the local communities is in the lowest level, they might not receive noticeable benefits from the approach. This seems to be the case in Sebangau National Park. It can be seen in the process of collaborative management development and the implementation of 'collaborative' activities in the area.

Table 4. Role and Interest of Stakeholders

Stakeholder	Role	Main Interest	Potential impact on the approach
Local Community	Users of forest products	Access the forest and carry out alternative economic activities	Positive if they willing to work together with the Sebangau National Park
Formas Leaders	Communicator and negotiator between Community and Sebangau National Park	Representing the local community in negotiating and coordinating with the Sebangau National Park	Positive if the Formas seek a solution between the Sebangau National Park Authority and the community. Negative if they use the power for their own benefit.
The Sebangau National Park Authority	Managing the park	Conserving the forest area	Positive
WWF Indonesia	Facilitator and mediator	Raising awareness among the stakeholders of the importance of forest conservation and support for community development.	Positive

4.4. Collaborative Management Development Process in Sebangau National Park

Sebangau National Park Authority and WWF Indonesia initiated the collaborative management approach as an instrument of conflict resolution between stakeholders (Awang 2008). In this approach, they intend to work with the neighbouring society in order to carry out a series of programmes of low-impact logging, home industry, reforestation and ecotourism. These programmes aim to achieve a balance and to benefit all the actors, ensuring that natural resources are still conserved while increasing local economic development (WWF Indonesia 2015).

In the process of developing the collaborative management approach, Sebangau National Park Authority and WWF Indonesia involved the community through Formas. In 2006, WWF Indonesia in Central Kalimantan conducted the first annual meeting of Formas in Central Kalimantan. In this meeting, the Formas agreed on their role in the management of Sebangau National Park. This included building a mutual partnership with Sebangau National Park

Authority through Formas' participation in national park zone planning and defining the boundary of land for customary rights. It also covered working together with other stakeholders to increase community participation, to look for alternative economic development strategies for the community, and to conduct dialogue with other stakeholders on the importance of the Sebangau National Park. It was also agreed that there would be an annual Formas meeting. Formas play an important role in socialising and representing the community's voice to the government and that Formas should become the mediator of conflicts between community and government. In addition to the establishment of the Formas, there were five areas in the buffer zone of Sebangau National Park which were identified as the pilot areas for the collaborative management approach.¹³

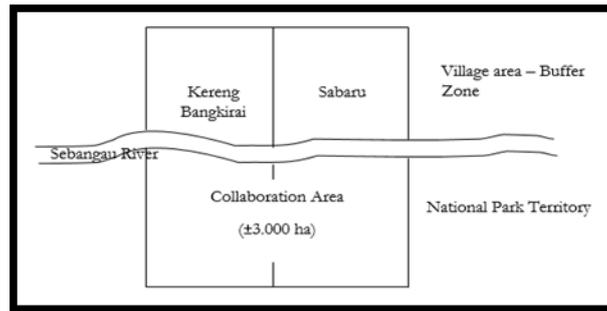
The three actors (Sebangau National Park Authority, Formas, and WWF Indonesia) met together in series of focus group discussions (FGDs) to understand the context in which collaborative management would be implemented. In these FGDs, they collected and complemented their information about the situation in the Sebangau National Park area, and identified the potential collaborative management in the pilot areas. The potential collaborative activities that were identified were as follows:

- a. Collaborative Management in Kereng Bangkirai Village, Sebangau, Palangkaraya

The community in Kereng Bangkirai village accept the forest function change and the existence of the Sebangau National Park (Awang 2008:28). The Formas Leader of Sebangau sub-district, who lives in Kereng Bangkirai village, further explained that this acceptance was because the people in the village were suffering from the deforestation and degradation of the forest. Moreover, they were the first ones to have to deal with the fires in the forest. Hence, they acknowledged conserving the forest was needed¹⁴. Along with the function change, the community hoped that the Sebangau National Park would still provide an economic function for their daily lives. Through collaborative management discussions, a number of collaborative activities were proposed to meet the conservation goal and people's aspirations, such as rubber plantation on community land, forest plantations in collaborative areas, farming assistance, fishpond aquaculture, a tourism sector, and orchid culture (Awang 2008:29). Following the deal on collaborative activities, the Sebangau National Park Authority and the community in Kereng Bangkirai village agreed that 3000 Ha of the Sebangau National Park territory be allocated as the collaboration area (Figure 7) (Awang 2008:28).

¹³ See Table 1. Villages of Collaborative Management. (p.9 of this research)

¹⁴ Personal Interview with Formas Leader in Kereng Bangkirai Village, 27 July 2015



(Source: Awang 2008:28)

Figure 7. Illustration of Collaboration Area for Kereng Bangkirai

b. Collaborative Management in Sebangau Mulia, Paduran, Sebangau Kuala, Pulang Pisau

In Sebangau Mulia village, Paduran, the community were firstly questioning the forest function changes. As their village area is plotted as a transmigration area, they were previously allowed to carry out woodcutting in the forest in order to open up the farming area, and to use the wood for house building. With the function changes they were restricted in how to fulfil their needs (Awang 2008:32). However, with communication with the Sebangau National Park Authority, they now understand the importance of conserving the forest. Moreover, three times every year they experienced flooding in the village caused by the lack of peat swamp capacity to absorb the water during the rainy seasons. The worst experience was in 2010, when they suffered flooding for 97 days in the area.¹⁵ Even though they support the conservation ideas, people in Sebangau Mulia village have a wish that the Sebangau National Park Authority can provide a solution for their problems and look for alternative economic activities or a plantation solution. In the collaborative management discussion, the Sebangau National Park Authority and the community in Sebangau Mulia village agreed to rubber plantations in community land, maize, cassava, soybeans, groundnut farming, fishpond aquaculture, and cattle farming (Awang 2008:29).

During the fieldwork, some people raised an old dilemma about cultivating the soils after the floods. They want to use controlled fire to clean and cultivate the field, however, this practice might harm the peat layer in the ground. On the other hand, implementing plantations without controlled fire will made the field less fertile and will significantly reduce the productivity of crop farming. A man in this village said,

“Without controlled fire, the soil is less fertile. The products of my crop farming are getting smaller and smaller. Even in the last harvesting period, my crop farming products even less than the seeds that I planted.” – Male, Farmer in Sebangau Mulia village

Another man emphasised his statement by saying:

¹⁵ Group Interview notes with community in Sebangau Mulia Village, 6 August 2015

“As grass root people, we have no option other than following the ‘no fire in forest or farm field’ policy. We are afraid to be arrested and put in jail because we did controlled fire, but, does government think about us? Without the controlled fire, we cannot live properly. We came to this place for a hope of better condition as we have our own field and houses in this place. So, we hope that the government can provide us alternative solution on what should we do to have better life without breaking the law.” – Male, Farmer in Sebangau Mulia village

c. Collaborative Management in Baun Bango, Kamipang, Katingan

Among the three villages examined in this research, the community in Baun Bango village was the most affected by the forest changes and the existence of the Sebangau National Park, since their livelihoods were previously dependent on the sawmill industry in the area¹⁶. The initiative of collaborative management seen as a chance to obtain better economic conditions in the area. As they are living at the riverside, the community in Baun Bango village propose to have fishing activities along the river and in the lake near the area (Awang 2008:42).

Along with the identification of potential collaborative activities, each village agreed that the collaboration activities to be conducted in the Sebangau National Park territory would be designed in zone planning, and also in the buffer zone of the Sebangau National Park. They also agreed on a number of rights and responsibilities between the three actors (Awang 2008). Based on the FGDs results, a stakeholder analysis was conducted to map and understand the position of each stakeholders in the area and to establish a road map of collaborative management in the area (Figure 8).



(Author’s illustration based Awang 2008)

Figure 8. Roadmap of Collaborative Management in Sebangau National Park

This research did not recognise any findings that indicated the next phase of the collaborative management approach (Phases 2 and 3). Examining the early process, it can be analysed that the development of the collaborative management approach has reached the phase of partnership preparation, but has halted in this phase (Borrini-Feyerabend 2004). It went through the point of departure of collaborative management development (Borrini-Feyerabend 2004), marked by the creation of the start-up team (the Sebangau National Park Authority and WWF Indonesia), the establishment of Formas, and the identification of the pilot areas as potential stakeholders of the approach. Then, it followed the phase of partnership preparation – Phase 1 (Borrini-Feyerabend 2004), marked by the identification of potential collaborative activities in the pilot areas, and the development of stakeholder analysis and a roadmap for collaborative development in the area. However, there is no indi-

¹⁶ Interview notes with Formas Leader in Baun Bango Village, 8 August 2015

cation of negotiation meetings between the stakeholders to start the development of agreement – Phase 2 (Borrini-Feyerabend 2004).

The research further revealed that one of the reasons why the development of collaborative management is still in the partnership preparation phase (Phase 1) is because of the prolonged zoning process of the Sebangau National Park. During the interview¹⁷, the Sebangau National Park Authority's staff members stated that they are still struggling to define and legitimise the zoning of Sebangau National Park area. They claimed that the zone planning has been conducted together with the local community, including the allocation of the collaborative area within the national park territory. However, the legalisation process of the zoning requires endorsement from the local governments, and the process of negotiation between the Sebangau National Park Authority with the local governments is still ongoing. As argued by Salafsky and Wollenberg (2000) that the existence of spatial zone enabling the accommodation of local development for local community livelihoods, the lengthy process preventing the Sebangau National Park to allocate of the collaborative area.

Another reason that might also hinder the development process was the perception of the Sebangau National Park Authority that community development assistance is not the responsibility of the National Park Authority.

“Community development assistance is actually the domain of the local governments. However, we are open if there is any organisation/institution who wants to have joint activity to support community development near Sebangau National Park area, as long as the activity is still in our scope of work.” – Sebangau National Park Authority

The quote above implicitly shows the lack of interest of the Sebangau National Park Authority to accommodate the livelihoods interest of the local communities. It is confirmed that the Sebangau National Park Authority is more representing the state interest rather than local communities' interest (Cohen and Uphoff 1980). The Sebangau National Park Authority might not truly understand the collaborative management approach that emphasise on the dialogue and compromise between diverse opinions and interests between stakeholders (Borrini-Feyerabend 2004, Carter and Gronow 2005).

4.5. Implementation of Collaborative Activities in Sebangau National Park

According to the interviews with the Sebangau National Park Authority both in the headquarter office and in the SPTNs, and also the interview with Formas leaders and the community in the three villages, a number of collaborative activities were implemented in the three villages between the years of 2007 – 2010. These activities were initiated by the Sebangau National Park Authority (and/or WWF Indonesia). Following are the collaborative activities in the three villages:

¹⁷ Interview notes with Sebangau National Park Authority staff members, 14 August 2015

In Kereng Bangkirai village, the local community¹⁸ received fishpond aquaculture, orchid culture, forest rehabilitation in collaborative areas, and *purun* braided craft as part of the tourism sector. There was no clear information on fishpond aquaculture and orchid culture. According to the Formas leader and one of the village members, once they received a workshop and study visit to carry out these two activities. However, due to the lack of strategies for the post-harvesting of the fish and orchids, both of the activities were stopped. For the forest rehabilitation activities, in 2007, 2009 and 2010 WWF Indonesia and Sebangau National Park involved and provided incentives for the local community in Kereng Bangkirai village, who participated in the planting process.¹⁹ Later, in 2011 and 2012, the forest rehabilitation in Sebangau National Park no longer involved the community but took assistance from the National Armed Forces (Sebangau National Park Authority 2014: 75-76), causing the local community no longer participate and receive any incentives from the forest rehabilitation activities. For assistance with the capacity building for the *purun* braided craft group, three women groups were gathered by the Formas leader. They usually make floor mats from *purun* leaves for their own use. The *purun* leaves are usually gathered from the plants which grow wild in the swamps or on the riverbanks. In 2010, WWF Indonesia facilitated two members of each group to participate in a workshop and a study visit to see sandal-making in Java. Following the workshop and study visit, WWF Indonesia helped the group in their creation of making sandals for hotel rooms. WWF Indonesia became the intermediary by setting the order, providing the material for the sandals' sole and marketing the products to Luwansa Hotel, a four star hotel in Central Kalimantan. The Sebangau National Park Authority also supported these groups and they provided two sewing machines. However, the order from WWF Indonesia was limited and irregular, so the incentives for the women's groups were not significant. Two of the three groups decided to stop making *purun* braided craft. The last group still tried to survive. They tried to look for the materials for the sandals' sole, and found that it was not available in Central Kalimantan. Later on, they learned that the materials provided by WWF Indonesia were from Java. Practically, the last group also stopped producing, but they still gather and work if WWF Indonesia orders some sandals. The two machines provided by the Sebangau National Park are now kept in the house of the group leader (which is also the wife of the neighbourhood leader). Sometimes these machines are used by one or two group members to make their own clothes.



Figure 9. Samples of *purun* braided craft

¹⁸ Group Interview notes with Community in Kereng Bangkirai Village, 27 July and 12 August 2015

¹⁹ Interview Notes with Formas Leader in Sebangau SubDistrict, 27 July 2015

In Sebangau Mulia village, the community received some assistance for rubber plantations on the community land, farming of maize, cassava, soybeans, groundnut, and cattle farming, from WWF Indonesia under the consortium of Central Kalimantan Peatland Projects (CKPP). However, the scale of these activities is very small compared to the total of the community.²⁰ The rubber plantations numbers were too little to produce enough rubber sap for commercial purposes. The farming of maize, cassava, soybeans, groundnut were not really productive as the soil was arid. For the cattle distribution, the village only received five cows to be nurtured in the village, but one of the cows was very weak and dead even before the cows arrived in the village. At the moment, they have successfully nurtured the cows, and ready to redistribute the cows to the households selected next.

In Baun Bango village, the Formas leader stated that WWF Indonesia supports the collaborative activities proposal by giving assistance to fishing businesses. However, in practice, due to the uncontrollable natural condition of the river which affect water flow, for example, the fishing businesses were not as successful as planned. WWF Indonesia invited the Formas leader to a workshop on fishpond aquaculture. It was expected that the Formas leader would share his knowledge to other resident. However, he kept the knowledge to himself for setting up his own fishpond business and selling the products to the community. Consequently, people did not experience any progress in the provision of economic activities, so they started to look for other jobs outside the village. As the nearest working opportunity is at the palm plantation, people work for the palm plantation. According to Formas leader in Baun Bango Village, all men and women in the village are working in palm plantation, as palm plantation always pays their salary regularly, provides shuttle services for their transportation, even give them annual bonus every year. This statement is confirmed by homemaking women in the village.

Other than the previous activities, based on the interview with the Sebangau National Park Authority and the Formas leaders in the villages, they have recently been more active in working on fire prevention and fire handling. At a local level, each villages surrounding Sebangau National Park has groups of firefighters called *Pengaman Swakarsa – Pam Swakarsa* (a voluntary group concerned with forest fires) which consist of a minimum of 15 community members per group. These groups received training on how to monitor and handle forest fire. They also have access to firefighting machine in each SPTN, in case fire occurs. An interesting experiences happened in Kereng Bangkirai and Sebangau Mulia village related to access to firefighting machines in the SPTNs. These two villages have different experiences of obtaining an additional portable firefighting machine from the Sebangau National Park Authority or the local governments. To be given this portable firefighting machine, it is a condition that the *Pam Swakarsa* has to be formalised into a *Masyarakat Peduli Api* (MPA), a more formal community organisation. With this formalisation, the Sebangau National Park Authority and the local governments can access the local allocated funds to provide the infrastructure for fire prevention and firefighting purposes. In Kereng Bangkirai village, the information regarding the formalisation of the village firefighter groups was well received as their lo-

²⁰ Group Interview notes with community in Sebangau Mulia Village, 6 August 2015

cation is close to the Sebangau National Park Authority office and they have a better transport infrastructure to Palangkaraya City. In addition, some staff members of the Sebangau National Park Authority are also residents of the village. These advantages allowed the firefighters groups in Kereng Bangkirai village to ask for inputs and to refine their administrative requirement for formalising their organisation. As a result, they were awarded two portable fire-fighting machines for their village. In the Sebangau Mulia village, the information about the formalisation of village firefighter groups has not been received, so they have not formalised their organisation into an MPA. As a result, even though every year the village firefighter groups in Sebangau Mulia Village ask for additional firefighting machines, they never succeed.

As both Borrini-Feyerabend (2004) and the P19/Menhut-II/2004 require a formal agreement as the basis of collaborative activities, the findings in the previous section of a lack of formal agreement between the stakeholders confirming those activities as stated above cannot be classified as part of the collaborative management approach. It also confirmed that the pressure to develop collaborative management approach in the area is likely to be weaker. Thus, it is logical that the local development strategies in the Sebangau National Park area vary in from one village to another. In addition, those activities above were not giving noticeable benefits for the local community. It can be analysed that the Sebangau National Park Authority (and WWF Indonesia) hold the strongest power compared to the local community, confirming the reality of unequal relationship between the stakeholders (Conley and Moote 2003, Carter and Gronow 2005, Ansell and Gash 2008) resulting low level of benefits for the powerless stakeholder.

From the activities above, it can be analysed that all stakeholders in Sebangau National Park did not understand the collaborative management approach as a collective action (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004:69, Carter and Gronow 2005:2, Turyahabwe 2012). Even though the types of collaborative activities proposed by each villages in the FGDs are similar, observation in this research revealed that those activities were imposed by the Sebangau National Park Authority and/or WWF Indonesia or other actors as community development assistance activities under different programmes/policies.²¹ In this case, the proposed collaborative activities from the FGDs can be considered as a basis for Sebangau National Park, and/or WWF Indonesia and/or other actors to decide on what kind of activities should be implemented as community assistance. The local community only serves as a source of information and beneficiary of the development assistances, and not part of the decision-maker. As a consequence of the implementation of those activities, the local community's perception of the collaborative management approach and collaborative activities became narrowed.

Analysis and findings in this research suggests that the policy, development process and implementation of collaborative management approach in

²¹ Identification of various programs are not possible to be done, as the communities in the three villages do not remember under which the programs the activities were implemented.

the Sebangau National Park tend to be understood as community development assistance activities rather than collective actions. In this perspective, the Sebangau National Park Authority seems to set the participation of the stakeholders within an unequal relationship that typically portrays local communities as the passive actors which have to be empowered in order to participate in the management approach. Further analysis on the community participation will be presented in the next chapter.

From the findings of community involvement in implementing the 'collaborative' activities, it can be examined that local community to some extent has a degree of ownership towards the approach, in a hope of getting benefits from the development activities in return (Saxena 2011). However, even though the government has open the opportunity and local community has a degree of ownership, the process of developing collaborative management approach still have to deal with possible challenges derives from the lack of coordination (Mansuri and Rao 2013) between the governments (central government, local governments and the national park authority) which showed in the prolonged process of national park zoning; the lack of awareness of the Sebangau National Park Authority to perceived community livelihood (Cohen and Uphoff 1980); and the lack of capacity of the stakeholders, which can be seen in the limited follow up actions from the Sebangau National Park Authority and WWF Indonesia as the initiator/start-up team of the collaborative management development process, and from the local community in implementing the community development activities in their villages. As the consequence, the momentum of developing collaborative management process in Sebangau National Park is fading away, causing the approach to be less likely to deliver its benefits for every stakeholders.

Chapter 5 Community Participation in Collaborative Management Approach in Sebangau National Park

This chapter attempts to answer sub-research question three on the identification of community groups that are involved and or excluded, followed by an analysis on their degree of participation in the process of developing collaborative management approach in Sebangau National Park.

5.1. Defining the 'Community'

As elaborated in the previous chapter, it can be analysed that the findings of the collaborative management development process in Sebangau National Park confirms that the community is not defined as a homogenous social structure in the form of residents of the village (Cohen and Uphoff 1980, Uphoff 1998, Agrawal and Gibson 1999). As identified in the stakeholder analysis (section 4.3. of this research), the communities in Sebangau National Park consists of Formas leaders and local residents in the form of community group and common residents of the village.

5.1.1. *Formas Leaders*

Experience from Kereng Bangkirai, Sebangau Mulia and Baun Bango village revealed that Formas leaders have an influential role in the collaborative management approach in Sebangau National Park. With their position in the village, it is likely to create unequal relationship with other residents, where the Formas leaders are the powerholders and other residents in the less power position (Conley and Moote 2003, Carter and Gronow 2005). Even though Formas was only initiated in 2005, the leaders of Formas usually came from the local elites (Cohen and Uphoff 1980). They are usually residents who are considered as senior members, or as having a high position in the village. Both in Kereng Bangkirai and Baun Bango village, where the residents are mostly Dayaknese, the Formas leaders came from customary council members. In Sebangau Mulia village, the Formas leader is the village leader himself.

Experience from Kereng Bangkirai village confirmed the role of Formas leader as the local elites (Cohen and Uphoff 1980) as the Formas leader possesses the authority to determine the involvement of the local community. In this kind of relation, the construction of patron-client relationship (de Wit and Berner 2009) in the community is highly possible as Formas leader has the opportunity to only choose the preferred members of the local community. These analysis can be seen in the findings the village. Many residents want to participate in the collaborative management approach. However, the collaborative activities in the area are limited to rehabilitation of forest, and assistance for fishpond aquaculture, orchid culture, and *purun* braided craft. These made a competitive space for the resident to become involved in the activities. In solving the situation, the Formas leader claimed that he knew the characteristic of every person living in the village as he also served as one of the customary councillors in the area. As a leader, he listed the people based on who wanted

to work, how many times they participated, and their performance in village activity. Considering the list, he matched the human resource needs in the collaborative activity, and assigned the people. Often, the human resources needs were lower than the number of people on list. So, he preferred to exclude people with low performance (for example, just listing their name in order to be awarded the incentive, but actually they did not work in the fields) and then assigned the jobs to the people with better performance. If there were some people who still did not get the job, he would allocate them in the next turn of activities. This mechanism may not satisfy everyone in the list as the collaborative activity does not have a definite plan and schedule, but people accepted his decision.

A different experience was recounted in Sebangau Mulia village. The Formas leader in this village applied a more participatory decision making (Paul 1987, Cornwall and Gaventa 2000, Hickey and Mohan 2007). It can be examined from his method in deciding the participants of the collaborative management. The Formas leader in this village believed that mutual cooperation between each other would help the village residents to solve any issues. For this reason, he often called for a community meeting. Particularly in collaborative activities, the community meeting decided that the participants should be the farmers in the village, and that they would take turns in implementing the activities. They also decided to report the progress of their work at the community meeting. This way, all the members of the community are more accepting the decision of the Formas leader.

The Formas leader as the local elite is vulnerable to the practise of elite capture in the collaborative management and the issue of unwillingness of powerholder to share his power to other partners (Carter and Gronow 2005). It can be seen in the experience of Formas leader in Baun Bango village. The Formas leader in this village tend to perform the management of fishpond aquaculture by himself and for his benefit rather than to invite other residents to work together for communal benefit (Dasgupta and Beard 2007).

Those experiences above showed that Formas leaders' interests and methods of making decisions have significant effect to community participation. When the Formas Leaders have interests to perform well in delivering benefits for people in their villages and open space for the local community to express their interest of participating in the collaborative activities through enlistment (in Kereng Bangkirai village) or community meeting (in Sebangau Mulia village), the acceptance and community participation in collaborative activities in the village are likely to happen. However, if the Formas leader tend to performs for his benefit and unwilling to invite the local community, community participation will not occurs in the village.

5.1.2. Community group

The community groups in Sebangau National Park are mostly established as livelihood groups, such as *purun* braided craft women's group in Kereng Bangkirai village, and the farmers' group in Sebangau Mulia village, and environmental groups – the village firefighter groups in Kereng Bangkirai and Sebangau Mulia village. It is expected that through the participation of these community groups, collaborative actions can be well implemented, resulting

positive outcomes in terms of creating alternative economic activities in the area and increase other residents participation in the approach.

The success of community group participation in collaborative management is closely related to their capacity (Saxena 2011) in terms of knowledge and networking skills in implementing the collaborative action. Experience from the *purun* braided craft groups in Kereng Bangkirai village showed that the collaborative action in the production process stopped due to the limited knowledge of the groups about the creation of variants of *purun* crafts. Moreover, their networking skills needed to be developed as they were very dependent on WWF Indonesia for marketing their products. A similar experience also happened in the orchid and fishpond aquaculture groups. The initial seeds of orchids and fish were given once along with the workshops and study visits. The groups were expected to succeed in orchid and fishpond aquaculture, and to sustain the activities by carrying out another cycle of orchid culture and fishpond aquaculture. However, in reality, the production of orchids and fishes stopped after the first harvesting as the groups did not have a post-harvesting strategy. They were supposed to allocate a portion of their products for initial capital for the next production, but they did not as they thought that the groups would receive further assistances from WWF Indonesia or the Sebangau National Park Authority to start the next production. These experiences showed the issue of lack of capacity of the community groups to implement collaborative activities. As a result, even though they participated in the activities, the sustainability of the activities will be very dependent on the availability of assistance from other actors rather than the initiative of the community groups themselves.

5.1.3. Common residents

Instead of creating inclusiveness of collaborative management in forest conservation, the implementation of collaborative actions in Sebangau National Park excludes other residents of the villages (Carter and Gronow 2005, Khadka 2010). Common residents in the village that are not members of community groups are also part of the local residents as they live in the same area (Cohen and Uphoff 1980). However, they are positioned as the powerless actors, and left behind in the collaborative management approach.

“I never heard about collaborative management. This *kelotok* business is my own initiative. I also never been invited by Sebangau National Park Authority or other actors to involve in any activities related to alternative economic activities in this place, nor receive any aids/support for my business.” – Male, *Kelotok* owner in Kereng Bangkirai Village.

This quote from a *kelotok* owner showed that participation at the local level was limited to Formas leaders as the local elites (Cohen and Uphoff 1980) that have access to communication and negotiation with the other actors (the Sebangau National Park Authority and WWF Indonesia), and to the community groups that implement the collaborative activity which have patron-client relationship with the Formas leaders (de Wit and Berner 2009). With the dominance of Formas Leaders and community groups, the collaborative actions as part of the collaborative management approach in Sebangau National Park cannot be accessed by other residents.

5.2. Level of Participation – Ladder of Participation

As the collaborative management approach main traits bring together all the stakeholders to work together to manage the forest area, it can be identified that the level of participation of the stakeholders should be in relation to the degree of partnership (Borrini-Feyerabend 2004, Carter and Gronow 2005). Therefore, the Sebangau National Park Authority, Formas leaders, community groups, and other residents of the villages in the buffer zone of Sebangau National Park, should be positioned as equal partners in decision-making process. They should sit together to discuss the raised problems, find alternative solutions and made decisions about the actions (Borrini-Feyerabend 2004, Carter and Gronow 2005). In this way, they can work together and create collaborative management so that the forest conservation and the buffer zone management can serve the conservation and livelihood interest (Saxena 2011).

Findings from the fieldwork (Table 5) indicated that the three examined villages experience participation in the development process of collaborative management in Sebangau National Park. They had dialogue with the Sebangau National Park authority to communicate their aspirations about what kind of collaborative management should be done (Borrini-Feyerabend 2004). Putting the findings in the ladder of participation (Arnstein 1969), all of the local leaders and community groups are at the level of tokenism. Particularly, the local leaders are at the level of consultation since they still can contribute their ideas and considerations to the Sebangau National Park Authority or other actors. Linking this level with the type of participation by Cohen and Uphoff (1980), the participation of local leaders can be classified as participation in decision making in term of initial decisions, since their decisions/inputs influence the options of ‘collaborative’ activities in the FGDs, and define the participation that will be involved in those activities. From Table 5, it can also be analysed that the local leaders tend to allocate the community groups as the participants of the ‘collaborative’ activity. Further analysis suggests that in the decision making process, the Sebangau National Park Authority or other actors (WWF Indonesia) were the ones who has to decide what kind of activity that would be done at a local level. Meanwhile, the community groups in Sebangau National Park are at the level of information (Arnstein 1969), with the type of participation being participation in implementation (Cohen and Uphoff 1980), as they participate in the activities as assigned by the Formas leaders.

It can be analysed that within the community, the local elites remain to have more powerful position compare to the community groups and other residents (Carter and Gronow 2005). With the involvement of the community groups in the collaborative management activities, the relation between local leader and community groups will likely become stronger. This actions can be analysed as the creation of a patron-client relationship, and it might closed the access of other residents to local leader (Carter and Gronow 2005, de Wit and Berner 2009, Khadka 2010). As the result, the risk of other resident become more marginalised is getting bigger, situating them to stay in the powerless position (Conley and Moote 2003). In this situation, the benefits gathered from the activities will only distributed between local leaders and community groups, and less likely to other residents. This pattern of imbalance relationship (Conley and Moote 2003, Carter and Gronow 2005, Ansell and Gash 2008) will like-

ly to happen in every new activities in the area, and reproduce the ‘status quo’ or ‘tyranny’ in the participation (Cooke and Khotari 2002, Cornwall 2004).

With the low to medium level of participation between the stakeholders, more time will be needed for all stakeholders to evolve their relationships before making collaborative management works in Sebangau National Park. This research suggests that the Sebangau National Park Authority, has to change their practice to be more open in involving the local community in the decision making process. Likewise for the Formas leaders, to open more opportunities for other residents to participate in ‘collaborative’ activities, they should also invite other resident to participate in the activities. In this case, the Formas leaders should also act as the facilitator in their area to promote the spirit of participation. In addition, a continuous capacity building for Formas leaders, and community groups might still needed to strengthen the capacity of the implementer of collaborative management (Saxena 2011).

Table 5. Community Participation in Sebangau National Park

Activities (Source: Fieldwork)	Category of Activities (P19/Menhut-ii/2004)	Participant (Cohen and Uphoff 1980)	Contribution (Source: Fieldwork)	Type of Participation (Cohen and Uphoff 1980)	Level of Participation (Arnstein 1969)
FGDs for collaborative management development	Management Planning	Local Leaders: Formas Leader from the three villages, Local residents: Community Groups	Information on socio-economic situation in the villages, potential collaborative activities, potential area for collaboration area	Participation in Decision Making: initial decisions	Tokenism: Consultation
<i>Purun</i> braided craft capacity development assistance	Capacity development for community	Local leaders: Formas Leader of Kereng Bangkirai Village	Determining the participants of the activities (ideas, consideration, time)	Participation in Decision Making: initial decisions Participation in project coordination	Tokenism: Consultation
		Local residents: community groups (women groups)	Involve in the workshop and visits study, followed with producing the <i>purun</i> braided crafts (time, labour, skill)	Participation in implementation	Tokenism: Informing
Forest Rehabilitation	Forest Management	Local leaders: Formas Leader of Kereng Bangkirai Village	Determining the participants of the activities (ideas, consideration, time)	Participation in Decision Making: initial decisions Participation in project coordination	Tokenism: Consultation
		Local residents	Planting the trees in the forest (time, labour, skill)	Participation in implementation	Tokenism: Informing

Activities (Source: Fieldwork)	Category of Activities (P19/Menhut-ii/2004)	Participant (Cohen and Uphoff 1980)	Contribution (Source: Fieldwork)	Type of Participation (Cohen and Uphoff 1980)	Level of Participation (Arnstein 1969)
Fishpond Aqua culture capacity development assistance	Capacity development for community	Local leaders: Formas Leader of Baun Bango Village	Determining the participant of the activity (ideas, consideration, time), involve in the workshop and visits study, followed with implementation of fish-pond aquaculture (time, labour, skill)	Participation in decision making Participation in project coordination Participation in implementation	Tokenism: Consultation
Fire Prevention and Fire Fighting	Forest Protection	Local residents: Community groups (Pam-Swakarsa and MPA)	Involve in the training, followed with implementation of task in patrolling in the forest, preventing forest fire and doing fire fighting (time, labour, skill, money)	Participation in project coordination Participation in implementation	Tokenism: Informing

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This research aims to understand the collaborative management approach in Sebangau National as an arena for the local community and Sebangau National Park to negotiate their interests of finding alternative economic development for community livelihood and the implementation of efforts to conserve and protect the forest.

The hypothesis of this research is that developing a collaborative management approach is a challenging task. As collaborative management here is defined as a joint action between stakeholders to work together to manage the forest conservation, the Sebangau National Park Authority has to work together with the local community to create a shared vision and to coordinate their actions to achieve their goals (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004:69, Carter and Gronow 2005:2, Turyahabwe 2012, PRCF 2015). Such collaboration will need an equal relationship between the Sebangau National Park Authority and the local community. In the real world, the relationship between the two stakeholders is not equal, the Sebangau National Park Authority as part of the government has stronger power than the local community. As the consequence, the collaborative actions between the two stakeholders will be in minimum level, since the participation strategies most likely will be very dependent on how the government wants it to be (Pomeroy and Berkes 1997, Dasgupta and Beard 2007).

Instead of a space for community or the disadvantaged stakeholders to demand their interest, participation in collaborative management approach became an instrument of the government to legitimise its decision without really considering the local community's voice. As stated above, the partnership relationship between the stakeholders will not be achieved as the government remains to be the strongest actor (Carter and Gronow 2005, Ansell and Gash 2008). In addition, local community itself can be defined as assemble of various individual and organisations with diverse power and interests (Cohen and Uphoff 1980, Uphoff 1998, Agrawal and Gibson 1999), making local community has its own dynamics. As the impact, the development of collaborative management approach in Sebangau National Park might still become a top down approach policy which more focusing in the efforts of conserving and protecting the forest rather than finding alternative economic development for community livelihood.

Analysis from the stories of the villagers about their experiences of the forest function changes suggests that the collaborative management approach might become an ideal space for community to bring together the interest of the local community in receiving monetary incentives and enjoying environmental benefits of Sebangau National Park, with the interest of the Sebangau National Park in protecting the forest. However, the examination of the policy of the collaborative management approach confirmed the hypothesis that the government of Indonesia places more emphasis on the conservation interest. As the scope of collaborative actions are specifically designed under the three means of forest conservation, they mostly serve the protection of life support system, and preservation of biodiversity and its ecosystem, rather than sustainable consumption of biodiversity and its ecosystem. Even though in the policy

creates room for community participation, which can be interpreted as giving space to community to raise their interest of securing and finding alternative economic development adjacent to the forest area, this does not mean that the government will listen and consider the community's interest in the decision-making process because the Sebangau National Park Authority hold the perception that the Sebangau National Park Authority do not has responsibility to provide alternative economic development for community. Hence, to make this approach work, the Sebangau National Park Authority has to change its perception to be more open and willing to listen and consider the voice of the local community.

Based on the experiences of collaborative management in Sebangau National Park, this research noted that the effort of the Sebangau National Park Authority attempts to develop collaborative management in the area is conducted by consulting with the local community on the possible alternative development for each village. This action represents a good start of building closer and better relation between the two actors. However, this great momentum of good intention was not followed up with a concrete or formal agreement as proof of their commitment (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004). Instead, the Sebangau National Park Authority or WWF Indonesia imposed development activities to be implemented in the villages without clear strategy of the sustainability of these activities (Mansuri and Rao 2013). In addition, the implementation the activities was not as good as had been expected, in terms of creating monetary incentives for local community and inviting more residents to participate. As a result, the community has less understanding on the needs of collaborative management in their area.

The research recommends all the stakeholders in Sebangau National Park to revisit the collaborative management development processes in order to revitalise and contextualise their plan (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004). A comprehensive assessment on the current condition to map opportunities of follow up actions will be a good start. In addition, all of the stakeholders need to build and strengthen their network, including with other potential actors and private actors or academicians to support the approach. Along with these, the Sebangau National Park Authority is recommended to strengthen and improve its coordination with central government and local government in order to finish the zoning of the national park.

At last, from theoretical perspective, the ladder of participation by Arnstein (1969) and types of participation by Cohen and Uphoff (1980) could help in identifying the position of each stakeholders in a development approach/programs/projects, but both concepts couldn't explain why the stakeholders are still in their level of participation as both theory do not consider the social context in which the participation is situated. A complementary of approach to understand the context of participation is needed.

In relation to the concept of collaborative management, this research showed that this concept was imposed by the government or third actors (NGOs) to the community. Thus, right from the start, the relation between the stakeholders is not equal (Conley and Mooto 2003, Carter and Gronow 2005, Ansel and Gash 2008). As a consequence, the strategies of collaborative management will likely be controlled/directed by the powerful stakeholder (including the government or the NGO), and less considering the interests of power-

less stakeholder (Carter and Gronow 2005). Transforming this imbalanced relation will need more time and efforts, as usually the powerful stakeholders will resist to share its power, meanwhile the powerless stakeholders usually do not have capacity to challenge the powerful stakeholders (Carter and Gronow 2005).

The good side of collaborative management approach is the highly contextual nature (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004). Its traits is in the continuously learning process during the development and implementation of the approach, if conducted successfully, would allow the stakeholders to gradually interact, negotiate, and coordinate their interests, expectations and resources (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004). However, this advantage might also become its weakness. Contextualising of the approach is time consuming and most likely also need a lot of resources. Importantly, it also need a restless promotor of the program. Without constant efforts and promotion of collaborative management to all stakeholders, the development of collaborative management will easily stranded before it can deliver its goals. In the case of Sebangau National Park, none of the interviewee give the concrete plan and timeline of the collaborative management. It confirmed that the collaborative management approach in Sebangau National Park does not have clear steps and mechanism (Mansuri and Rao 2013) to realise the stakeholders' participation, which then resulting in the delaying process of the approach development and then the stakeholders were losing their interest to participate in the approach.

From this case study, it can be analysed that the enabling factors of collaborative management at least covers: the existence of supporting policy at national and local levels, the willingness of the government or powerholders to share some of their power to other stakeholders, and the contextualisation of program with local condition including the considerations of capacity of each stakeholders to implement the approach.

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