

Governing on Implementation of REDD+ Project: Case Study of Berbak Landscape

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Abstract

Following the result of the UNFCCC in 2007, Indonesia implemented reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, conserving and enhancing forest carbon stocks and sustainably managing forests (REDD+). One of the collaborative REDD+ projects in Indonesia is the Berbak landscape REDD+ Program, initiated by the Zoological Society of London (ZSL). The project is divided into two phases of implementation, as of 2018, has gone through both phases. However, the project has only fulfilled 20% of its targeted program despite being in the final year of implementation because of budgeting problem. Addressing this issue, this study attempts to look at the governance in the project to understand what constitutes the governance of Berbak landscape REDD+ program and how governance determines its implementation landscape. The study employs a qualitative approach. In addition, it follows four governance indicators developed by Ostrom (1990): coordination, reporting, bureaucracy, and monitoring. Based on the data analysis, it is found that the project has diverse stakeholders with different connections and authority and good governance plays a big role in determining the successful implementation of the project. Thus, it is important to develop good governance to find a better solution for the challenges faced by the project.

Keywords: *Berbak landscape; Governance; REDD+*

Introduction

Climate change is a global concern as it is part of life in the 21st century. The International Panel on Climate Change (1990) reported that if people follow a business-as-usual scenario regarding emissions to overcome climate change, the global temperature was predicted to increase 0.3°C / decade (Watson, Rodhe, Oeschger, & Siegenthaler, 1990). This phenomenon will bring various disasters on earth, such as the spread of infectious diseases, the rise of sea level, and so on. One of the quite compromising mechanisms to deal with climate change is Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation Conserving and Enhancing Forest Carbon Stocks and Sustainably

Managing Forests in developing countries (REDD+). REDD+ gives an alternative of the low budget yet long process in order to respond to climate change (Collins et al., 2011).

Indonesia cannot be separated from world climate change mitigation. Indonesia became the host of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) conference in 2007. The conference issued the Bali Action Plan and Joint Implementation mechanism, where the carbon accounting mechanism was brought to attention. This agreement was the starting point of the Indonesian government's attempt to deal with matters of climate change, particularly the REDD+ issue. After the conference issued the agreement, Indonesia, in 2008, established

The National Council on Climate Change (Dewan Nasional Perubahan Iklim / DNPI) to formulate strategies and strengthen the position of Indonesia in the international climate change forum. Moreover, since it has the third largest area of tropical forest after Brazil and Congo (Enrici & Hubacek, 2018), Indonesia is seen as a potential site for conducting the REDD+ project in the scheme of joint implementation mechanism. The Berbak Carbon Initiative project is one of the collaborative REDD+ projects in Indonesia.

Berbak Carbon Initiative is a project initiated by Zoological Society of London (ZSL), an international NGO that has been operating some projects related to environmental issues in Indonesia, especially on the carbon project. In the beginning, the project was only conducted in Berbak and Sembilang National Park (142,750 Ha). Under the two-party agreement between Ministry of Environment and Forestry and ZSL, the project initially was a part of Indonesian National Action Plan for reducing greenhouse gasses.

During the first phase of implementation (2011–2014), the project was able to achieve 70% of its targeted components. The first phase activities were focused on preparing for REDD+ readiness implementation such as preparing a document of REDD+ potency, establishing carbon / non-carbon base-line, designing and issuing REDD+ action plan, and so on. During the implementation, the project successfully proposed Berbak and Sembilang National Park as a REDD+ Demonstration Activity (DA) site, legalized by Ministry of Forestry Decree No. 549/Menhut-II/2013. Nevertheless, the methodology of the project for reducing emission was not really recognized to have

performed well. The methodology did not get the validation from the Verified Carbon Standard (VCS) and the Climate Community and Biodiversity Standard (CCBS).

Based on the performances and challenges in the first phase, the Ministry and ZSL agreed to continue the project to its second phase (2015-2018) and the name of the project has been changed to Berbak landscape based REDD+ program. Different from the first phase, the second phase covers a wider area where the scope of the project is the Berbak landscape (237.424 Ha), which landscape included the Berbak and Sembilang National Park, Air Hitam Dalam-Air Hitam Laut Protected Forest and the Sungai Kumpeh Limited Production Forest. Furthermore, the project is conducted in different forest so as to involve more actors. On June 17, 2015, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, Jambi Provincial Forestry Office, and ZSL signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) to continue the Berbak Carbon Initiative project.

The second phase implementation is based on what was achieved in the previous phase. Some programs considered as a basis of REDD+ readiness implementation were built in the first phase. However, the second project should complete the most crucial component of REDD+ readiness implementation, which is methodology recognition. The project needs the recognition to move forward in developing program design document as the next step of REDD+ readiness implementation project. The year 2018 will be the final year of the second phase's implementation, but surprisingly until nearly the end of the period, the project does not show a satisfying result. Based on the executive

summary of the project, it only fulfills 20% of the targeted program components.

Besides those technical matters, the Berbak landscape REDD+ program has an important meaning in terms of its effect on the measurement of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry work performance. The project was listed as one of the strategic programs of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry in the 2015–2019 program plan in the context of climate change reduction and mitigation mechanism. Subsequently, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry has two conservation areas targeted as REDD+ sites: Sebangau National park and Berbak National Park (part of the Berbak landscape)¹. The Berbak landscape REDD+ program is also important as one of the efforts of Indonesian Government's commitment in reducing greenhouse gasses (up to 41 percent by 2020) by any scheme as stated in the 20th G-20 meeting in Pittsburgh².

Thus, this present study will attempt to look at the governance in the project. It will answer the following two questions:

1. What constitutes the governance of the Berbak landscape REDD+ program?
2. How does governance determine the implementation of the Berbak landscape REDD+ program?

In addition, there are two strong reasons to take the Berbak landscape as a case study. First, the REDD+ project is currently in the readiness phase. The project will be evaluated by conducted by modifying some indicators and frameworks

from previous studies. Second, the project is initiated by an international NGO and has become one of the important objectives of the Indonesian government. The Indonesian Ministry of Environment and Forestry aims to protect the Berbak's biodiversity as a swamp forest.

Literature Review

“REDD+ is policy approaches and positives on issues relating to reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in developing countries; and the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries”

-UNFCCC Decision 2 / CP.13-11 as cited in (Angelsen, 2009)

In general, REDD+ implementation is divided into three phases: readiness, transition, and contribution on reducing emission phase (Ekawati, Subarudi, Budiningsih, & Mutaqin, 2016). All the phases require some procedures that involve various stakeholders. Due to a long process mechanism, REDD+ implementation is influenced by some factors. Pasgaard, Sun, Müller, and Mertz (2016) mentioned that clear procedure, political motivation, and involvement of the actors are some factors that determine REDD+ implementation. Corbera and Schroeder (2011) added a statement that coordination among institutions (actors) in a REDD+ project could impact its effectiveness. They also mentioned that the variety of institutional arrangements, the diversity of actors, the difference of participants' condition and the diversity of power relations across geography play an important role in influencing the REDD+ project in its preparation phase.

¹ The Strategic Plan of Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation (2015–2019)

² Presidential Regulation Number 61 Year 2011 about National Action Plan of Reducing Green House Gases Emission

In addition, studies on REDD+ implementation have led to a number of important findings. One study by Sills et al., (2017) tried to capture how REDD+ implemented was in 16 REDD+ sites project across tropical countries. Using the BACI (Before-After-Control-Intervention)–GCS (Global Comparative Study) framework method, the research focused on the evaluation of REDD+ implementation on the local community. The research showed several significant results including an increase in the income of the local community. However, these results need to be further clarified due to the existence of somewhat similar government conservation projects in these sites prior to the REDD+ program. Another study by Collins et al., (2011) looked at how domestic institutions influenced REDD+ implementation in the Nantu Wildlife Reserve, Southern Sulawesi, Indonesia. The research showed that somehow the existing domestic conservation institutions and frameworks played a significant role in the success and failure of the project.

REDD+ project implementation also faces challenges: issues that arise from the preparation phase and obstacles that appear during the implementation phase. A study conducted by Enrici and Hubacek, (2018) in three REDD+ project sites in Indonesia founds that lack of monitoring, minimum involvement of stakeholders, incapability for boundary enforcement, and insufficient funding for the project are the main obstacles for its implementation. The implementation of the REDD+ project in Berbak landscape is facing the same challenge; lack of budget is seen as the main factor that hampers the implementation in the second phase. In addition, governance is also suspected to give impacts regarding whether the project

will run successfully or not. Pierre (2000) defined governance as supporting coordination and integrating relationships among actors with various purposes and goals. Moreover, Pierre mentioned that development that has been conducted with governance is facing coordination problems. Such problems reveal the need to synchronize the objectives and equalize the interest among the actors. Based on the assumption, if more actors are involved, more processes should be passed in order to deal with everything in the project.

Based on Ostrom's concept, managing the natural resources as common-pool-resources (CPR) which are divided into resource system and resource unit. Both resource system and resource unit are accessible to every actor, although the access should be limited by regulations. Resource system is something that accessed freely by every actor as long as they involve in the project, while resource unit is possible to access by the actors who only have the authority in the resource system. On the Ostrom's study actor's involvement is very crucial aspect in governance. By that reasons and by looking at to the background the study that in Berbak Landscape Project, involvement of another actors was forecasted as one of obstacles of the project this study limited in four Ostrom's indicators that directly related to the actors' roles which are coordination, monitoring, bureaucracy and leadership.

Method

A. Study Area

This study is conducted in the Berbak landscape, Jambi Province, Indonesia. The landscape covers conservation areas such as the Berbak and Sembilang National Park and

Sekitar Tanjung Forest Park. Moreover, it also includes two buffer zones named the Gambut Air Hitam Dalam-Air Hitam Laut Protected Forest and the Sungai Kumpeh Limited Production Forest. The total width of the landscape is 237.424 Ha and it is dominated by peatland area (as cited in project guidelines of the Berbak Carbon Initiative project, 2015). Administratively, as regulated in the Indonesia Forestry Act No. 23 / 2014, the implementation of the carbon project in National Park is under the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (Central Government) while in Forest Park, Protected Forest, and the Limited Production Forest the project is conducted under the Jambi Provincial Forest Office (Local Government).

The Berbak National Park has the largest area of the landscape, accounting to 142.750 Ha. In 2014, the nomenclature of the national park was changed to Berbak and Sembilang National Park along with the merger of the Ministry of Forestry and the Ministry of the Environment. The Berbak and Sembilang National Park is stated as a priority landscape for tiger (*Panthera tigris*) conservation. Moreover, based on the Indonesian Government Regulation No. 28 / 2008, the Berbak and Sembilang National Park was appointed as a national strategic area. Globally, in 1992, Ramsar Convention designated Berbak and Sembilang National Park as the first Ramsar site³ in Indonesia.

³ Ramsar Sites are locations that meet the Criteria for identifying Wetlands of International Importance. One of the most important criteria that make a location designated as a Ramsar site is the site has an uncommon wetland type and also it should have

Not only a landscape for tiger conservation, the Berbak and Sembilang National Park is also home to 44 reptile species, 22 Mollusca species, 95 fish species, and 53 rare mammal species such as Tapir Asia (*Tapirus indicus*), Sinyulong Crocodile (*Tomistoma schlegelii*), alligator (*Crocodylus porosus*), and *Balantiocheilos melanopterus*, one of the endangered fish species (as cited in the project guidelines of the Berbak Carbon Initiative project, 2015). Twenty-three species in the National Park belong to the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) red list and other 50 species are grouped under the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) (Appendix I and II⁴). As a Ramsar site, the National Park has a diverse species of birds: 56 species of them are registered in the Indonesian Government Regulation no 9 / 1999 as protected species.

Beside its rich biodiversity, the Berbak landscape is dominated by a peatland area that has a significant ecological contribution for the climate change mitigation process. The landscape is predicted to store 45.5 million ton carbon with the total of carbon emission 44.031.265 ton

rich biological diversity. Retrieved May 29, 2018 from <https://www.ramsar.org/sites-countries/the-ramsar-sites>

⁴ Appendix I includes species threatened with extinction. Trade in specimens of these species is permitted only in exceptional circumstances. Appendix II includes species not necessarily threatened with extinction, but in which trade must be controlled in order to avoid utilization incompatible with their survival. Retrieved May 30 2018. From <https://www.cites.org/eng/disc/how.php>

CO₂e⁵. However, the landscape is facing issues such as deforestation and forest degradation. The damages are caused by intention actions such as forest conversion or un-intention actions such as land fire, peatland decomposing, and peat land drying. Furthermore, it emits carbon that is stored in the landscape. The ZSL conducted a study in 2010 and found that the rate of deforestation in the landscape was -2% per year. If there is no intervention to prevent such issues, it is estimated that 164.034.572 ton of CO₂e will be released from the landscape in the next 30 years.

Based on the importance of the landscape in terms of mitigating climate change, some projects are run in the area. One such project is the Berbak Carbon Initiative Project, a collaborative project between the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, Jambi Provincial Forest Office, and ZSL. The project has been running since 2011, and it was divided into two phases of implementation. The first one was between 2011–2014, while the second phase is still on-going until 2018.

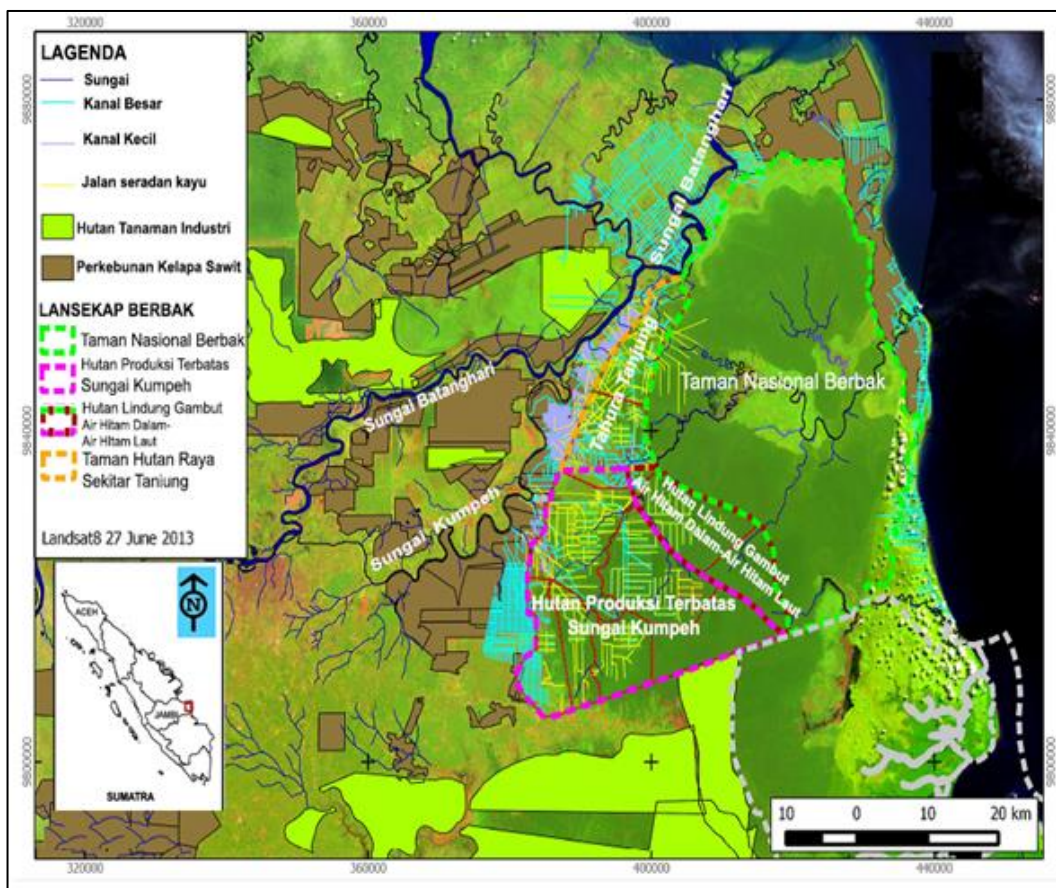


Figure 1. Location map of the Berbak landscape
Source: Program guidelines of the Berbak Carbon

⁵ Carbon dioxide equivalent (CO₂e) is a name used to explain the various greenhouse gases in a universal unit. CO₂e signifies the amount of CO₂ that would have the equivalent global warming impact. (Brander, 2012)

B. Data

Both primary and secondary data were used in this research. To get insight on how governance determines the implementation of the Berbak landscape REDD+ Program, in-depth interviews were held with seven key informants. All of them

were purposively chosen to represent the three main actor components: Central Government, Local Government, and NGO. The interviews were conducted in August 2017 in Bogor, Jakarta, and Jambi. The list of the key informants is provided in Table 1.

Table 1.

List of Key Informants of the Study

No	Agency	Key Informant	Remarks
1.	Central Government	Staff Senior of Secretariat of Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation	The person in charge to review the project's implementation report and also part of monitoring and evaluating team
		Staff Senior of Directorate of Environmental Services for Conservation Forest Utilization	The person in charge to review the project's implementation report and also part of monitoring and evaluating team
		Field Coordinators from Berbak and Sembilang National Park	The person who involved in the implementation project in site level
		Head of Section of Non-Governmental Organization Cooperation, Bureau of International Cooperation	Clearinghouse member for international cooperation in the Ministry
2.	Local Government	Senior Staff of Jambi Provincial Forest Office	The person who was involved in the implementation of project at the site level
3.	NGO	Carbon Project coordinator of ZSL-Indonesia Program	The person who was involved in the implementation of project at the site level

Some secondary data was used to support the analysis of the study. The data includes reports of the project implementation, project design documents, project guidelines, and the MoU of the

project. In addition, some policies and regulations of Indonesian Government were also used to cross-check the secondary data.

C. Analysis Approach

This study follows a qualitative approach based on the Miles and Huberman model (Ryan & Bernard, 2000) to analyze the data. The first step of the analysis process is data reduction: field data is recorded carefully and in detail to be reduced to gain important data. This paper uses goals (objectives) as a guideline to narrow the data analysis. To make correlations and provide a structure to the data, so that it would be easier to be analyzed, the next process is data display. The final step of the qualitative analysis is to draw the conclusion.

Result and Discussion

A. Actors and their Beneficiaries from the Project

There are three main actors who conduct the project: Central Government, Local Government, and NGO. The Ministry of Environment and Forestry is the unit of Central Government, while the Local Government is represented by the Jambi Provincial Forestry Office and the NGO by the ZSL. If every actor has their own power to control different areas of the project (Berbak landscape), it might cause a conflict of interest among them. Therefore, it is important to analyze the project beneficiaries for each actor. Other than that as (Ostrom, 1990) explains managing natural resources as a common-pool-resources (CPR). In Berbak landscape as a resource system while carbon stock and

environmental services as a resource unit are clearly distinguished. Both resource system and resource unit are accessible to every actor, although the access should be limited by regulations.

One way to limit the access of actors is by designing, implementing, and enforcing a set of rules to coordinate provision activities (Ostrom, 1990). The rule could be interpreted as applicable for all project documents, which include the rights and obligations of each actor. In this project, the process was established within two levels: designing documents was done at the institutional level while the implementing and enforcing the rules was run at the grass-root level. Both at the institutional level and grass-root level, the actors involved are the same yet different in terms of the representatives of Ministry of Environment and Forestry. The Ministry appointed a Secretariat of Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation, a Directorate of Environmental Services for Conservation Forest Utilization, and a Bureau of International Cooperation and Berbak and Sembilang National Park for designing the MoU and project guidelines together with the Jambi Provincial Forestry Office and the ZSL. However, only the Berbak and Sembilang National Park was delegated by the Ministry as an implementing agency at the site level with other two actors.

Besides regulating the rights and obligations, project documents also describe the beneficiaries of the project for the actors as provided in Table 2.

Table 2.

The Matrix of Project Incentive for Each Actor Based on the Authority of REDD+ Management.

No	Authority for REDD+ management ⁶	Area	Carbon stock (ton C) ⁷	Expected impact of the project
1.	Central Government (The Ministry of Environment and Forestry)	Berbak and Sembilang National Park (140,198 ha)	~ 25,988,500	1. Restoration of degraded peatlands in a sustainable and hydrological balance 2. Increasing of the population of flagship species
2.	Local Government (Jambi Provincial Forestry Office)	Raya Sekitar Tanjung Forest Park (17,599 ha)	~ 4,129,680	Increasing of the population of flagship species
		Air Hitam Dalam- Air Hitam Laut Protected Peat Forest (18,795 ha)	~ 3,377,990	1. Restoration of degraded peatlands in a sustainable and hydrological balance 2. Increasing of the population of flagship species 3. Expanding of high and medium carbon stock peatland area
		Sungai Kumpeh Limited Production Forest (62,214 ha)	~ 11,977,620	1. Identification of high conservation value area 2. Developing and promoting of management of high conservation value area 3. Expanding of high and medium carbon stock peatland area
Total carbon stock from the area under Local Government authority			~ 19,485,290	

⁶ Based on Indonesian Regulation on Decentralization No 23/2014

⁷ Calculated by ZSL in 2010

Sources:

1. Proposal of Berbak National Park DA REDD+ design document revised version, September 2012
2. Berbak landscape REDD+ program implementation guidelines 2015-2018

Based on Table 2, it is clear that the project was designed in such a way that all the actors could gain equal benefit from the project's implementation. Interestingly, the ZSL as project initiator is not mentioned as a project beneficiary. Such a thing is possible to happen, referring to the concept of managing natural resources as a CPR. As Ostrom (1990) explained that the resource system could be jointly provided or used, in contrast the resource unit is subject to be used or provided separately. The ZSL has access to the Berbak landscape since it is a location of the project. However, benefits such as carbon stock and environmental services do not come to the ZSL because the resource unit only belongs to its owner.

This project brought another positive impact to the conservation area. It is already mentioned that the Berbak landscape is a conservation area, which means that the landscape is already conserved by the National Park and Forestry Office even with or without the project. Even so, the project includes those two actors who have different authorities in certain areas of the landscape, and it then integrates the conservation system in the whole landscape.

As one stakeholder puts it:

The project allows all stakeholders to contribute to the conservation activities in the landscape. The upstream location is under local government authority. We,

in the national park, do not have any access to it. It is important to maintain the good condition in upstream because it will affect to the downstream location, which is under National Park authority. By this project, that integrates conservation activities from upstream to downstream; makes National Park duty to conserve downstream area is a little bit easier.

(Rini, Senior Staff of Berbak and Sembilang National Park. Berbak National Park office, Jambi. August 3, 2017)

However, since the project is still at the readiness stage, the project beneficiaries to the community cannot be counted yet. Therefore, the actors who are involved in the project are those who have the authority in terms of designing and concepts.

B. Connection among Actors

The connection among actors can be seen through an actor-centered power framework. This study adapts Krott's framework to identify the most powerful actor in the project. Krott et al., (2014) mention three elements of power: coercion, dis (incentives) and dominant information.

- Coercion is altering behavior by force
- Dis (incentives) is altering behavior by dis (advantage)
- Dominant information is altering behavior by unverified information

Based on the reports, the MoU, and the project implementation

guidelines, the actor-centered power distribution in the Berbak landscape

REDD+ Program is shown in Table 3.

Table 3.

Power of Each Actor to Alter the Behavior of another Actor

Actor in the implementation of project	Secretariat of Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation	Directorate of Environmental Services for Conservation Forest Utilization	Berbak and Sembilang National Park	Bureau of International Cooperation	Jambi Provincial Forestry Office	ZSL-Indonesia Program. Carbon Project	Power to alter
Secretariat of Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation	-	-	C	D	-	I	3
Directorate of Environmental Services for Conservation Forest Utilization	D	-	C,D	-	-	C,I	5
Berbak and Sembilang National Park	D	D	-	-	I	C,I,D	6
Bureau of International Cooperation	I	-	-	-	-	I	2
Jambi Provincial Forestry Office	-	-	I	-	-	C,I,D	4
ZSL-Indonesia Program. Carbon Project	-	D	I,D	D	I,D	-	6
Impacted by other actor's power	3	2	6	2	3	10	

Note: Actor-centered power based on Krott et.al. 2013 (C = coercion; I = incentives / disincentives; D = dominant information)

Source: Memorandum of Understanding of REDD+ Berbak landscape project

The score is given based on the connection among actors that stated in project design document, MoU, project guidelines and some regulations. Using those documents author analyzes the connection among actors. Every relation of one actor to the other actors is scored as 1 (one), wheatear is C, I, D. After that the scores are calculated as total score of each actor relation in the project.

Based on the analysis, the ZSL and the Berbak and Sembilang National Park are two of the most powerful actors in the project (both of the actors scored 6). Surprisingly, the ZSL and the National Park are also the actors who get the biggest pressure from other actors. The analysis is based on the authority of each actor. Each

actor can alter other actors using their authorities in terms of project implementation. For instance, if the National Park might not deliver the required information (D) to other actors, then it might affect the project implementation. Based on the MoU and the technical implementation guidelines, the Berbak and Sembilang National Park, the Jambi Provincial Forestry Office, and the ZSL are the main implementers in the field who have the power to intervene in the actions of other actors. However, based on Table 3, it Jambi Provincial Forestry Office has less power compared to the National Park and the ZSL. This shows that there is a missing link between the Jambi Provincial Forestry Office as a representative of the Local

This difference in perception is possible because of different understanding of coordination. The National Park considers that coordination is not just a forum to deliver programs only at the beginning, yet it must be done more intensely and thoroughly. Monitoring and evaluation are also important and have to be done jointly by all actors involved. As what was said by Enrici and Hubacek (2018), good monitoring conducted by all involved actors in the project can ensure its success. In addition, the first phase of the project was done only in the area of the National Park, while its second phase expanded the scope of the project to include the Berbak landscape. Therefore, this expansion could be one of the possibilities as to why a sense of belonging for the Local Government to this project is not as large as the National Park.

In addition, in terms of coordination, another interesting relationship to be discussed is the reporting. The ZSL becomes the only actor who has the responsibility to report all activities to other stakeholders. The MoU states that the ZSL has an obligation to submit a semester and an annual report to all actors involved, including the Ministry of Environment and forestry agencies. In contrast, in the declaration of the ZSL activity plan, it is obligatory to submit the reports only to the National Park and the Jambi Provincial Forestry Office. Furthermore, the National Park is obliged to disseminate the reports to internal agencies in the Ministry of Environment and Forestry.

This component slightly affects the implementation of the project. The ZSL should prepare all reports to be disseminated to all stakeholders, making the ZSL-made report unilateral. While in the reported agreement, reports are prepared by

the ZSL for further discussion with the National Park and the Jambi Provincial Forestry Office. The ZSL reports were not orderly and only fulfilled yearly reports.

As Eka, Staff from Directorate of Environmental Services for Conservation Forest Utilization informant puts it:

ZSL has never submitted a semester report, we only received some annual reports yet it is still too late. Submission of reports that should be the responsibility of ZSL should be asked first and then submitted to our agency. (Directorate of Environmental Services for Conservation Forest Utilization Office, Bogor. August 7, 2017)

The delay in submitting the report is suspected to be one of the causes of delayed achievement of activities in the field. However, a tiered report is expected to control and observe the implementation progress of in the field so that problems can be identified and solutions can be found quickly.

C. Governance of the Berbak Landscape REDD+ Program

Holloway and Giandomenico (2009) and Enrici and Hubacek (2018) stated that forest cover, governance scenario, actors' connection, and budgeting contexts influence the process of designing and implementing REDD+ projects. This study is focused on seeing how governance affects the implementation of the Berbak landscape REDD+ program. Moreover, this study applies four indicators of governance that are developed by Ostrom (1990). Those four indicators are coordination, reporting, bureaucracy, and monitoring⁸.

⁸ Ostrom mentions eight indicators of governance which are: Clearly defined boundaries; Coordination includes reporting; Collective choice arrangement;

Coordination and reporting, as discussed earlier, are parts of governance that affect the implementation of the Berbak landscape REDD+ program. The inadequate coordination between the main actors in the field implementation indicates why the project did not achieve its targets. The Berbak and Sembilang National Park share the opinion that the Jambi Provincial Forestry Office did not know the progress of the project because there was no information sharing process during its implementation.

Bobby, a senior staff of the Berbak and Sembilang National Park, stated:

... Forestry office does not seem really care and do not have any involvement in the project implementation. (Berbak and Sembilang National Park Office, Jambi. August 3, 2017)

Inadequate coordination also occurs if every actor assumes the same power and does not want to be governed. This is strengthened by the statement from one of the key informants from Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation:

Egocentricity of every agency is a difficult thing to avoid and become one of the causes of why the coordination is not going well. (Singgih, Senior Staff of Secretariat of Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation. Ministry of Environment and Forestry Office, Jakarta. August 8, 2017).

Another governance indicator that is noticeable in the implementation of the program is bureaucracy. The study conducted by Galudra et al., (2011) on Central Kalimantan found that Indonesia's

bureaucracy creates a complicated background for forest conservation activities including the REDD + project. A similar case also took place in the Berbak landscape REDD+ program. The ZSL encountered a number of obstacles related to state's bureaucracy in government agencies, especially the central government in implementing projects in the field.

Galudra et al., (2011) also mentioned that a carbon right, which is a part of REDD+ context, is a complex issue. It consists of a set of actors and bureaucracy that are involved in the whole process. The case is the same in the Berbak landscape REDD+ program, and it requires a long bureaucratic system. The long bureaucratic process is developed as one of the control systems of the project.

A key informant from the Centre for International Cooperation stated:

We developed stage by stage bureaucracy in order to let every stakeholder knows what the project have been done. This kind of system also as the multilayers monitor for the project.

(Trijatmiko, Ministry of Environment and Forestry Office, Jakarta. August 7, 2017)

Nevertheless, somehow it is considered less flexible. This is because all the activities carried out in the field should be reported in detail and submitted to the Jakarta Central Government.

In addition, the changes in the organizational structure in the Ministry of Environment and Forestry 2014 also affect the bureaucratic system, thereby creating more complications for the ZSL in conducting activities in the field. The Ministry merged the Berbak National Park with the Sembilang National Park. Both were initially two different national parks that had respective regulations on management area. In practice, the merging

of the national parks has not been accompanied by the incorporation of the prevailing management system. Thus, there is a fairly complicated management dualism. The ZSL must take care of the letters and retribution if they want to do activities in the Berbak area. In contrast, they don't need it in the Sembilang region because it has been considered as a right of ZSL. As such, the ZSL admits that it faces difficulties regarding their internal reporting documents, since it would be considered a deviation of how the components of the activities are the same but the financial mechanisms are different.

As a ZSL field coordinator mentioned:

We have no problem if we should pay or do registration before we visit the field as long as the regulation is applied in the whole area of the national park. The dualism policy sometimes confuses us and it is time consuming because we have to confirm what policy we should obey.

(Yoan Dinata, ZSL Office, Jambi. August 2, 2017)

The last governance indicator by Ostrom (1990) used to evaluate the project implementation is monitoring. It has an important role in determining the success of this project. The involvement of many actors as well as the differences of regional authorities made the integrated monitoring an essential aspect. Through monitoring, the constraints faced during implementation can be identified earlier so that the solution will be more targeted. The ZSL admitted that they are constrained on budget, and therefore the activities are not achieved in accordance with the expected outcomes. This identification came quite late because the monitoring was not done properly.

As one of the key informants puts it:

I admit that we are not fully carrying out our responsibilities well. We only

demand the ZSL to provide a report and less review the results. We, as the executing agency of this project, have never made an annual meeting aimed at monitoring the ongoing activities. (Singgih, Senior Staff of Secretariat of Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation. Ministry of Environment and Forestry Office, Jakarta. August 8, 2017)

If monitoring and other governance indicators are well conducted, the issue of the lack of budget might not occur at all. The REDD+ program is a priority program of the Indonesian government, and for the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, the Berbak landscape REDD+ program is one of the two locations where they target to enhance their performance. There is also an opportunity for additional funding from the Indonesian government to complete the program. However, the submission process for the funding requires a long bureaucratic process⁹.

Conclusion

The Berbak landscape REDD+ program is a collaborative program between the Government of Indonesia (Central Government and Local Government) with the Zoological Society of London (one of the NGO partners of the Indonesian government). This project has been done since 2010 and will end in 2018. The project is divided into two phases: the first phase was done in the location of Berbak and Sembilang National Park while the second phase is implemented in the larger area of the Berbak landscape. The

⁹ Ministry of Finance Regulation No. 143/PMK.02/2015 about Guideline for Designing and Reviewing Work and Budget Planning of Ministry and State Agency and Legalization on List of Budget Allocation

landscape consists of several functional areas with different designations and authorities. The Berbak landscape is not only under the authority of the National Park as a representative of Central Government, but there are also Production Forest, Conservation Forest and Forest Park under the Jambi Provincial Forestry Office's authority.

Governance plays an important role in determining the success or failure of a project implementation. Therefore, the involvement of several actors in project implementation requires a good governance system to avoid constraints. In the first phase of the project, the division of authority and benefits, which is one of the components of governance, was well constructed at the time of preparation of cooperation documents. Based on the agreement documents and program referrals, each actor had a fairly balanced section. In other words, the initial process of project preparation was done well and involved all the parties.

However, project achievements in the second phase do not show encouraging results. Only 20 percent of the total activities are completed by the ZSL. Based on the results of interviews and document reviews, several indicators of governance that affect the implementation of projects in the field appears. The first one is coordination; there is an inadequate coordination between the Central and the Local Government. The consistency of reporting also influences the achievement of the project. In addition, the bureaucratic system, which is quite long and complicated, also becomes a challenge to achieve the desired target. The last aspect of governance that hampers the success of the Berbak landscape REDD+ Program is monitoring. Monitoring takes on a very

crucial role in this project. Monitoring that is not well prepared causes a late identification of the main problem in project implementation.

The ZSL claims lack of funds as the main cause of unsuccessful implementation of the project in the second phase. The problem of limited budget should be identified earlier so that the government would be able to propose a possibility of funding mechanism. That would be possible if there was a well-functioning governance system that included: a well-established monitoring system, regular reporting by the ZSL, good coordination among actors, and also a responsive bureaucracy. In that way, it would help to find some alternative ways and possible solutions.

Implication and Recommendation

Based on the case of the Berbak REDD+ project, we can identify a couple of policy implications:

1. The ZSL may need to find other mechanisms to secure funding. For example, through consortium mechanism. If that is the case, the government will need to accommodate some changes and establish a different mechanism.
2. There are some funding possibilities to this project. If the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (through the Directorate General of Nature Resources and Ecosystem Conservation) is willing to partially fund the essential components in phase II, it will need to propose additional budget from the National Budget in form of a new working program for the next year. The rest of the project will be funded by the ZSL through the NGO's own mechanism.

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