Enabling Policy and Procedures in a National Park: A Struggle for Equity Case Study in Kuningan District, West Java

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Abstract

Policies established by decision-makers without involving communities and other stakeholders will increase socio-economic gaps and promote conflict in natural resource management. This paper discusses the establishment of Mt. Ciremai National Park through policies implemented by the Ministry of Forestry. By presenting a policy review and stakeholder analysis this paper argues that advocacy for enabling policy and procedures for collaborative management in national parks is a struggle to restore community forest management rights.

1. Introduction

When Soeharto's New Order Regime declared The Basic Forest Law No 5/1967, forestry policy in Indonesia became centralized and communities were denied involvement in managing the forest. Through this law, the government claimed ownership of up to 75% of Indonesia's forest territory (President Republik Indonesia 1967). Under the control of forest management, no area was allocated for use and management by the 21.2% of Indonesia's population who live around the forests and who are some of the poorest in the country. Many of the people who live around forests have forest dependent livelihoods (12.3% in all of Indonesia), work in the forestry sector (7%) and depend on agro forestry systems (59.8%) (The Central Statistic Bureau of Republic Indonesia 2004). The policy has performed poorly for these people and led to the emergence of socio-economic gaps between communities and state and local governments, as well as caused conflicts in natural resource management.

An important impact of this policy has been deforestation, with forest cover decreasing from 75% to 63.3% of Indonesia's land territory between 1967 and 2004. This is despite the various management regimes and classifications to protect 91.4% of forests that are under government control. These include: conservation areas (21.1%), protected forest areas (26.5%) production forest (25.2%), limited production forest (14.7%) and production forest that can be converted to other purposes (12.3%) (Menteri Kehutanan Republik Indonesia 2005).

This paper argues that equity and environmental issues compel us to consider options for improving forest management. In particular, I consider whether community-based forest management is a potential approach for improving the management of forests in national parks. Such an approach would require collaboration among communities and state and local governments in park management, and it would need to be based on good forest governance principles such as transparency, accountability, status of rights and responsibilities, democratization, participation, equity and equality of power (Mayers and Vermuelen 2005). The focus here is on identifying what policies and procedures would be required to enable community forest management rights and livelihoods in national parks.

In the sections below, I start with some background on the establishment of Mount Ciremai National Park, West Java, Indonesia and the implications for community rights; I then analyze the linkages between policy and the potential for community management in Mount Ciremai National Park.

2. The Changing Status Of Mt. Ciremai

Mount Ciremai is the highest mountain in West Java, Indonesia, covering an area of 15, 518.23 ha, with the highest point of the mountain at 3,078 meters above sea level. The geographical position of the peak is 7º 13' 00" South Latitude and 108º 24' 00" East Longitude (Djatmiko 2005). Administratively, Mt. Ciremai falls under the authority of two districts, Kuningan District (8,205.38 ha) and Majalengka District (7,308.05 ha).

Mount Ciremai has a number of important values from a conservation perspective. First, the Mount Ciremai Protected Area ecosystem is relatively diverse with lowland forest, rainforest and mountainous forest, which contain naturally diverse primary forest. These features give Mount Ciremai Protected Area a high degree of biodiversity with various species of flora and fauna, including several endangered species. Second, the forest area is also important as water catchments for the Districts of Kuningan, Majalengka and Cirebon. Third, the park also has potential for ecotourism, research, education and contains several archaeological sites.

In 1999, a program called Forest Management with Communities (Pengelolaan Hutan Bersama Masyarakat or PHBM) was initiated in the Kuningan District. This program involved collaborative forest management between communities, local government, Perhutani (a state owned forest company) and national and local NGOs.
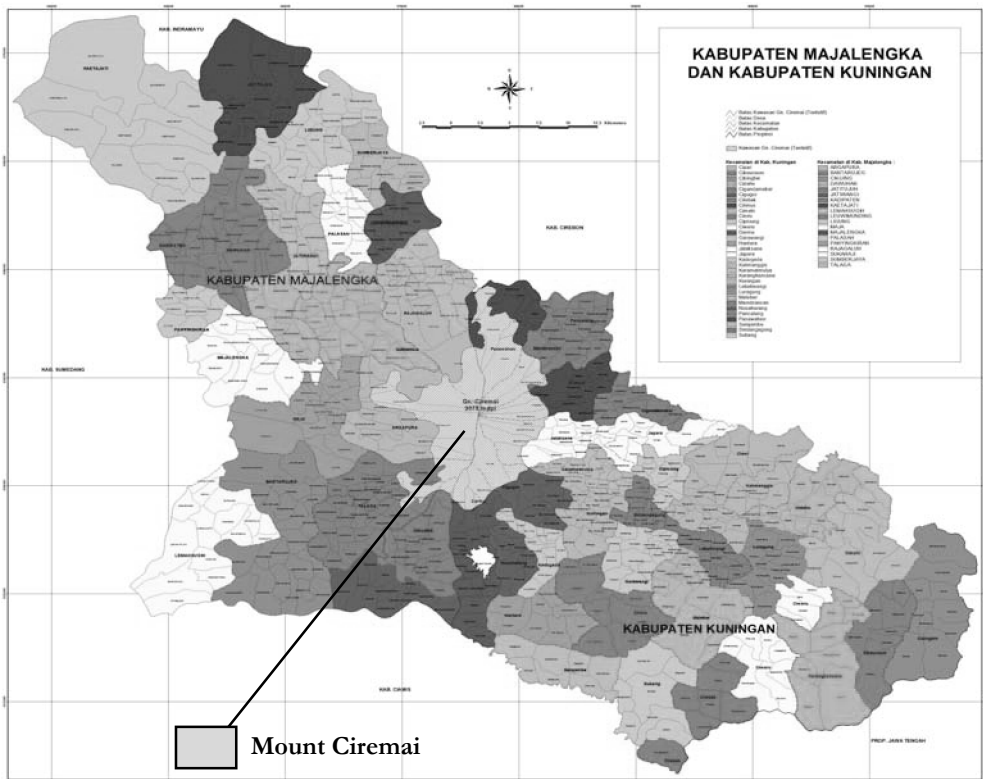
Figure 1: Map of Mount Ciremai National Park

This program aimed to give forest management rights to forest farmers under a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). The three-party MoU is signed by a forest farmer representative, the Perhutani District Officer and the village headman. Overall, this program seeks to develop local forest governance by managing the forests in Kuningan District (see Box 1 for more details).

The situation changed on 4 July 2003, when the government declared that Mount Ciremai would change from a production oriented forest to a protected area, creating a fundamental shift in the rights of forest farmers to use and manage forests (Menteri Kehutanan Republik Indonesia 2003). The new status of Mount Ciremai as a National Park was formalized in 2004 by Ministerial Decree No.424/Menhut-II/2004. The management goals for the park include conservation, preservation and protection to optimize the sustainability of biodiversity and the ecosystem on Mount Ciremai, and through this to improve community livelihoods.

Conceptually, the Ministerial Decree No.424/Menhut-II/2004 incorporates ecological, economic and social aspects of forest management. However, in practice, ecological concerns take precedence. The declaration of a national park has brought protests from forest farmers and communities who live around Mount Ciremai National Park. The reasons for these protests include:

- Denial of access rights for local communities living around the national park, which severely impacts their livelihoods.
- Procedures to establish the national park did not allow public hearings for forest farmers and communities to understand and defend their rights.
- Policy procedures for declaring a Ministerial Decree No.424/Menhut-II/2004 did not include the collaboration process that was developed in the forest management with communities program (PHBM).
- The Ministry of Forestry failed to follow their own policies and procedures in changing the status of the forest areas, such as the integrated research outlined in Ministerial Decree No 70/Kpts-II/2001 refers Ministerial Decree No. 48/Kpts-II/2004 .
- There has been no guarantee from the Ministry of Forestry to community rights in the national park(KOMPAS 2005).

2.1. Forest Policy in the National Parks of Indonesia

National parks, as mentioned in Indonesian Government Law No.5/1990, are areas with original ecosystems that can be managed by a zoning system. These parks are used for research, knowledge development, and education, supporting biodiversity conservation, tourism and recreation. Today, there are 50 national parks in Indonesia covering 15 million ha (66% of total protected area or 10% of total forest area) (Menteri Kehutanan Republik Indoneisa 2005).

**Box 1: Forest Management with Communities
in Kuningan District, West Java, Indonesia**

Facilitated by LATIN (Lembaga Alam Tropika Indonesia/The Indonesian Tropical Institute), PHBM invited a range of stakeholders to join in negotiations to determine the management of local forest resources. This program also aimed to develop a new discourse in Indonesian forest management that integrated sustainable development within a model of community-based natural resource management.

The program was initiated in 1999, based on an agreement signed by the Perhutani Executive Director and Kuningan District Government Officer on 2 February 2001. This program has used collaborative management and agreed to a benefit sharing regime that enables community rights based on a partnership between forest farmers and Perhutani, the manager of the forest. Indications of good forest governance were seen in terms of the power balance, transparency, accountability and participation. The negotiation process was founded on trust among stakeholders in order to collaborate on and define their rights and responsibilities in relation to forest management.

A survey conducted by LATIN in 2003 showed a high degree of satisfaction with the collaboration process, reporting three main reasons forest farmers became involved with PHBM. First PHBM provided guaranteed community forest management rights (69%); second, it improved their income (28%) and thirdly, it improved their capacity in managing forest (11%). More than 220 Forest User Groups (FUGs), which consist of 6600 households from 24 villages around forest on the slopes of Mount Ciremai, have been involved in this program.

Source: Setiamihardja 2003

Although the Ministry of Forestry has developed policy and procedures to support the establishment of national parks with aims to conserve biodiversity, preserve germ plasma resources and create a buffer zone system protection , these goals have not been achieved. As expressed by WALHI[1], most Indonesian conservation areas are under pressure from logging, mining and other threats like road building, even despite their conservation status (2004). The marginalization of indigenous communities plays a large role in promoting these threats, because when local people are disenfranchised from their traditional lands, they become poor and lose the incentive to preserve the forests. This makes them susceptible victims for timber barons who practice illegal logging. In 2003, WALHI recorded forced community evictions in Komodo National Park in East Nusa Tenggara, Meru Betiri National Park in East Java, Kutai National Park in East Kalimantan, Lore Lindu National Park in Southeast Sulawesi, Gunung Halimun in West Java, and numerous others.

The published policy related to national parks has been implicated in isolating park managers from the local communities around forests. For the government, conservation goals are incompatible with development. Conservation is interpreted as protection of species, ecosystems and habitats; whereas development is interpreted as natural resource exploitation, something that seems incompatible with conservation goals. National park management arrangements therefore diminish community rights in managing forests that in many cases have been the source of their livelihoods for generations. As a result, the policy has increased socio-economic gaps and promoted conflict in natural resource management.

The government and communities had high expectations that decentralization would bring better forest resource management by district governments, the benefits of which would accrue to local people, based on the restoration of community rights in natural forest resource management and redefined relationships between communities and state and local governments. There was hope that forest resources would be genuinely seen as public property to be allocated, managed and controlled within a democratic system (President Republic Indonesia 1999).

In practice, national park management in Indonesia is mostly governed from the Ministry of Forestry and often disregards or marginalizes local and indigenous communities that have lived in those areas for generations. The national park officers work directly under the central authority of the Ministry of Forestry and the Directorate General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation. This requires high costs, capacity and dedication in managing forest areas from the national park officers. Because of this, the relationships between national park officers and local district governments are limited to coordination purposes. Local district governments have no authority in national park officers' affairs, even if the area of the national park is in the territory of the districts. This means that decentralization does not delegate power over the national park to the local government. Conservation areas are often designated without consultation with the people who live in and depend on the region for their livelihoods.

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1   WALHI= Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia/Friends of the Earth Indonesia

All of these developments reflect the fact that policy and procedures for national park management have ignored social factors around national park areas. According to Mayers and Bass (2004), a forest policy specifies rights for certain people regarding the use of a society's forest management which it is felt will contribute to the achievement of some of the objectives of that society. It also stated that policy positions, statements, practices and even outcomes are based fundamentally on value judgments.

Because there are many different stakeholder values and desired outcomes, it is necessary for stakeholders to be involved in policy making to better reflect and address the needs and concerns of a wide range of stakeholders, which has not occurred in this case.

2.2. New Understanding of National Park Management

Changing perspectives on national park and protected area management is a new concern for social equity in conservation. This is driven by practical considerations (in many circumstances conservation cannot and will not happen without the support of the relevant communities) but also by more widely shared ethical and moral concerns. According to IUCN[2] (1994), the aims of protected areas now include the sustainable use of natural resources, the preservation of ecosystem services and integration with broader social development processes, along with the core role of biodiversity conservation. Giving more respect to cultural values is increasingly seen as an essential component of biodiversity conservation (Table 1).

3. Methodology

The issues outlined in the previous section have led to the development of a research project in Kuningan Districts between six Indonesian organizations, including LATIN[3], INFRONT[4], PMGC[5], local NGOs (KANOPI and AKAR)[6] and LAWALATA, IPB[7], to better understand the impacts of the establishment of Mount Ciremai National Park.

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[2] IUCN: The World Conservation Union

[3] LATIN: The Indonesian Tropical Institute is a national NGO working on community forestry issues. Established in 1989 and based in Bogor.

[4] INFRONT: the Institute for Forest and Environment Studies is an association of researchers who are interested in forestry and environmental issues in Indonesia. Based in Yogyakarta.

[5] PMGC: the Mount Ciremai Partnership Association is an association of independent stakeholders who have interests in protecting forests in Mount Ciremai. The members are forest farmers, individuals, NGOs and nature clubs. Members come from the two districts of Kuningan and Majalengka. Based in District Kuningan and Majalengka, West Java Indonesia

[6] KANOPI: a local NGO in the Kuningan District, has been involved with PHBM project for 4 years AKAR: a local NGO in the Kuningan District, that has been concerned with sustainable natural resource in Mount Ciremai

[7] LAWALATA-IPB is the Student Nature Club of Bogor Agricultural University (IPB)

Table 1: A Paradigm Shift in Protected Area Management

The conventional understanding of protected areas	The Emerging understanding of protected area
Establish as separate units	Plan as part of national, regional and international system
Manage as islands	Manage as elements of networks (protected areas connected by "corridors", "stepping stones" and biodiversity-friendly land uses)
Manage reactively, within a short time scale, with little regard to lessons from experience	Manage adaptively, on a long time perspective, taking advantage of ongoing learning
Protection of existing natural and landscape assets	Protection, but also restoration and rehabilitation, so that lost or eroded values can be recovered
Set up and run for conservation (not for productive use) and scenic protection (not ecosystem functioning)	Set up and run for conservation but also for scientific, socio-economic (including the maintenance of ecosystem services) and cultural objectives
Established in a theoretic way	Established as political act, requiring sensitivity, consultations and astute judgment
Managed by natural scientists and natural resource experts	Managed by multi-skilled individuals, including some with social skills
Established and managed as a means to control the activities of local people, without regards to their needs and without their involvement	Established and run with, for and in some cases by local people; sensitive to concerns of local communities (who are empowered as participants in decision making)
Run by the central government	Run by many partners, including different tiers of government, local communities, indigenous groups the private sector, NGOs and others
Paid for by taxpayers	Paid for by many sources and, as much as possible, self sustaining
Benefits of conservation assumed as self-evident	Benefits of conservation evaluated and quantified
Primarily benefits visitors and tourists	Benefits primarily the local communities who assume the opportunity costs of conservation
Viewed as an asset for which national considerations prevail over local ones	Viewed as a community heritage as well as a national asset

Source: IUCN 2004

There have been three main phases in this research:

1. Data and information gathering, policy and regulation analysis, needs assessment, stakeholder analysis and presentation of initial findings;
2. Synthesis from results phase 1; and
3. Discussion of policy options and final recommendations.

Included with data and information gathering are: policy and regulation studies, social analysis, economic and financial analysis, institutional analysis, technical analysis and biodiversity ground check.

- Policy and regulation analyses are conducted to understand and analyze Ministry of Forestry roles in managing the national park.
- Social analyses, including livelihoods analysis, analysis of social conflict and assessment of community characteristics, are used to better understand communities.
- Economic and financial analysis is used to understand the efficiency and effectiveness of management and land use in Mount Ciremai National Park.
- Institutional analysis identifies the institutions, roles, and relationships between organizations related with Mount Ciremai National Park management.
- Participatory appraisal has been used to analyze local patterns of activity, including seasonal calendars, activity calendars, cultivation planning and other similar data.
- Biodiversity surveys are used to gather current data about species, distribution and habitats for flora and fauna in the Mount Ciremai area.

This paper focuses more on policy analysis and the related stakeholder analysis in Mt Ciremai National Park management, the results and analysis of which will support restoring processes and rights of community forest management.

The first step here will be to review policy and regulation to better understand the state's role in protected area and conservation management at the national level. This will form the basis for the policy gap analysis from a local perspective. The aim will be to illustrate a picture about the interrelationships and possible gaps between policy and regulation at different scales in managing national parks.

The stakeholder analysis is then used to understand the perspectives of different actors in relation to national and local policy. A range of stakeholders are concerned with new policy in Mount Ciremai National Park and it is important to understand their interests and relationships as a basis for improving policy at the local and national level. The identification of stakeholders has been based on in-depth interviews with a range of stakeholders. The "4 Rs" approach has been used to assess stakeholders' "rights, responsibilities, revenues and relationships" in relation to other stakeholder groups (Mayers 2001). In addition I have used the stakeholder analysis to:

1. Diagnose problems: to identify and openly discuss imbalances between private operators' responsibilities, their rights and benefits and the health of relationships between the state and other stakeholders.

2. Assess and compare policies: assessing how forest regulations are affecting the rights and responsibilities of different stakeholders.

4. Policy and Regulation: State Authority

Analysis of policy documents is the basis of policy analysis, but it is also important to consider the context, process, intentions and outcomes of that policy. The language, style and length of policy documents can tell us much about context and process, although it is only recently that they have tended to give direct information about how they were formulated. However, by keeping these dimensions in mind while reviewing documents, we can identify the implications of policy, notably implementation issues and potential instruments.

Table 2 presents the laws and regulations related to national park management in Mt. Ciremai from a policy review process. These are outlined in relation to topics of concern to relevant stakeholders.

Table 2: Policy Review for Mt. Ciremai National Park

Topics	Law/Regulation	Content
Participation	Government Law No 5/1990 • Section 37, Subsection 1-3	Government will involve community in biodiversity conservation and ecosystem with appropriate activities. This law improves community capacity and their awareness through education and information
Responsibilities at different levels	Government Law No 5/1990 • Section 4	Biodiversity conservation and the ecosystem are government and community responsibilities
	Government Law No.22/1999 • Section 7, Subsection 2 • Section 119, Subsection 1	Delegation of authority from the Ministry of Forestry to district and municipal government in the management of forest land. The duties of authorities include setting out policy for national and local planning and development control, local fiscal balance, state administration system and state economic agency, empowering human resources, using natural resources and strategic use of high technology, conservation and national standardization. The purpose is to enhance effectiveness in managing forest for local development

Topics	Law/Regulation	Content
Responsibilities at different levels	The Basic Forest Law No 41/1999 • Section 60, Subsection 1 • Section 61	Ministry of Forestry still has responsibility in controlling forest management by local government and forest enforcement activity
	Government Regulation No.68/1998 • Section 11	Ministry of Forestry has authority to manage Nature Reserves and Wildlife Reserves
	Presidential Decree No.32/1990 • Section 39, Subsection 1 The Basic Forest Law No.41/1999 • Section 62 • Section 63 • Section 66, Subsection 1 and 2	The protected area forestlands in Indonesia can be managed by third parties. However, the process of interviewing and supervising management activity is the responsibility of the Ministry of Forestry, local government and communities.
Management goals	Government Law No 5/1990 • Section 2 • Section 3 • Section 5 (c)	The objectives of biodiversity conservation and the ecosystem are to achieve sustainable biodiversity and equitable ecosystems in natural resources management and to increase community livelihoods and human quality of life
Exploitation	Government Regulation No.34/2002 • Section 15 • Section 16 • Section 18 • Section 20 • Section 18 • Section 19, Subsection 1 and 2	Approved Protected Forest area exploitation includes: a. Land utilization b. Environment services and utilization (nature recreation, adventures sport, carbon trade and forest and environment rescue) c. Non timber forest product (herb medicine cultivation, plant cultivation, mushrooms cultivation, bee and honey cultivation, wildlife sanctuary and swallow nest breeding) Exploitation of protected forest area should not diminish the main protection function of the forest. It should also not damage the landscape.

Topics	Law/Regulation	Content
Exploitation	The Basic Forest Law No41/1999 • Section 38 Presidential Decree No.32/1990 • Section 38, Subsection 2,3,4	Mining as a form of forest land utilization is allowed only in production forest and protected forest. It can be permitted in accordance with other regulations and when mineral deposits, water springs and other natural resources are indicated to be of high value to the state. When mining activity occurs in a protected area, the responsibility to protect and sustain the environment lies with mining management. They have to preserve the aims of the protected area.
Zoning	Government Law No.5/1999 • Section 32	National parks are managed by zoning systems including main (protection) zones, exploitation zone plus other zones as needed.

Source of policy and regulation: President Republik Indonesia 1990a, b, 1998, 1999a, b, c, 2002, INFRONT 2005

4.1. Participation

Participation is most commonly used to refer to some aspect of involvement of local populations in the design, implementation, and evaluation of the project (Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1992). Instead, participation should include all relevant stakeholder groups in a way that enables each to understand their stake in, and their ability to impact, the process. In addition, the process needs to identify target beneficiaries to initiate the flow of information and decision-making.

From Table 2, we know that government law restores community rights to access the forest in Mt. Ciremai National Park. This access fulfills basic livelihood requirements for communities. The dilemma is in ensuring that such access is compatible with the goals of ecologically sustainable management of the park. Definition and procedures about community rights still need to be developed through collaborative approaches. The procedures are also included with explanations about incentives communities receive through their participation.

In order to increase community participation in national park management, it is essential that local communities be able to communicate their perspectives to government agencies and that, in turn, those agencies are able to understand and respond to those concerns.

4.2. Responsibilities at Different Levels

In analyzing policy it is important to recognize the gap between policy and practice. This gap may arise from a misunderstanding of policy, differing perspectives and biases of stakeholders or differing interpretations of how to implement policy. This highlights the need to have good information as a basis for developing policy, rather than hasty new policy pronouncements and prescriptions about what is needed (Mayers and Bass 2004).

Although the Ministry of Forestry has delegated the authority to manage the forest to the District Officer of the Forestry Department, the ultimate authority for national park management still lies with the Ministry of Forestry. Gaps have not only occurred during implementation at the level of stakeholders, but also between the actual regulations that have been made. For example, decentralization involves delegation of authority from the Ministry of Forestry in managing the forest. However, to be implemented in practice it needs to allow for meaningful delegation of powers over forests to local government and accountable local institutions and be accompanied by a clear and unified legal framework (Katerere 2004). In the case of Mount Ciremai, this has not occurred. Mechanisms to better coordinate the rights and responsibilities of the forestry department, national park management agencies, local government and local communities are still needed to develop proper collaborative approaches. It is important for this to be further supported by regulations that enable integrated management in national park areas. This could, for example, address land use management between villages and the distribution of rights amongst communities. This is also important if conflicts of interest are to be avoided between local stakeholders and between stakeholders at the national and local levels.

4.3. Management Goals

Besides the achievement of sustainability and equitability in biodiversity and ecosystems, the prominent characteristic of management goals (Table 2) is to increase community livelihoods and human quality of life. This means considering government policy on both conservation and development issues. Many case studies show that the Ministry of Forestry creates retroactive policies in national parks, but they need to take the time to ensure that communities are not marginalized. The recognition of the value of improved collaborative approaches between local communities, the Ministry of Forestry, local governments, the private sector and NGOs is proved essential to stakeholders' participation in the management of Mt. Ciremai National Park.

4.4. Exploitation

Table 2 illustrates that the Ministry of Forestry has allowed the development of regulations concerning exploitation of natural resources that may be allowed in national parks. This allows business interests and commercial activities in the national park. However there is no accompanying regulation to control these commercial activities and provide compensation to ensure the achievement of conservation objectives.

Such regulations are needed to avoid irresponsible exploitation of natural resources by commercial interests. In contrast, communities have been disrupted and impoverished by being forced to abandon the use of resources upon which their livelihoods depended, without any redress through compensation (WALHI 2004).

These issues need to be addressed in policy, but a precondition for effective implementation of this regulation is meaningful decentralization with community-based management objectives in national parks, ensuring that commercial use is compatible with park management goals. These regulations could also enable the establishment of management of national parks by the private sector or other stakeholders. Because of these gaps, the regulations could potentially cause damage to the national park environment and increase conflict with local communities.

4.5. Zoning System

According to Government Law No. 5/1990, there are three types of zoning systems in national parks; main protection zone, utilization zone and wildwood zone. All have similar functions for protected areas and reserves, inventory of the protected areas and research development.

Theoretically, the concept of establishing a zone of limited or non-use around a protected area as a means of reducing human pressures is a rational proposition (Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1992). However, the conservation and development objectives and strategies underlying the implementation of the concept have yet to be adequately defined. An important aspect of this policy review is that a zoning system should be developed through participatory processes. Local communities are also in the best position to know the area and provide continual, intensive attention.

5. Understanding Stakeholder Power

Stakeholders are defined here as those who have rights or interests in a system. It can be individuals, communities, social groups, governments or organizations who can affect, or are affected by the achievement of the national park goals. In this case study, the categorization of stakeholders is into primary or secondary, based on whether they are immediately affected by, or can immediately affect, the system (Table 3). The managing forest in national parks is the focus of an intervention and those who the intervention is aimed at will be amongst the primary stakeholders (Mayers 2005).

Table 3: Stakeholder Analysis in Mt Ciremai National Park

Stakeholders	Rights	Responsibilities	Interest
Direct Primary Stakeholders			
Ministry of Forestry	• Making Regulation and Policy • Managing the forest	Forest conservation	High. Policy support
Perhutani	• Managing the forest	Land use	Medium. Direct income from managing the forest
Forest Department of Kuningan District	• Controlling and arranging enforcement	Forest resource development	High. Forestland territory, implementation and control
Local Communities in Kuningan	• Managing forest resources • Access to the forest	• Land use access • Daily income	Beneficiary of program. Direct income from forest
Natural Resource and Conservation Agency , Region II West Java	• Managing conservation area	Forest resource conservation	High, control of conservation area management
Indirect Primary Stakeholders			
Kuningan District Government Officer	• Making regulation • enforcement	Administrative managementn	High. Policy support
Development and Planning Agency of Kuningan District	• Coordinating district development	Area development	Low. Limited human resources support
Agriculture Department of Kuningan District	• Coordinating agriculture activities	Agriculture development	High. Determine intensity to use forest land for agriculture
Tourism Department of Kuningan	• Coordinating tourism activities	Tourism management	High. Coordination of tourism activities
District Natural Resources and Irrigation Department of Kuningan District		Natural resource management	High. Policy support

Stakeholders	Rights	Responsibilities	Interest
Indirect Primary Stakeholders (continued)			
Environment Department of Kuningan District		Sustainable resource and environmental management	High. Supporting human resources for conservation activity
Local Income Department of Kuningan District	• Controlling local income	Local income	Low. Budget allocation
Local Water Supply Company	• Water resource exploitation	Continuity of water supply	High. Natural resource exploitation
Indocement Mineral Water Company	• Water resource exploitation	Continuity of water supply	High. Natural resource exploitation
Nature Club	• Access to nature	Using the area for camping and other activities	High. Human resource
Secondary Stakeholders			
Community Development Agency of Kuningan District		Community Empowerment	
Indonesian Association of Hotel and Restaurant	• Income from tourism services	Tourism service	Direct income from tourism services
Implementation and Service Agency for PHBM in Kuningan District	• Program synchronization	Sustainable forest resource management	High. Technical support for communication to all stakeholders
Local and national NGO	• Involving with the program	Sustainable community livelihoods and forest management	High. Technical assistance for community organizers and processes
Kuningan University (local private university)	• Technology application, education and research	Field research and development	Low. Doing field research in any conservation area
Indonesian Army	• Using the area	security precaution for Indonesian territory	Low. Do not have operational activity

Stakeholders	Rights	Responsibilities	Interest
Secondary Stakeholders			
Legislative of Kuningan District	• Regulation maker • controlling	Good forest governance	Low. Do not have operational activity
International Donor		Supporting fund Sustainable forest resource and environment	Low. Global issues

Source: INFRONT 2005

For example, direct primary stakeholders in forest policy in the Mt. Ciremai case include local communities who live in or near the relevant forests, the Forest Department of the Republic of Indonesia, Kuningan District and Perhutani. Indirect primary stakeholders are the Natural Resource and Conservation Agency Region II West Java, entrepreneurs (a local water company and Indocement Mineral Water Company), other departments who are related to forest management, nature clubs and local and national NGOs. Secondary stakeholders are academics and researchers, community-based organizations, civil society organizations (LPI PHBM [8], Community Development Agency of Kuningan District), the Indonesian Army, the Legislature of Kuningan District and international donors.

These stakeholders have very different degrees of power to control decisions that have effects on policies and institutions. And they have different degrees of potential to contribute to achieving a particular objective.

5.1. Rights

The most important rights shown on Table 3 are the rights to access and to manage the forest for local communities around Mt. Ciremai. There is ample evidence in this area that farmers will grow trees and take responsibility for national parks and woodlands, but without secure rights this may be limited. Thus government and policy play a key enabling role, as shown in Table 2, where policies and regulations guide exploitation such as agricultural activity and forest access in the National Park. This often means paying more attention to smallholder forestry and management approaches that enable public interests to be achieved through shared state property and common property regimes.

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[7] LPI PHBM: Lembaga Pelayanan Implementasi Pengelolaan Hutan Bersama Masyarakat (Implementation and Services Agency for Forest Management with Communities). It is collaboration institution and non – profit organization for technical assistant in implementing PHBM Program. The members are representatives of local government, the Forest Department of Kuningan District, Perhutani local NGOs, the Forest Farmer Association and individuals who are interested in developing PHBM program.

In the establishment of Mt. Ciremai National Park, communities lost rights to manage the forest, as well as rights to influence and be involved with the decision-making processes. It was not only for direct primary stakeholders such as communities and Perhutani: both groups are losing the rights to manage the forest land that they had through the PHBM program. Other indirect primary and secondary stakeholders lost their power in supporting decision-making for forest lands to the State Government and Ministry of Forestry.

Some useful approaches to collaborating with stakeholders in the Mt. Ciremai National Park have included forum and participation processes. These have helped to understand multiple perspectives and will help to negotiate and create deals between the needs of the wider society and local actors. Government may organize the forum, but it needs broad involvement of stakeholders, and strong links both vertically (local-national-global) and horizontally (between sectors and disciplines). The forum could be a regular event, as continuously improving policy is a useful goal in itself. The resulting policies are owned by stakeholders broadly, not just the forest authorities. These processes become "alive processes" not "dead paper" (Mayers and Bass, 2004).

5.2 Defining Responsibilities

As demonstrated in Table 3, the dimension of stakeholder responsibilities varies. Direct primary stakeholders have broader responsibilities than other stakeholders. This partly results from their level of risk in forest management. The state and local government are prominent in their responsibility for making and implementing policies and regulations. Some of these responsibilities are already outlined in regulations (see Table 2).

The responsibility of the Ministry of Forestry is forest conservation; however there is no regulation that outlines the meaning of conservation. Nevertheless State Government, through the Ministry of Forestry, is currently pushing a conservationist and protectionist agenda, while the state government also has regional and local pressure to contend with. The need to balance and negotiate these perspectives creates the potential to develop new understandings in working for collaborative forest management in Mt Ciremai National Park.

There is also the potential for actors to engage with other sectors. If this succeeds, more effective, efficient and better integrated policy can be created. Cross-sectoral involvement in the policy process can improve learning and coordination across institutional boundaries. One example could be collaboration between the Forestry Department and the Agriculture Department in at a local district level to develop agro forestry system in national park. This collaboration would be used to make procedures about access community to national park.

5.3. Interest

High levels of responsibility (e.g. in the form of regulations) without a parallel increase incentives (returns, revenues and rights) leads to poor implementation through a lack of enforcement capacity on the part of the regulator (often the state). As

shown in the information in Table 3, almost all of the stakeholders will benefit from the implementation of Mt. Ciremai National Park management at different scales. It should be noted that interest should not be measured solely from a financial perspective. For the community, access to participating in decision-making and managing forest in the national park might provide more support to improve their livelihoods.

For Perhutani, direct income received and the restoration of their role in managing the forest area as before the establishment of Mt. Ciremai National Park could motivate them to assist with forest management in national parks. For other stakeholders in Kuningan District (Development and Planning Agency, Agriculture Department, Tourism Department, Natural Resources and Irrigation Department, Environment Department), involvement in national park management will create additional work.

5.4. Relationships

Relationships are key to developing good dialogue and communication among stakeholders, since problems can emerge at any time and require intensive dialogue to resolve. The responsibilities of different stakeholders in Table 3 influence their power and potential in building relationships with other stakeholders. According to Mayers (2005), stakeholders have very different degrees of power to control decisions that have effects on policies and institutions, and they have different degrees of potential to contribute, or importance to achieving a particular objective (Table 4).

- *Power* is the ability to participate in decision making or to influence policies or institutions stemming from the control of decisions with positive or negative effects. Stakeholder power can be understood as the extent to which stakeholders are able to persuade or coerce others into making decisions and following certain courses of action. Power may derive from the nature of a stakeholder's organization or their position in relation to other stakeholders.
- *Potential* is to affect, or to be affected by, policies and institutions residing in particular characteristics specific to context and location, such as knowledge and rights. Of particular concern here are the stakeholders who have high potential but little power. These stakeholders' problems, needs and interests are likely to be the most important for many initiatives to improve policies and institutions' processes (Mayers 2005).

In Table 4 a direct primary stakeholder, the Ministry of Forestry, has high potential to build collaboration with other stakeholders as well as high power at the policy and decision maker at the national level, with influence at the local level. The high power and potential of Perhutani derives from their access to policy makers as well as their funds and resources. Because the Ministry of Forestry still centralizes many policies and procedures, it gives the Forest Department of Kuningan District low power but high potential for coordination and technical assistance in implementing policy and procedures at the local level. This does not, however, mean that they have

Table 4: Four general strategies for stakeholder relations management in Mt. Ciremai National Park

Stakeholders Power	High Potential	Low Potential
Direct Primary Stakeholders		
High Power	• Ministry of Forestry • Perhutani	Forest Department of Kuningan District
Low Power	• Local Communities	Natural Resource and Conservation Agency Indirect Primary Stakeholders
Indirect Primary Stakeholders		
High Power	Kuningan District Government Officer	
Low Power	• Development and Planning Agency of Kuningan District • Agriculture Department of Kuningan District • Tourism Department of Kuningan District • Environment Department of Kuningan District • Natural resources and Irrigation Department of Kuningan District	• Local Income Department of Kuningan District • Local Water Supply and mineral water Company • Nature Club
Secondary Stakeholders		
High Power		Legislative of Kuningan District
Low Power	• Implementation and Service Agency for PHBM in Kuningan District • Local and national NGO • Kuningan University (local private university) • International Donors	• Community development Agency of Kuningan District • Indonesian Association of Hotel And Restaurant • Indonesian Army

Adapted from Mayers 2005

low power in decision making. Local communities in Mt. Ciremai National Park have high potential as human resources and in their knowledge of the park, but low power in decision making and policy. This is a result of policies and procedures that have ignored them as a stakeholder with rights to participate in policy making. The Ministry of Forestry will pay attention to them as a power that can not be ignored when local communities are organized.

An indirect primary stakeholder, the Kuningan District Government Officer, has decision making power at local level. With delegation of authority from the Ministry of Forestry, they also have high potential in supporting policy and procedures regarding the management of Mt. Ciremai National Park. Even though other stakeholders have low power, with their specification tasks related to natural forest resources, each of them has high potential to support and be involved in managing forests in Mt. Ciremai National Park through collaborative approaches. For example, the Agriculture Department and the Tourism Department have high potential because they have regulations to guarantee their exploitation activity in national parks. But clear mechanisms on how to implement the regulations are still needed.

The second stakeholder mentioned in Table 4, Kuningan District, has high power in making and deciding the policy at local levels. The implementation and Service Agency for PHBM in Kuningan District has low power, but has high potential to strengthen the communication process as a mediator and facilitator in the implementation of community forestry in Mt. Ciremai National Park. Local and national NGOs have high potential to mobilize human resources as technical assistants and facilitators in community forest development. As the only private local university in Kuningan District, accredited with legal status from local government, Kuningan University has high power in academic authority to do field research in three types of zone in conservation areas. These activities are also granted by a Ministerial Decree (Ministry of Forestry 2003, 2004). International donors have low power but high potential because they can participate as facilitators and provide financial assistance. They are open for collaboration in management of national parks without directing the intervention.

6. Conclusion

From the discussion above, it is evident that the Ministry of Forestry has tended to see the state itself as the prime beneficiary of the forest as a protected area. Efforts to increase community forest rights and access to forest lands are fundamental to the implementation of collaborative approaches in Mt. Ciremai National Park management. Yet a policy review and stakeholder analysis can be used by the Ministry of Forestry to experiment with ways to provide communities with legal access to national parks, to delegate the authority and to share responsibility for national park management with local government (the District Officer and Local Forestry Department) and communities.

Distribution of rights between government and communities is a part of the delegation of authority. These include the responsibility of national park management to develop an understanding of stakeholders, their values and their capabilities (which can change over time as capabilities develop). For decentralization to be meaningful, efforts are needed to give communities more secure access to national parks under Ministry of Forestry regulations and policy. According to the Ford Foundation (1998),

these rights benefit communities by enhancing their livelihoods and involving them in forest management in national parks without government harassment, official arrangements providing access or secure tenure to encourage communities to think of the long term and to use forests sustainability. Giving legal rights of access to national parks advances the local government and local community's autonomy and decision-making power relative to the state. Legal rights to forests give people an official, sanctioned voice in forest management.

Efforts to enable policy and procedures in national parks that give more rights and implement changes in management practices that benefit communities depends upon transformation in the institutions charged with overseeing the national park. One theme that runs through efforts to enable policy and procedures in national parks is the importance of building collaboration among the Ministry of Forestry, communities, government agencies, NGOs and other sectors of society. Collaboration strengthens the institutional base of community-based natural resources by bringing together stakeholder power and potential from each sector of society. It is a long process and a struggle to restore community rights and this issue needs serious attention from all stakeholders to join in the negotiations, to determine the purposes and management of national parks.

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