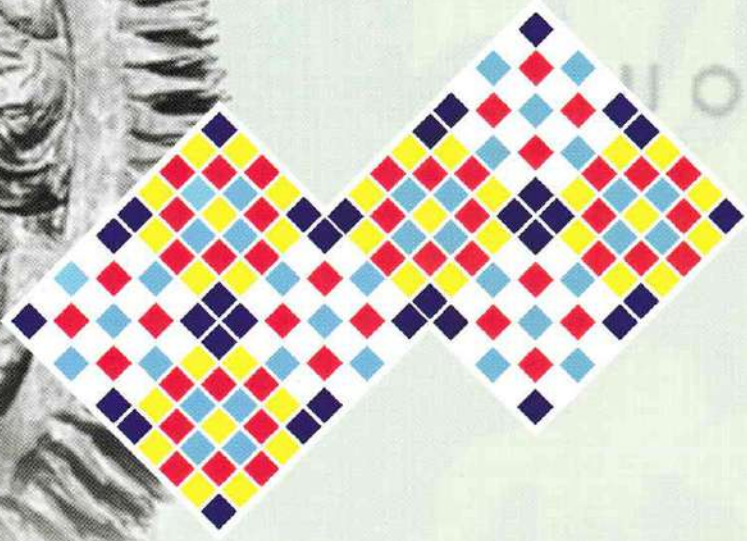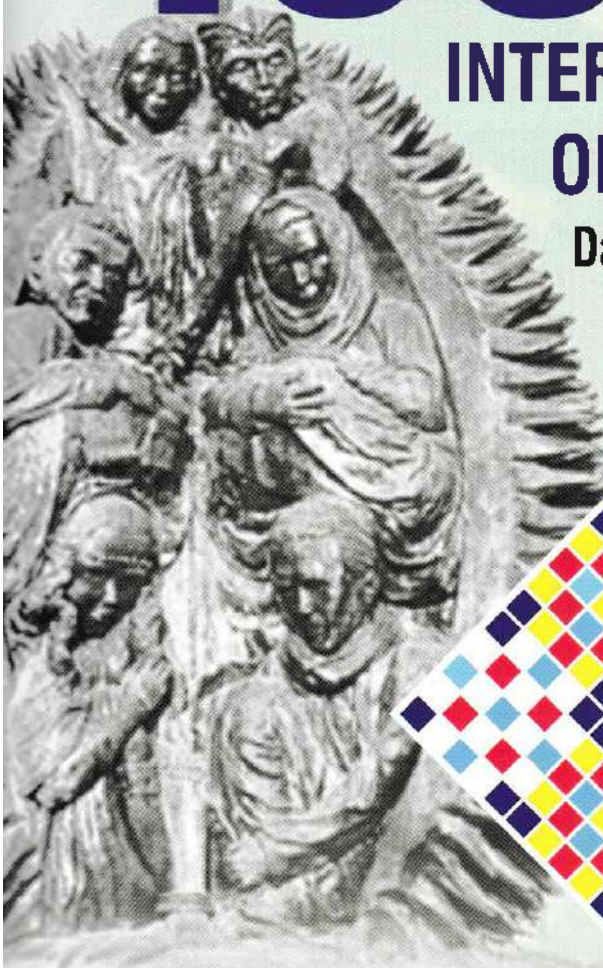15

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ASEAN INTEGRATION
OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

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Contents

Asean and The Power of Cultural Capital as an Engagement Mode - 3

Chapter 13

ACTORS, INTERESTS AND INSTITUTIONALISM
A Case Study on Forest Resources Management in Indonesia

Eko Priyo Purnomo[1]

Abstract: *The idea to involve local communities is contained in the idea of Community Based Forest Management (CBFM). In Indonesia case, this idea arises as forest communities were not able to have forest benefits. Indeed, forest communities had merely become a spectator of the exploitation of forest products by state and industries. As a result, CBFM was developed to further enhance the participation of forest communities in accessing forest resources that could improve their income and quality of life. In addition this programme also needs to be maintained in a sustainable way. In this paper examines the actors and their relationship how to manage and maintain forest resources on a sustainable way. This paper points out clearly about the combination of informal and formal institutions strengths to support the forest resources management sustainably.*

Key words: *forest management, stakeholder, relationship, informal and formal institutions.*

INTRODUCTION

Community-based forest management (CBFM) is an idea that has spread quickly and it has been adapted by many countries (Adhikari, 1990, Armitage and Hyma, 1997, Colchester, 1994, Schmink, 2008). The concept of CBFM emerged in response to the failure of the previous model of forest management that was mainly state-led and oriented towards industry. CBFM calls for a change from state-based, centralised control and privatisation oriented to people-based or community-based (Agrawal, 2001b, Mendoza and Prabhu, 2005). At first, this idea also aimed to boost the benefit of forest

resources to Local community and then the local community can improve their quality of life (Gilmour and Fisher, 1991, Baland and Platteau, 1997).

A CBFM initiative also is a significant change in approach on forest resources management. The change is from state-based and private-based, to one that is a modern approach biased towards community or people-based, influenced by a postmodern approach or participation approach (Maryudi, 2011). The conversional or state-based approach put the state as the main actor. This approach also was top-down, and less participatory. On the other hand, the second approach is bottom-up, encourages local participation, supports collective action and is aimed at a fair distribution of resources.

Moreover, North (2005) argues that the institutional structure that is involved establishes who the stakeholders are and how they can affect their choices. In terms of informal constraints, this is an integral part of institutional structure that determines human interaction and some of them may arise as a result of the uncoordinated action of individuals or organisations (North, 2005). In addition, CBFM is illustrated by the collaboration and cooperation of many stakeholders. Stakeholder in this research can be an individual, group, or institution, who share their values, ideas and beliefs combined with their social, political background (Suwarno

1   Senior Lecturer at the Department of Governmental Studies, a fellow at the Jusuf Kallas School of Government (JKSG) and currently, the Director of International Program of Governmental Studies (IGOV), University Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) Indonesia. He cans be contacted by e-mail: eko@umy.ac.uk.

et al., 2009, Maryudi, 2011). Moreover, the next section of this paper also will elaborate who the stakeholders in CBFM in Gunung Kidul are and how they relate each other. Because activation of local capabilities and networking across various local stakeholder groups through, it can be useful to identify the CBFM implementation on sustainable way (Bodorkos and Pataki, 2009).

The basic idea of CBFM is a synergy between local people and their environment (Purnomo and Mendoza, 2011, Agrawal, 2001a). If the local people can participate and get access to the forest recourses near to them, and they use their local knowledge in a sustainable way, the forest resources will be sustainable, and the local people will gain economically and socially (Agrawal and Yadama, 1997). Therefore, it is clear that CBFM should describe the local knowledge relying on the forest sustainability. Besides, local knowledge is an important component and value of traditional systems and significantly involved in local community activity (Mulyoutami et al., 2009, Bodorkos and Pataki, 2009). Understanding of social, political and local knowledge is important for this research in order to get a portrait of community institutions. As a result, this paper will also explain and elaborate the social, political and local knowledge of selected sites that rely on the implementation of CBFM and then elaborate on how to strengthen local institutions.

Identification of Stakeholders and Their Relationships

Basically, CBFM is a programme, established by Central Government, which gives a chance to the local community to access and use state-forest area. In Gunung Kidul, the area is hilly, highly eroded and this area has a 13,221 ha state forest area. Besides, it has nearly 4,000 ha state forest area planned for CBFM project. It is really important that this project will distribute the resources to stakeholders (mainly the local communities), and it will preserve the forest resources sustainably. In addition, there are economical problems in this area. For instance, the rate of land ownership is very low, at just around 0.55 ha per household. Therefore, it is relevant that we have to look at who the stakeholders in this project are and how the relationship is. It can be useful to make sure that the programme will be conducive to forest resources sustainability and the idea of sharing of benefit from it.

"Actually, GK regency had planned nearly 4,000 ha state forest area to be distributed to local communities. However, we just allocated 1,087.65 Ha to the communities recently. We want to check whether the communities can manage and utilise the forest or not." (Interview-Regency Officer, 2012)

The main actor or stakeholder of CBFM is the forest farmer. There are two types of forest farmers here. First, a farmer who participates in CBFM, joins in a group and has already got the licence. Second, the non-CBFM farmer, who is a farmer, uses the state-forest area but does not participate in CBFM. In Gunung Kidul, the non-CBFM farmers can access, utilise and manage the state-forest area near to their village. Mostly, they use degraded state forest area and then plant crops by an intercropping method. The farmer does not plant trees as they just need a short-term product. Therefore, they do not have a licence and they just use the forest temporarily. In addition, the CBFM farmer, as the main actor of CBFM, gets legal access to the forest areas. They plant not only short term crops, but also long term plants, such as trees. When they are alone, the individual farmer is the weakest stakeholder in comparison with other stakeholders. For example, the farmer cannot bargain with a trader and they cannot articulate their interests to the government. In this selected sides, they are aware this situation so they make a group.

"As a farmer, I really understand that I have to join in this group. This is not only required by the government but also I need it to improve my skills and articulate my idea to the government." (Interview-Farmer, 2012)

The second stakeholder is a group of CBFM farmers. When farmers make a group not only do they have to follow the rule of law, but also they need to organise and then to cooperate with each other. The group of CBFM farmers is a group that gets access to a particular state-forest area because the government gives the licence to the group, not to an individual farmer. It seems they are in a group because they have a mutual understanding and mutual goals. In a group, they have formal institutions and informal institutions. Informal institutions can be values, norms and beliefs and the formal institutions can be rule of law, organisation planning, structure and committees. Both of them influence the members of the group to maintain and manage the forest in a sustainable way. The group is created not only to boost their bargaining position or follow the government rules, but also they need to improve their capacity building (Interview-Farmer, 2012). The farmers recognise that they do not have the technical knowledge of forest management methods and techniques. Therefore, they have to learn from each other or other stakeholders.

Even already in a group, it is not enough for CBFM farmers to articulate, communicate and bargain with other stakeholders, especially in dealing with government. As a result, they establish a federation of farmer groups. The federation is a network of farmer groups. They establish it because the farmer groups want to mobilise their resources dealing with state or government policy. Therefore, in 2000, there was a meeting between NGO, University, farmer group and Forestry officers. In that meeting, there was a mutual understating that farmers should be supported and united. The meeting's participants also agreed that

farmer groups could be strong internally and then externally so they can negotiate their interests. Internally, the farmer groups can improve their abilities and create a good plan for their forest area. Externally, they can demand the Government Issue them a licence if at the time they have not got a licence. Consequently, the meeting supported establishing an association of farmer groups.

"In the beginning of this programme, we were confused with the government policy and we did not know how to meet with their requirements. For example, I don't know how to get the licence from the government? How to write the proposal? Due to these situations and gaining supported by NGO, we met and created a federation." (Interview-Farmer, 2012)

In Gunung Kidul, it is called the federation of CBFM farmer group (*Paguyupan Kelompok Petani Hutan Kemasyarakatan*-PKTHKm). The members of this federation are 35 (thirty-five) farmer groups that registered by Gunung Kidul Regency. According to their manifesto, there are several tasks of the association. First, it develops the farmer and farmer groups independently. Second, it creates togetherness of the members of federation. Third, it can articulate their interest and needs, as they are always seen as an inferior party compared with others. Fourth, it can support developing planning and managing of forest resources sustainability. Fifth, it can be a vehicle for farmer groups to link and communicate with others. The farmer group agreed that CBFM should unite their resources to reach their goals.

The existence of the federation was useful also to the Forestry and Plantation office in Yogyakarta. If they had some information or programmes they contacted the federation. And then the federation would facilitate a meeting. For example, the Forestry and Plantation office in Yogyakarta had some funds and then the federation distributed that funding to the groups. In other words, there were so many advantages to it. The federation was required to conduct a regular

meeting, create a programme and make a network with other stakeholders. It seemed that the position of the association was so strategic.

However, the strategic position of the federation created a potential conflict between their members. Some of the members thought that the organisation gave only benefit to the committees and a few members. The federation should have been united but it was not. Therefore, this institution was dissolved by 27 (twenty seven) of its 35 (thirty-five) members on 20 December 2003. Besides, it happened also because the federation did not have articles of association and bylaws or rules of the game. Figure 7.1 describes the relation of stakeholders in the context of CBFM in GK regency.

Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) is a stakeholder that also influences CBFM implementation in Gunung Kidul. There is no common agreement about the definition of an NGO and the term leads to different connotations in different contexts (Freeman, 1995, Willetts, 2002). For example, there is a perception that NGO is a rebel organisation, one that always criticises Government Policy, so it looks like that they are a provocateur (Interview-Activist, 2002). However, it is not true. In CBFM policy, they help and support farmers in many ways and with many things. In addition, an NGO must be independent from the direct control of government (Willetts, 2002, Freeman, 1995). In conclusion, there are three points or accepted characteristics of NGO that should be considered. First it will not be represented as a political party; it will be non-profit-making and it will be not be a criminal group; in particular it will be involved only in non-violent activities (Willetts., 2002).
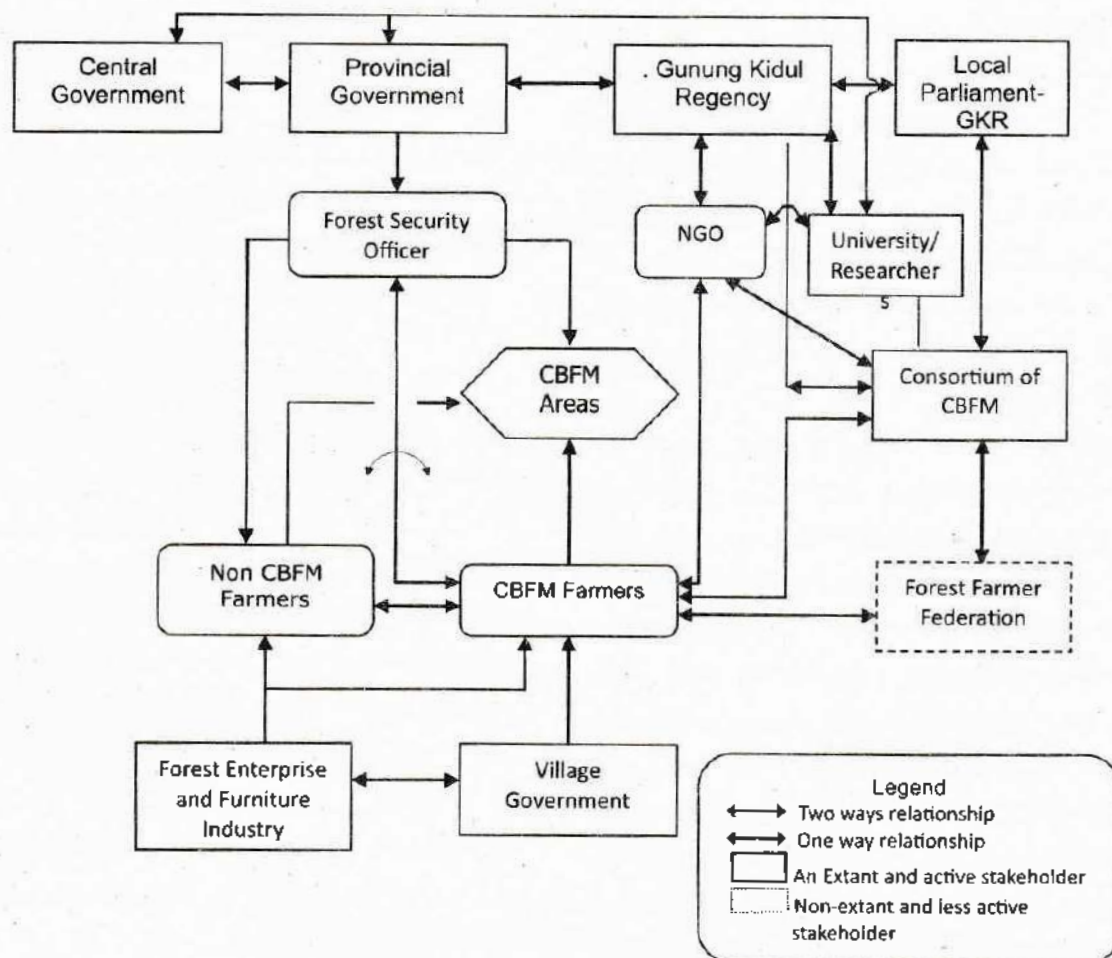
Figure 1. Stakeholder relationship in CBFM

There are several NGOs involved in CBFM implementation in Gunung Kidul, such as Shorea (Small Home of Rural Empowerment Activists), which is an NGO that works for the management of natural resources based on the idea of equality and sustainability; Arupa (*Volunteers Alliance for Saving the Nature) is an NGO that seeks* to revise inappropriate national forestry and nature resources management paradigms; PERSEPSI (Society for the Study of Economic and Social Development) is an NGO that wants to campaign for a more prosperous and equitable society, in order to establish democracy, gender justice, uphold human rights and protect the environment. The last one is YP2SU, that is an independent non-profit organization advocating for the poor and marginalised (Arupa, 2012, Sepsiaji and Fuadi, 2004). There are several main activities of those NGOs. First, they gather information about CBFM and then share it, mostly to farmers. Second, they create a capacity building programme for farmers and farmer groups, Third, they do legal advocacy and also look for funding.

> *"I and my colleagues got involved in this programme because local communities really need help. They do not have enough confidence to deal with the government rules so in the beginning this programme, the local communities get many troubles. My NGO supports the local communities to get their rights. National resources should be for local community and the idea of forest for people can be implemented by CBFM."* (Interview-Activist, 2012)

Besides NGOs, University and researchers are other stakeholders who take part in CBFM implementation. University refers to an institution providing higher education and researchers refers to individuals who focus on and are interested in CBFM. In this case, they are actively involved in CBFM. There are several actions they have done (Interview-Activist, 2012). First, through their expertise, they gather data, information and then analyse CBFM policy. Second, based on their research, they do an advocacy on behalf of the local community for receiving the licence from Government. Third, based on their assessments to farmer groups, they conduct training, and workshops to improve the farmers and farmer groups' capacity building. For example, they give training on how to create a good plan and sound administration of farmer groups.

As above mentioned about federations, the federation was really not working for articulating the farmer interests. Because of that, forest farmers and farmer groups really need support to articulate and communicate with other stakeholders. As a result, they established an association. An association is an organised body of people or stakeholders that have a common interest, activity, and purpose and then they want to articulate their interest, cooperate their activity and attempt to reach their goals together (2011a, Black, 1995, 2011b). They establish an association because the farmer groups want to mobilise their resources dealing with state or government policy.

The consortium is another stakeholder in CBFM implementation, called KPHKm (*Konsorsium Pengembangan Hutan Kemasyarakatan*) the Consortium for CBFM. The initiative began when CBFM forum region Yogyakarta, called FKKM-(*Forum Komunikasi Pengembangan Hutan Kemasyarakatan Wilayah Yogyakarta*), held a seminar and public hearing on 25 October 2001 at Wisanti Hotel (Interview-University, 2012). There were important points raised in that meeting such as supporting social forest, village forest and community forestry. At that meeting, there were recommended agendas. First, the forum would share their research data. Second, there would be a multi stakeholders dialog on transferring state-forest from state to community. Third, a public hearing would be held with Provincial House Representatives. Fourth, it will conduct a meeting with all farmer groups in Gunung Kidul for establishing a network and

communication among them. The last one, it would support capacity building of farmer groups such as creating internal regulation and strategic plan. This consortium was established by 5 (five) stakeholders, which are FKKM-(*Forum Komunikasi Pengembangan Hutan Kemasyarakatan Wilayah Yogyakarta*); NGOs such as SHOEA, ARUPA, PRESEPSI, YP2SU; and University Gadjah Mada, especially PKHR-Centre of Community Forestry. It was declared on 1 April 2003.

"During the meeting, we were mapping the problem and developing the solution of CBFM. We can elaborate as much as information we have to construct a road map for helping the CBFM farmers to utilise the forest on sustainable way and help them to get the long term licence from the government." (Interview-Activist, 2012)

Roles and Tasks of the Consortium also started when there was stagnancy of CBFM implementation. Gunung Kidul Regency already planned 4000 ha as CBFM area and the communities really wanted to participate in it, but there was friction between Central Government and Provincial government. Both parties thought that CBFM should be under their control. The consortium therefore, would do an advocacy for this policy and articulate the community's needs. According to their documents, there are several roles and tasks of the consortium.

1. Supporting capacity building and skills of farmer groups, particularly in managing forest resources on CBFM area.

2. Improving the local institutions capacity for increasing of Farmer Groups' bargaining position with other stakeholders.

3. Facilitating of a conflict resolution toward CBFM implementation in Gunung Kidul.

4. Promoting a Local Regulation that is aware of Sustainable Forest Resources Management.

5. Performing an initiative of CBFM Forum

supported by many stakeholders.

6. Documenting of CBFM implementation in Gunung Kidul.

Forest enterprises and future industry is the other stakeholder who plays a role in this programme also. They are a key player on the issue of sustainable forest resources. Most of them are motivated by profit (Maryudi, 2011). Timber quality in Gunung kidul is very good and also the demand is high, as the traders or enterprises want to get the timber from Gunung Kidul Farmers (Interview-Farmer, 2012). In this case, the traders do not follow the government regulation and most of them just push the farmers for gaining a big profit. They use their money and power to approach and control the forest farmers for selling their forest products. This is really risky for the development of sustainable CBFM in Gunung Kidul (Interview-Farmer, 2012).

The State is the stakeholder that refers Government institution, especially the institution concerned with CBFM implementation. The state is an actor who can announce a regulation, has an authority and can enforce the law (APA, 2010, 2011b). In addition, the state has some abilities, such as ability to penetrate society, ability to control social and political interaction, ability to enforce a law, ability to extract national resources and the ability to use the result of natural resources based on their best choice (APA, 2010, Marx et al., 1970). The state also has a sovereign political power or community and it includes central and local government, House of representative, and Judicative (APA, 2010). However, in Indonesian case, it is made clear that the state is not single actor and it has one interest. In the CBFM implementation in Gunung Kidul, state can be central Government, Provincial Government, Forestry and Plantation Office in Yogyakarta, Gunung Kidul Regency and Local House of Representative.

For instance, the Forestry and Plantation Office in Yogyakarta is a body that represents Central Government Policy but it is located in the Province. In Forest resources management and forest utilisation, this institution works to regulate and monitor any stakeholders who operate in this sector. They also maintain state-forest areas in their area. In context of CBFM, state can be a facilitator, mediator, regulator and also the player. In practical evidence, the state becomes a superior stakeholder and local communities seem so inferior. CBFM policy should put the local community in the position of a main actor. The government should distribute their resources and their authority at the same time.

Table 1. Stakeholders and their role on CBFM in Gunung Kidul

No	Stakeholder	Role
1	Non-CBFM farmer	• Use and utilise the Forest • Use local knowledge • Adapt a new technique • Government Policy
	CBFM farmer	• Use and utilise the Forest • Manage the Forest • Use local knowledge • Adapt a new technique • Follow the Local institutions • Government Policy
2	Forest farmer group	• Develop local institutions arrangements • Communicate with other stake-holders • Prepare the Proposal • Establish a Cooperative
3	Forest farmer federation	• Establish networking amongst Farmer groups • Articulate their interest • Develop communication with other stakeholders
4	NGO	• Give advice and Services to Forest Farmers • Conduct training for Farmers' capacity building • Do lobbying and Negotiation • Provide legal and political support
5	University and Researcher	• Conduct research • Provide information and data to Farmers and other stakeholders • Educate and perform capacity building for Forest Farmers • Advocate for institutional reform
6	Association or Consortium of CBFM	• Perform public relations and campaign on CBFM • Make lobbying and negotiation with State on behalf of Forest Farmers • Give sources of Funds to Forest farmers
7	Forest enterprise and furniture industry	• Buy Forest Products • Provide employment

8	State; Central government-Minister of Forestry, forestry and plantation office in Yogyakarta	• Establish Policy • Control and monitor the Programme • Provide services and funding • Give and review the licence
	Local government-governor, regent	• Provide a recommendation to Central Government • Grant a temporary Licence • Offer technical and administrative skills to Forest Farmers • Coordinate the Programme and report it to the Central Government
	Forest security officer	• Monitor and secure the forest on behalf of the government.

In conclusion, because many people have a mutual interest and mutual goals, they make a group and work together. Forest farmers in Gunung Kidul also do so. The initiative could be not just from their local community itself, but it could be from Government policy or NGO encouragement. At the beginning, some of the farmer groups established by less participative processes. And they made decisions by committee interest as these groups were run predominantly by committee. Nevertheless, those situations could be minimised by supporting NGO, University and many stake holders. And then it can lead to farmer groups that are more independent and well-organised.

In relation to the stakeholders' relationships, there are some lessons learned. Firstly, CBFM policy supports the idea of decentralisation of power and authority. Central Government gave authority to Local government, especially Regent and Mayor, so local government can implement a forest policy supporting the local community. Secondly, the CBFM is an appropriate way to give a local community a chance to improve their quality of life and access forest resources (Interview-Activist, 2012). Even though, the position of Farmers and farmers' Groups is one with less power than other stakeholders, it still has a possibility to improve its position.

"CBFM is a good way to distribute the resources. In this case, before the implementation of CBFM, local communities cannot get any benefit from the forest, even near to their village. After involvement in this

programme, they can get some income that supports their life, especially they have a hope that they can get more revenue by selling the timber." (Interview-Activist, 2012).

Thirdly, in terms of involvement of stakeholders, the farmers and farmers' Groups are so weak compared to others. For example, farmers cannot negotiate with traders or furniture industries when they want to sell timber. On the other hand, the state is not homogenous and they do not have a grand design and a firm policy so they change the CBFM policy many times. In this situation, the next lessons were learned. The above section referred to conflicts of interest among stakeholders, but there are some solutions to it. It can happen because the government should become a facilitator or mediator, less authoritarian. Luckily, in Gunung Kidul, there is an association or consortium, established by NGOs, University and researchers, which plays a role as a facilitator. If there is a problem or issue on the CBFM implementation, this consortium attempts to solve it. Mostly, the consortium supports the farmers' needs and encourages them to manage forest resources sustainably.

Strengthening the Local Institutions toward CBFM Implementation

Measuring of the advantages and weaknesses of the local institutions

The key argument of the next section is that the relationship of stakeholders is not

autonomous and independent, especially the engagement on public policy, but it is created by their local culture, knowledge and their position. Consequently, it is important to explain and understand those local cultures and contexts relating to strengthening the local institutions. This section focuses on strengthening local institutions in the context of dealing with the shifting policy on CBFM.

One of the CBFM goals is building a system of forest resources management that supports local community participation and local initiatives. In addition, this programme wants to invite many stakeholders to become involved. Participation is divided into two arguments, which are the efficiency argument and empowerment arguments (Tanguilig and Tanguilig, 2009, Ostrom, 2009). The efficiency arguments suggest that participation is a tool for reaching and achieving better project results. On the other hand, the empowerment argument looks at participation as a process that enhances the capacity of individuals to improve their social life and this argument wants to support social change to the advantage of marginalised society. Therefore, this CBFM should be implemented by a synergy between efficiency and empowering. For example, forest farmers' contribution is not only giving an alternative activity for them to get an access, and use forest resources that makes the programme look participative but it should be a conscious activity of farmers and empowering regardless of actual activity undertaken. The new institutionalism approach influenced discourses on local community participation (Ostrom, 2009). This approach argues that institutions lead to formalised mutual expectations of co-operative behaviour and allow the exercise of sanctions for non-co-operation so it can minimise the cost of individual transactions and reach better mutual goals. Informal institutions that can be represented by social institutions or

norms are considered an appropriate solution to the problems of trust and malfeasance, for instances, in CBFM implementation, the norms can minimise cheating and free riding so it solves the problem in a not too costly way. Formal institutions, mostly understood as organisation, structure and law, can transform individual activity and orientation into collective activity in a form which is visible, analysable and amenable. In this case, when the farmers participate in this project they have own interest and it can raise a conflict among them so the committee publish rules of law to deal with that situation.

Regarding informal institutions, there are several key activities on these selected sites. Well-defined of institutions are an appropriate way to solve the problem on Forest resources. This idea can be made by understanding and implementing informal institutions, such as codes of conduct, customs, local knowledge and social expectations (Platteau and Peccoud, 2011). In addition, the term of local knowledge or local wisdom sometime is changeable. In the context of development of local institutions, this term raises much debate and criticism, both academic and in practice. It can be a counter argument of the theory of environment degradation when the main argument says that the environment crisis happens in developing or an under-developed country because they do not have any knowledge of sustainable development (Purwadi, 2007). Actually, developed and less developed countries have their own knowledge suitable with the contexts and their norms and are aware regarding natural resources sustainability (Ballard et al., 2008, Mulyoutami et al., 2009). Local knowledge is skills or techniques embedded within local culture or local activity and it is tested by them dealing with their life problem (Fischer, 2000, Wahono et al., 2001). Wahono (2001) argues that in terms of relationship

between human and its environment, Local knowledge should be seen as a holistic knowledge of community and coming for their specific culture dealing with their needs and environmental sustainability.

> "Local communities have local knowledge on how to survive in this degraded area and how to get water in drying season. Because of the soil is so thin, less fertiliser, and mostly lots of stones, they cannot plan any crops. There are a few of crops that can survive in this area and the farmer know it how to optimise it. Every house has a water reservoir and it use to gather the rain water from the roof. This water will be used in drying season." (Interview-Activist, 2012)

Berker (2007) argues that local knowledge is important, not only for its own sake, but also for its potential to develop and design more effective management for various ecological systems and obstacles. In addition, documentation and method of local knowledge became part of environmental policy since the Earth Submit in 1992. Furthermore, those terms remain focused on by scholars and policy makers to deal with environmental issues. This knowledge can emerge into two types, which are values and attitudes, beliefs and skills (Berkes, 2007). Local knowledge refers to knowledge held by local people or local communities as a cumulative body of knowledge and belief handed down through the generations by processed transmission. Another benefit of local knowledge is that local knowledge develops a holistic approach to convert day to day activities (Berkes, 2007, Purwadi, 2007). Besides, it is better operated compared with a modern approach (Berkes, 2007, Purwadi, 2007). For instance, Lansing conducted research in Bali, where Hindu priests maintain a system of water in the temples. The system optimizes the use of irrigation water for rice terraces, called *Subak*. Due to the green revolution approach, *Subak* was modernised by the introduction of a new irrigation system. However, the new system worked so poorly compared with the old one. Therefore, the traditional system has been restored and is used again.

Moreover, understanding the local knowledge of selected sites in Gunung Kidul Regency can be a good way to portray the local institutions' resilience to implementing CBFM programme. Forest farmers realise that forest sustainability is important. It can provide not only for their economical needs but also for social needs, for instance, economical need, such as income and social need, such as friendship and recreation. The majority of farmers from selected sites do not have enough income to support their daily life. Lack of land ownership is the main problem. For instance, most of them just have 0.1 ha or less land and some of them do not own any land. That is why they are involved in CBFM programme. Forest farmers are conscious that forest is a source of timber, livestock, fruits, honey and water during the drying season so they manage and use the forest wisely.

> "If my forest greener and "lestari" sustainable, I am sure that I can obtain many benefits. I can sell my intercrops products and timber so I can get money. I can go to the forest so I can meet my friend and feel the fresh air in there as well" (Interview-Farmer, 2012)

In terms of social capital, in the selected sites, the farmers or forest users involved in a collective initiative share their resources and then take risks in what is a resource constrained environment. *Arisan* is the most common form of social capital manifestation. Variations of *Arisan* or pooling of money or resources can exist in many activities. This activity operates by members of the group collecting money every month in their group meeting and then they do a raffle so those who are lucky can get the money. Usually, it can be that the saving may be used to finance a wedding or funeral of a member of the group. *Arisan* can be one form of bonding social capital and also it has a role as a social safety net.

In addition, one of the communities'

local wisdom is motivation and ability to learn. They have motivation to preserve or *handarbeni* forest resources (Purwadi, 2007). Initially their motivation to join in this programme is one of economical concern. Because they want to get at 0.25 ha state-forest minimum, they are involved in this programme. A household consists of 5 people; if the just have own less than 0.1 ha of land it is not enough to provide for their daily needs. It looks like gaining benefit, which is the motivation of forest farmers. However, the economic factor is not the main factor, as can be proved by how they propose and join in this project. It takes a long time for joining the programme, receiving a temporary licence and collecting the long-term licence. Even with no licence, they still protect and manage the forest in a sustainable way. Their motivation and forbearance is evidence that they are tough. They joined in CBFM programme in 1995 when the programme just gave them intercrops product. As a result, the trees in selected sites have grown and are in good condition.

Forest farmers have massive and successful experiences of developing private forest or *hutan rakyat*-forest for the people. The amount of private forest areas is around 24,531 or nearly 64 sixty-four percent of forest area in Gunung Kidul(Awang, 2001). Most of them are managed in a sustainable way and some of them get a certification of eco-labelling (Awang and Universitas Gadjah Mada. Fakultas Ekonomi., 2002). In other words, the local community has enough experience and ability to get 'trust' from the state to maintain and access state forests.

Besides, there are some advantages of informal institutions. First, the informal institutions rely on social backgrounds and social values of the community. It seems that informal institutions are formed by a historical context so it makes informal institutions durable and long-lasting. Second, informal institutions

are down to earth so it can solve any conflict among the community members easier and faster. Third, informal institutions require small or no overhead costs to negotiate, adjudicate and enforce. Regarding informal institutions, Fukuyama argues that if the members of a group follow the set of informal rules, it can save costs substantially (Fukuyama, 1995). However, informal institutions have weaknesses also. First, it cannot deal with complex and systemic problems in society. Second, a reward and punishment system of the community cannot be implemented straightaway. For example, if the farmer who has the licence passed away, who should take the land over? Norms or social institutions cannot answer this problem so it should be answered by establishing the formal institutions.

On the other hand, formalized institutional arrangements can be considered as a solution to the weakness of informal institutions. It is also a more forceful and desirable approach, giving for example, clearly identifiable members and boundaries, establishing a system of reward and punishment, and solving collective and public conflict (Ostrom, 1999). Ostrom (1999) argues that formalisation is an evolutionary process that is linked to a general progression from traditional form to modern form (Cleaver, 1999). Ostrom's argument seems that is the possibility of crafting institutions and it looks like to simplify the local institutions. Moreover, this approach has been criticised for being over-simplistic and for avoiding the historical and social contexts and dependency of shaping institutions (Cleaver, 1999). Therefore, in relation to strengthening the local community, I have to accept that local institutions are a combination between formal and informal institutions and that both of them can maintain negotiations between all users, create a strong principle of conflict resolution and decision making and

protect the forest resources in a sustainable way *through the practical adaptation and local value.*

Local communities already established formal institutions that can be seen in their formal organisation and formal structure. Both of the selected areas have committees, which divided by several tasks between Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and section officers. They perform in accordance with the group's articles of association and bylaws. This is evidence that formal institutions already exist in the local community. Based on the observation and in-depth interviews, the groups were established gradually. At the beginning, it was just an informal group that accommodated farmers who used state-forest areas mainly for intercropping activities. Those groups were mobilized and used by Forest officers to protect and guard forest security. The farmers or forest users met only incidentally, as events required.

> *"After the central government enacted the Decree no 622/1995, they transformed their group from informal to formal group. Forest farmers or users made formal structure and rule of organisation. They follow formal institutions approach such as division of works and reward and punishments system. For example, the treasurer cannot withdraw money or give money to someone without an authorization of the chairman and the farmer will be punished if they break the group's rule."* (Interview-Activist, 2012)

Even after establishing formal institutions, farmers' groups still have drawbacks. I quoted from Fukuyama (1995) who suggests small organisations, in my case small or local institutions, tend to be better at organizing more member incentive activities and have flexibility, innovativeness and speed in decision making. Fukuyama also implies that big institutions or organizations should down size, decentralize and be more flexible (Fukuyama, 1995). On the other hand, the weaknesses of local institutions or small organizations are lack of finance and technology and they do not have enough staying power (Fukuyama, 1995).

The first drawback of formal local institutions is in the decision making process. Participation in the decision making process is quite challenging. Actually, both communities attempted to make decisions through participation but sometimes it did not work. Due to patronage belief, elite or leader is in the strongest position. Sometimes, the elite consist of some informal leaders and formal leaders. Reflecting to the history of groups, this situation happened because the groups were established by several people who have close relationship with government officers or forest officers. It is clear that the elite is the farmers who have a link with and an access to authority. In the case of the patronage system, this system was built by community integration and also designed by Government. Because of the local communities insufficient of social capital, local people would follow the rich or powerful people, and the same time, Government failed in developing the state formation process. The patronage system leads to the decision making process being less participative. Therefore, the forest farmers hardly participated in the decision making process, and they could not obtain service delivery, investment, and allocation of funds properly.

In these selected groups, they have issues of capacity building. Capacity refers to the ability to do something and it can be at the level of both individual and communal. It is related to the actors and other actors relations, and also the ability to solve an actor's problem (Bebbington et al., 2006). For example, they were not aware how to operate their organisation properly. They just performed their organisation as a second task and the first task is their forest. As a result, they could not negotiate with other stakeholders, especially when dealing with government regulation because they do not have enough data and organised documents.

Empowering Informal Institutions and Establishing Formal Institutions

Based on the previous explanation, I can clarify that the implementation of CBFM in Gunung Kidul raises some problems. The problems arise from two levels of institutions, which are the state and the local level. Firstly, in the state level, central government creates a policy that is subject to numerous changes – this tends to marginalise the local community. Forest farmers also had to deal with a number of policies, both of central and local government. Secondly, at the community level, problems occurred relating to the weaknesses of local institutions. It can arise from both informal and formal institutions. Even though, they have some potential resources, forest farmers have not adequate knowledge and are in a weaker bargaining position compared with other stakeholders. In these contexts, CBFM implementation looks stagnant and not very well implemented. It can lead to the failure of CBFM and ultimately to unsustainable use and degradation of forest. Therefore, there are two levels of activities to solve that problem. The first level is dealing with the government policy and the second level is strengthening local institutions, both formal and informal institutions.

The shifting of CBFM policy and the friction between central and local government create many problems. It can happen because there is no political will in central and provincial governments. The central government thinks that local government, which is Gunung Kidul District, does not have enough resources to implement this programme. In addition, an economic aspect is another factor. Provincial Government does not want to lose their asset or income (revenue) source. The extent of forest area in Gunung Kidul is 77.5 percent of Yogyakarta Forest. If Province gives it to the Regency they think they will be unable to find another source of domestic income. On the other hand, Gunung Kidul Regency does not want to propose the sharing or transferring of authority. It is an example of a dilemma in Community-based forest management in Indonesia.

A solution should be to develop an initiative on forest policy that is participatory, transparent and accommodative. A policy that relies on the community needs and forest sustainability can be proposed from several points. Firstly, central government should enact a robust (and stable) policy that allows local government to grant licences straightaway. It is also clear that Central Government authorizes the local community or forest farmers to use and cut the timber by licence for utilising the timber. In this site, central government (especially Minister of Forestry) should perform a Decree that gives rights to local government to declare the 4,000 allocated state forest areas to be a CBFM area.

Secondly, Gunung Kidul Regency should propose to Central and Provincial Governments that they (the regency) want to manage and administer the allocated state-forest area for CBFM implementation. In addition, Gunung Kidul Regency should continue to establish Regency Decree on CBFM that accommodates local community need and local contexts. For example, this decree could be clear to regulate a share of benefit between central, local government and farmers in relation to timber production. Because the argument on share of timber production is the main issue in local community, it can be solved by creating the Regency Decree.

Thirdly, establishing a cooperative (or a collective action institution) is very challenging for farmer groups. According to the Ministerial Decree, every group should be in a cooperative if they want to get the timber utilisation licence. Many problems arise in the local contexts and also in forest

areas, such as institutional arrangement. Independence, professionalism, and commitment should be possessed by the local community itself. Independence can be shown in that the farmers do not rely on traders' needs; professionalism means the farmers can manage the group and forest in a proper way; and commitment should be seen in how the farmers develop their institutions and maintain their forest sustainability. To achieve these goals, it could be supported by stakeholders, especially State, NGOs and University researchers.

At the community level, there are several issues that should be solved in dealing with shifting policy and strengthening of local institutions. For that reason, the next section will explain and elaborate on how to improve local institutions by strengthening informal and formal institutions, based on the selected sites' situation. It maximizes the informal institutions potency and then establishes formal institutions.

It is clear that informal institutions require small or little over-head cost to negotiate, adjudicate and enforce (Fukuyama, 1995, Gibson et al., 2000). Regarding with informal institutions, Scientists argue that if the members of a group follow the set of informal rules, it can save costs substantially (Fukuyama, 1995, Gibson et al., 2000, Ostrom, 1990).

In terms of informal institutions, particularly, in how to plant and grow a crop, forest famers are aware that forest sustainability is important. They choose the intercrops plants that can grow and also have endurance on its environment. They use organic fertilizer from their waste or castle because it is cheap and also supports its environment. When they want to grow a crop, farmers do not do it at the same time, they do it in rotation. It is not only to help each other but also so it can preserve the forest resources. The local knowledge is precious and it has depth and value and is holistic. The above is an example of local knowledge on the sites that should be learned and also shared. Local communities understand which situation, plants and rules are the best for both environment and their life. The next point that has to be considered is how to make local knowledge more systematic, and easier to adopt by other communities. Therefore, this is the first activity to strengthen the local knowledge. Indonesian University and scholars should rethink about how to study, learn, and develop knowledge. They should be not easily to adopt "Western" knowledge and eliminate "own" knowledge. Many of them are so fast to adopt, share and teach "Western" way that it could be not suitable for Indonesian contexts. It could be an appropriate way that Indonesian scholar should do is learn, understand, reflect, modify and share their own knowledge and then compare or collaborate with "Western knowledge". CBFM's goals are to empower the local community to preserve forest resources and support them to improve the local community's prosperity. There is a concept that argues if the local community is prosperous, forest resources and its environment will be sustainable. In other words, the forest will be in jeopardy if the local community is poor. This approach is a solution when the anthropocentric approach and state-based approach fail to distribute forest resources. In local words-Javanese words, called *memayu hayuning bawono*-ensuring safety, happiness, and welfare in the world, it means a holistic approach that puts local knowledge and local community as a main concern on CBFM implementation. The second activity that should be encouraged is how to support local participation and local wisdom by eliminating structural obstacles and systemic procedures.

CBFM has an opportunity to optimize the potency of forest resources relating to

economic, social and ecological sustainability. Economic potency of CBFM can be beneficial to the local community and also local government in this case, Gunung Kidul Regency. Gunung Kidul Regency can gain by collecting provision tax of CBFM and sharing of the benefit of CBFM products. Because of that, Local government should support the local community to implement CBFM in a sustainable way. CBFM really has social benefit; if the community get some resources from it, they can improve their quality of life. If the stakeholders get the benefit of CBFM, and they implement it in a proper way, by theme, forest sustainability can be reserved.

Capacity building can be done to individual and communal level (Bebbington et al., 2006). At the individual level, forest farmers need to understand how to participate in the decision making process, articulate their interests, and negotiate with other stakeholders. If individual capacity increases, the communal capacity will improve. In this case, local community capacity building can be initiated by Government, NGOs and University researchers. It seems that collaboration between local community and external civil society organizations, such as NGOs, University and researchers can increase local community capacity. The external civil society can continue their programme and give more to local community, such as in training, providing information and advocacy.

Capacity building should be implemented by a bottom up approach (Kerkhof, 2001). The external stakeholders always ask the community and asses them before they support the local communities. Besides, capacity building could be linked with science and local knowledge (Kerkhof, 2001). Both of these should be considered by external stakeholders. The benefit of capacity building that relies on a bottom-up approach and a linking between science and

local knowledge such as this method is that it can help the forest farmers to learn easily and faster; this method can reduce the failure of the implementation of the new technique; and then it can secure the knowledge so it becomes long-term knowledge and life- long understanding.

There are some suggestions to improve and strengthen formal institutions. The problems and threats of CBFM implementation in Gunung Kidul regency really need to be solved and anticipated. Anticipation of the problem is important because the CBFM' goals are to share forest resources and preserve forest sustainability. It is an appropriate way for community to prove to the state that they can manage forest resources better.

One of the crucial problems in local institutions is participation in decision making processes. Because of the lack of social capital and the failure of state formation, local participation is in danger. For example, in a selected group, one or two people may dominate in the group decision making process. It makes the policy less transparent and accountable. It is really suggested that a patronage system should be avoided. If so, the groups can be more transparent, and it will reduce the failure to implement the group's decisions and policy can accommodate the members' needs. Two activities could be taken to reduce the patronage system and improve farmers' participation. First, it should increase the representative of landless, women, and marginalised members (Chakraborty, 2001). It could be difficult if the first step comes from group initiative. Therefore, the second activity is support from the external stakeholders, such as NGOs and University. It makes sure that the participation process could change the decision making process and it does not threaten the group stability.

In response to the lack of networking and conflict among groups, a collaborative action should be performed to ensure

all stakeholders share responsibility. In Gunung Kidul's case, forest farmers are less powerful than traders and each group of forest farmers is less organised to negotiate with Government and other stakeholders. In other words, conflict between stakeholders or distant users is quite common and difficult to solve (Chakraborty, 2001, Purnomo, 2010). There are several actions that can be offered. First, making a forum or dialogue, that can accommodate and share each party's interests. Due to the failure of farmers' groups' federation, it is an example that infirm institutions are dangerous to farmers and CBFM implementation. Consequently, the next forum ideally puts each stakeholder in the same vision, having the same position and wanting to share responsibility. Second, encourage groups' independency, the existence of the Association or Consortium of CBFM is proven to improve forest farmers' and groups' bargaining position. By this Association, the groups' independency can be developed. Groups can learn how to articulate their interests, communicate their needs and negotiate their wants.

CONCLUSION

This research found that there are many stakeholders involved in CBFM implementation in Gunung Kidul Regency. They contacted and communicated among themselves but there were many issues to it. First, the state is the main actor and they are not a homogenous actor. Each level of government apparatus has its own interest and they can represent their position; for example, regency officer will represent the Regency agenda even different from the Province agenda. Second, the farmers have their own group and already established a networking with other stakeholders but they could not articulate their ideas properly. As a result, their bargaining position is weak and they really need support and assistance.

Thirdly, NGOs and University are catalysts for better empowering of local communities. They did many activities aimed at supporting local communities.

In relation to strengthening local institutions, this paper already suggested how to encourage the local community to optimise their informal institutions and develop formal institutions properly. The initiation of the above solutions can be supported in regard to CBFM implementation properly. Community-based Forest management would be run in a sustainable way if this programme relied on local contexts and it has robust institutions. Nurse and Kabamba (2000) argue that collaborative management refers to the partnerships of the local community of forest users with government and other stakeholders. Collaborative management has emerged as a response to the failure of government. Government do not perform effectively to ensure the ecological and productive integrity of forests resources so it is necessary to support collaborative management initiatives that put the local forest farmers/users groups as the main actor in forest management.

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Proceedings Books
ICONPO V
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC ORGANIZATION

The International Conference on Public Organization (ICONPO) was first established in Yogyakarta, Indonesia last January 30, 2011. The organization brought together some experts from the public organization delegates like, Korea University, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Universitas Ngurah Rai and individuals from Universitas Diponegoro, Universitas Indonesia, etc. to carry out conferences, seminars and workshops. This year, the MSU-Iligan Institute of Technology (MSU-IIT) in the Philippines was selected during the executive meeting of the Asia Pacific Society for Public Affairs (APSPA) to host for the conference.

Considering the onset of the ASEAN Integration in 2015, it is imperative for APSPA to take a serious look into the emergent landscape of the region under said phenomenon in order to be an active participant in conceptualizing its structures and processes. Certainly it shall bring challenges and opportunities and by timely projecting into them, the academe is more likely to influence governance in the region. As a host of the 2015 ICONPO, MSU-IIT has decided that the theme of the 5th ICONPO shall be:

"ASEAN INTEGRATION: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES