**From Global Conservation Norms to Local Practices**

Exploring the Conservation of Charismatic Megafauna in Indonesia

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# Abstract

This thesis examines the translation of global environmental norms within an individual nation state right down to the grassroots level. It combines case studies of the conservation of two 'charismatic megafauna' - the Komodo dragon and the orangutan - in Indonesia, with a critical engagement with social constructivist international relations literature In both case studies, the interactions between the national, provincial, and local levels within the conservation matrix are explored through a qualitative methodology based on interviews with key actors and documentary analysis.

The analysis reveals that national-level practices have hooked into prominent global conservation norms, but that translation through to the provincial and local levels has proved problematic. Factors that have shaped the transmission of these norms include competing responsibilities and goals across national ministries, particular characteristics of the species and their geographical surroundings, and the historical construction of species identity. The overall argument is that the adoption of international standards of conservation within Indonesia has been shaped by significant internal structures and localised factors. This finding suggests that a better understanding of these local factors, which have been largely neglected in the assessment of conservation strategy, might help improve future global conservation policy. The thesis makes a significant contribution to the wider understanding of global norms, conservation policy and Indonesian policy making.

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# Author’s declaration

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University.

# Chapter 1- Introduction

## Outline

Through its participation in various conventions and international agreements, the Indonesian government has repeatedly and publicly affirmed its commitment to environmental protection over the last two decades. This is seemingly an important step for a country that is rated as one of the two most biologically diverse in the world (Wells et al, 1999, 12). However, as this legislation has been applied and these norms have been cascaded down to a local level, it raises the question of as to how these international agreements are actually implemented on a practical level. Although Indonesia has made public declarations towards promoting conservation, what is less clear is how this translates into practical action. This relates to prominent IR debates and gives an appropriate point of entry given the scholarly interest which exists in exploring ways in which discursive adherence to global practices are translated in to real-world context

As the world’s largest living lizards, Komodo dragons have for years captured the imaginations of tourists and locals alike. These exotic and dangerous creatures are largely live on three small islands in the Nusa Tenggara Timor (NTT) region of Indonesia. Their unusual nature and potential to generate significant income from tourists has led the area to be declared a national park with strict protection and monitoring (Walpole and Leader-Williams, 2002, 560). This protection and public interest has developed as part of the global phenomena of the adoption of the conservation norm first brought to prominence by the plight of the whale (Epstein, 2010). They have in fact been adopted as a ‘flagship’ species used to publicise wider conservation goals (Walpole and Leader-Williams, 2002, 560). However, this can be contrasted with the current plight of the orangutan in certain parts of Indonesia.

The problems of orangutan conservation have stretched over the last thirty years and they remain listed as ‘Endangered’ and retain their unenviable place on the International Union for Conservation of Nature ‘Red List’ (World Conservation Monitoring, 2008). The recent developments in Palm oil production and mining activities both by local and international corporations have caused severe problems in the region of East Kalimantan in Indonesia, one of the last habitats in the world for wild orangutans. The change in land use has seen the perception of orangutans within Indonesia change to that of being pests - so that despite the 1990 Natural Resource Protection Act they remain unprotected at a governmental level (Orangutan Foundation, 2015). This lack of protection has led to orangutans being killed in areas in two ways- including direct assaults such including attacks with machetes from various actors as well as indirectly through the destruction and pollution of natural habitat (Borneo Post, 2015).

These issues surrounding the conservation of orangutans and the stark contrast with the seemingly well protected Komodo dragon is the central puzzle from which the original interest in this project grew. The two case studies provide contrasting views of how conservation has been enacted within Indonesia.

The regulatory framework in Indonesia is complex and multiscalar in nature. Indonesia has undergone a process of decentralisation since the Suharto regime with administrative and legislative functions now split between the principal levels of the Pusat (national), Propinsi (provincial), Kabupatan (district) all the way down to the Kacamatan (sub district) and Desa (village) level (Matsui, 2000, 4). This thesis will largely focus on the first three of these levels to ensure that the scope remains realistic and manageable. The Desa and Kacamatan levels of government are of less concern to this study as the responsibilities of this level of government are not connected to conservation.

A significant element of the thesis will be to chart all these different levels of government and the relationships between these levels especially as the concerns of the Komodo dragons and orangutans are actually split not only on different levels but also between different ministries within them. It is important to understand these different levels as it provides insight into the way in which global norms pass from one level to another; moving from the broad strokes of international guidelines and policy to on-the-ground practical action.

In addition to Indonesian governmental structures, there are myriad other actors involved including: private enterprises; international and domestic NGO’s; Supranational bodies such as the World Bank and UNESCO (involved in the formation and funding the of the Komodo national Park (Komodo National Park, 2015)); local farmers and those involved in the tourist trade. This complex array of interests provides a very challenging conservation constellation within Indonesia which this thesis will explore.

Social constructivism and the study of global norms remains a prominent approach, which is currently in a phase of conceptual consolidation. As a discipline, Social Constructionism has grown significantly since Wendt’s questioning of the nature of anarchy and his assertion that there may be more than just self-interest that determines actors’ actions (Wendt, 1992), scholars have begun to investigate the processes through which ‘norms’ emerge, become established, and subsequently recede, and to probe the relationship between norms and actors’ behaviour. However, much of the existing scholarly work has focused largely on the global aspect of global norms; this thesis aims to act as a counterbalance to this tendency, and to investigate the transmission of norms from the global through the national and local levels.

This thesis will generally hold to the definition of a norm which is laid out by Finnemore (1993, 566) which regards a norm as being ‘defined as a rule like prescription which is both clearly perceptible to a community of actors and which makes behavioural claims upon those actors’. Although the precise nature of norms will be expanded upon further within chapter two, it is useful to have a clear and succinct definition.

The aim of this thesis is to trace environmental norms ‘all the way down’ and understand the interactions between the various levels of government in relation to an important area of environmental policy, conservation norms. Rather than just investigate conservation norms as a facet of either international policy or domestic policy, this thesis will try to connect the two and take a more holistic approach. Using global norms and social constructivism as a framework for investigating conservation is highly appropriate as much of the impetus for action on conservation is generated through international bodies and ideas (Reimann, 2006).

Since the late 1990s, a growing band of Constructivist scholarship has placed the study of ideas at the centre of academic International Relations. In place of old assumptions about (state-) actors being driven by narrowly defined rational interests, it has become increasingly accepted that shifting standards of appropriateness serve to shape behaviour and identity in a wide variety of global arenas (Barnett and Finnemore, 2004; Barnett and Finnemore, 1999; Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Ruggie, 1998). Within this context, the spreading of core environmental norms – the so-called ‘greening’ of international politics – has attracted recent attention (e.g. Epstein, 2006; Gutner, 2002; Gutner, 2005a; Gutner 2005b, Park 2010).

Whilst both the Constructivist and environmental disciplines offer useful insights, the existing literature suffers from significant blind spots. In particular, there has been a strong tendency amongst analysts to focus on the politics of ideational change in formal international institutions, and to pay insufficient attention to the role played by domestic dynamics in shaping and re-shaping big ideas in international politics. This thesis has been designed to address these blind spots, and to thereby make substantive contributions to a key emergent literature within Politics and International Studies.

In line with the call by Charlotte Epstein (2010) for scholars of International Relations to apply the Constructivist research agenda ‘all the way down’, this project seeks to analyse the intersection of the domestic and international in the conservation of charismatic megafauna in Indonesia. Charismatic megafauna are the ‘flagship species’ around which a wide range of actors – from non-governmental organisations, to state representatives, to international institutions – mobilise support to provide protection against perceived existential threats (Leader-Williams and Dublin, 2000, 50).

Since the 1970s charismatic megafauna have occupied a prime location in the practice of international environmental activism, as campaigns for the protection of species including dolphins, whales, and members of the primate family have become embedded features of global politics (Epstein, 2006, 32). With the international community continuing to foster information-sharing and standard-setting in relation to domestic regulatory frameworks, these campaigns have often succeeded in setting the agenda in formal political processes (Acharya, 2004); in the case of Indonesia, heterogeneous, transnational networks have brought the Komodo dragon and orangutan onto the policy agenda. And with the contrasting dynamics surrounding these key charismatic megafauna in Indonesia, the case provides a compelling study through which to add to our understanding of the interaction of ideas, identities, and international politics.

## Research Questions

This project is designed to answer the following research questions:

1. *Through what processes have global conservation norms been incorporated into Indonesian conservation practices?*
2. *How have national and local conditions shaped the ‘downloading’ of global conservation norms?*
3. *Who are the core actors involved in the conservation of charismatic megafauna in Indonesia, and what are the dominant understandings of the appropriate means and ends of conservation practices?*
4. *What lessons can be learnt from conservation in Indonesia which can help inform us of the workings of global norms at a local level?*

In addition, the following methodological question emerges:

1. *How can understandings of conservation across the global, national, and local levels be systematically analysed?*

## Original contribution

This thesis makes an original research contribution in a number of ways. With regards to empirical contribution, there have been a number of studies investigating Komodo dragons and their conservation, as well as Komodo dragon conservation and tourism (Walpole, 2001). Additionally authors such as Ciofi et al (1999), Jessop et al (2007), Watts et al (2006) and Murphy et al (2015) have all written on Komodo dragon conservation from a biological perspective. However, there is very little within the literature which conceptualises the issues in relation to multi-scalar governance.

Bornean orangutans have received some degree of coverage as a policy problem (Wich et al, 2012; Meijaard et al 2012; Wilson et al, 2010), however, this is usually framed within the context solely of decentralisation (Hollenbach, 2005; Morishita, 2008). The issue is not framed in such a way as to link decentralisation and the literature on global conservation norms. Furthermore, even though these two species have been studied independently, there are no comparative studies of these two species together to as a comparison to create a more concrete overview of the internal structures of Indonesia; the majority of studies focus on a single species. The explanation for this structure being chosen is expanded upon further in the methodology section of chapter two.

Combined with these factors is the central argument of the thesis: namely that the adoption of international standards of conservation within Indonesia has been shaped by significant internal structures and localised factors.

In addition to these original empirical contributions, the thesis also makes significant methodological/theoretical contributions. The methodological approach of interviewing different actors at multiple levels of government to track global norm dissemination provides a contribution to International Relations scholarship. As described in section 1.1, this addresses a particular ‘blind spot’ within the social Constructivist school of thought and is not widely practised. This also applies to the attempts to take a three dimensional view of global norms, which is described within chapter 2. Furthermore, most studies of global norms focus solely on the global level without relating it to the local. There has been work looking at conservation norms such as Epstein’s (2006) work in relation to whaling. However, as will be explored in chapter two, this is quite different due to the ‘international’ nature of whales. There is little work that looks at the idea of a conservation norm which operates within a country’s borders.

The lack of investigation around these issues further highlights the contribution of this thesis. This thesis aims to examine potential contradictions between the message which the Indonesian government promotes at an international level of government and the actions which are taken within the country in terms of policy implementation. At a global level, Indonesia has been seen to fall into line with global norms as will be explored further within the chapter four. However, as is summarised within section 1.5 and dealt with in greater depth in chapter 7, the influence of these norms within domestic policy is limited. This finding raises interesting theoretical questions as to the ‘strength’ of global norms.

A discrepancy between what a state says and the rhetoric it uses at an international level and its internal policies raises interesting questions around the idea of norm strength. Norms are often only viewed in terms of their influence at the global level and whether or not they are ‘realised’ (the mechanics of which are described in chapter 2). However, should this not correspond to the internal policies of a state then it must lead to questions around the ‘strength’ of that norm. If it was in fact fully realised, it would surely be strong enough to affect the country more significantly than just through a shift in rhetoric, although some scholars would disagree with this assertion (see section 2.3.3). This thesis will show that this distinction between a state’s rhetoric and action is highly relevant and allows for a greater understanding of the concept of norm strength.

## Overall Structure

This thesis will be divided into seven chapters in total, including the current one. This section will briefly outline the content of each of these chapters to provide an overview of the thesis as a whole.

Chapter two has two key components. The first part discusses the key aspects of social constructivism. Its aim is to explain and detail the theoretical perspective which will form the backbone of this thesis. It will chart the development of social constructivism from its origins in the work of Alexander Wendt and also look at how it has developed in relation to other disciplines such as institutionalism which originated within Sociology. One of the key developments of this chapter is in investigating what is in fact meant by the term ‘global’. Furthermore, it will examine some of the theories around the ‘mechanics’ of norms which include norm lifecycles, norm transmission and norm progression. Through investigating these different elements, it will make clear exactly how the ideas and puzzles within this thesis will be conceptualised.

The second component of chapter two is in laying out the methodology of this thesis. This discussion is included within the same chapter as the theoretical outline because, importantly, the two are interlinked. The way in which global norms are conceptualised is an important factor in how exactly the methodology for this thesis has been developed. One of the contributions of this thesis is in developing a methodology that allows for the investigation of whether global norms are transmitted from the global level down to the local level, therefore situating the methodology alongside the theory is a good fit. This section will set out how the data collection was undertaken and elaborate the selection process and the logic behind the selection of case studies.

Chapter three gives a comprehensive overview of the history of environmental policy and conservation in Indonesia as well as highlighting other important policy areas and relates these to wider global policy trends. In order to understand the way in which conservation is implemented in modern day Indonesia, it is important to understand the historical context in which it is occurring. This chapter covers around three hundred years of Indonesian history charting environmental policy from the early colonial period of Indonesia, through the periods of new democracy, guided democracy, the oppressive New Order regime right up until the reform of the last decade. In addition to examining environmental policy through these periods, an overview of historical context is also provided. In addition to this historiography, the chapter focuses on two important thematic elements of transmigration and decentralisation. Overall, this chapter provides the context and understanding for viewing the modern day observations contained in the rest of the thesis.

The fourth chapter is focussed on understanding the contemporary conservation constellation at a national level. This chapter investigates some of the key international conventions and agreements which have shaped how conservation is addressed within Indonesia. It investigates which global influences have shaped national policy making in Indonesia and how these have been adopted and adapted within the archipelago. This chapter also investigates the roles of three government departments (Environment; Forestry; Agriculture) at the national level explaining their role in relation to conservation implementation within Indonesia – the analysis investigates their vertical interactions with other departments at lower levels as well as their horizontal interactions with different departments. This chapter is important for understanding how the national level of policy making operates and interacts with the global level which then in turn demonstrates how the two specific case studies of Komodo dragons and Bornean orangutans operate.

The fifth chapter investigates and plots the conservation constellation for the unique Komodo dragon. Having understood the global and national conservation frameworks, this chapter will investigate how conservation policy is implemented with regards to these giant lizards at the provincial and local level. It will investigate the framework that is put in place for the conservation of Komodo dragons detailing whether or not global conservation norms have been reflected in more local administration. One of the key themes is about how the different levels of government have responsibility for different areas in both a policy sense as well as a geographical sense. The make-up of this constellation is affected by factors beyond simple economic factors.

Chapter six analyses the second case study of the Bornean orangutan in East Kalimantan. Following the same methodology as in chapter five, it will investigate the policy implementation for conservation of these great apes. It investigates how practical conservation is affected by the different government departments operating at different levels.

Chapter seven brings the theoretical and empirical analysis together and offers a conclusion. Taking the findings of both case studies from chapters five and six, this chapter will attempt to answer the research questions detailed in section 1.2. It takes these findings and conceptualises them in terms of the theoretical framework. This fusion of empirical and theoretical provides ‘two way’ reflections which are aimed at challenging both the literature which addresses policy making and conservation in Indonesia as well as the current scholarship of social constructivism and the study of global norms. The conclusion section of chapter seven then brings together all the different elements of the thesis. The overall argument will be that the adoption of international standards of conservation within Indonesia has been shaped by significant internal structures and localised factors; this has hitherto been neglected in the assessment of conservation strategy and in the shaping of global policy to better reflect how local factors interact with global norms. In addition to this, it reflects on the outcomes overall and the thesis’s contribution to the wider literature as well as suggesting areas of further investigation which could be drawn from its findings.

## Causal Analysis

This thesis will put forward a causal analysis as to why there are differing conservation outcomes for orangutans and Komodo dragons within Indonesia. Through closely examining the roles of different departments within the conservation constellation as set out in this chapter, it will analyse the structures within Indonesia and provide a greater understanding of the system as a whole.

The discussion chapter will put forward the view that there are three features of the Indonesian government structure which have created regulatory confusion and therefore ‘space’ for specific situational factors to influence the success of conservation in Indonesia. The three features of this structure are:

1. the splitting of responsibility between the department of environment and forestry,
2. the creation of conservation areas and
3. the division of responsibilities between levels of government.

These three factors operate as the three interdependent points of a triangle; in isolation these three factors may not be significantly influential, however, in combination they create significant regulatory confusion which creates sufficient ‘space’ for the specific situational factors to play a role. The principle of necessary or sufficient conditions (Goertz, 2006) has been applied to help understand the role of these different factors; the first set can be seen as Primary or Necessary situational factors which are seen as being essential for determining the success of conservation. These factors can exist independently and affect the conservation outcomes whereas the second set can be seen as secondary or catalytic factors in that each does not affect the success of conservation independently but rather if present, serve to heighten the impact of the first set.

These situational factors are as follows;

* 1. Primary/ Necessary Factors
     1. Land use pressures
     2. Biology of the species
     3. Geographical factors
  2. Secondary/catalytic factors
     1. Species charisma/rarity
     2. Historical construction of identity
     3. Tourism

It is difficult to rank these specific situational factors as they do not exist independently of one another but instead all contribute to the overall situation. However, it can be seen that in broad strokes that the first three, which are more closely connected to the physical environment, can be seen as the primary factors. The latter three, which can be seen as made up as more as constructs of human behaviour, can generally be seen as being more catalytic in nature in working to enhance the effects of the first three.

It is worth restressing within this analysis, that although the first three are more closely connected to the physical environment, their influence is based upon the constructs of the institutional structure outlined above and they only gain their pivotal role because of these.

## Note on spellings

Indonesian spellings are a complex issue. Pre-1972 the words using the diphthong *oe* were changed to use the simpler *u*, additionally the *dj* became *j* and *j* was converted to *y* (Vatikiotis, 2003, xiv). For example, this mean that words such as *Soeharto*, *Djakarta* and *Jogjakarta* conventionally came to be spelt *Suharto, Jakarta* and *Yogyakarta.* Generally throughout the thesis, attempts will be made for the sake of consistency to use the post 1972 spellings; however, when quoting from sources, the spelling will be quoted as it appears in the original.

# Chapter 2- Theory and methodology: Understanding and extending the global norms literature.



## Introduction

The central insights of this thesis are structured in line with Rhodes’ (1997) conceptualisation of the relationship between theory and observation as co-determinant. Rhodes specifically suggested that formalised approaches to the study of the social world function as an ‘organising perspective’, which leads scholars toward the study of particular phenomena and to bracket-out others. However, Rhodes also suggests that researchers should ensure that a two-way, iterative relationship develops between theory and observation; while theory can serve to foreground particular issues and sources of information, it is important that collected data is used to extend, challenge, or clarify established theory.

In line with this spirit of investigation, the thesis will bring together a body of Constructivist scholarship with a case study of the conservation politics of Indonesia. Given the focus of interest for the case studies is the way in which global norms and practices have been translated down in to domestic political constellations, Constructivist International Relations scholarship provides a useful point of entry

The overall insight which is developed through the thesis is that, while the foci on the heterodox drivers of human behaviour and on the transnational dissemination of ideas and practices represent a valuable analytic starting point, the existing Constructivist literature lacks a sufficiently clear focus on the way in which formal and informal institutional structures shape the transmission of global norms into national and local contexts. Through the thesis as a whole, the processes through which global environmental norms have been incorporated into national-level policy practices are explored, and the difficulties experienced in further translating these ideas in to on-the-ground practices are highlighted. This institution focus provides insights into both the way in which social constructivism can be further expanded and aiding in the understanding of conservation policy in Indonesia.

Over recent years, a body of literature has emerged within the field of IR theory that explores the processes through which actors come to define their interests and in so doing shape and re-shape shared understandings of a given issue, thereby moving beyond the traditional starting point that behaviour is driven by narrowly-defined material interests (Chandler, 2005, 28). This strand of Constructivist thought has become increasingly prevalent, and will form the theoretical point of entry of this thesis. Overall, by investigating the way in which global influences have affected the conservation of charismatic megafauna within Indonesia, the scope of coverage of the Constructivist literature is extended.

The aim of this chapter will be to outline core elements of the social Constructivist IR literature, and to highlight the extensions and clarifications that follow on from the case study observations. Furthermore, the chapter will outline the methodological approach which will be followed in this thesis to understand the study and to answer the research questions.

This chapter is split into three sections with additional sub sections. The first section will give an outline of the global norms literature through six subsections. It will first look at the origins of the Constructivist literature, focusing on the work of Alexander Wendt and other founding figures. This will then be followed by looking at the contributions and developments which can be taken from Sociology’s institutionalism. Once this background has been established, it will detail the key elements from the literature on both the topic of models of norm lifecycles and the ideas of norm strength. Finally, this first section will focus in on the literature which is specifically concerned with the topic of environmental norms.

The second section will introduce and explore the relationship between ‘the global’ and ‘the local’ in the context of norm transmission and behavioural outcomes. In addition, through this section reflections are presented on the conceptual utility of the term ‘norm’ and its conventional usage. Overall, the suggestion is advanced that more systematic investigation is required of the transmission of global norms though national and local contexts, and whether the existence of the discussion of norms is sufficient. The current understanding of these two areas is insufficient and this thesis will aim to contribute to rectifying this deficiency

The third section in this chapter will lay out the methodology which will be followed within this thesis. This will provide a clear outline of how the fieldwork and research has been undertaken and will explain how this will answer the research questions. This will be followed by the final section, which will be a brief conclusion bringing together the different threads of this chapter.

## Explanation of the Global norms literature

### Wendt and the foundations of Constructivist IR

Constructivist themes have existed across multiple strands of literature throughout the history of the social sciences. Indeed, if we adopt an understanding of ‘constructivism’ that defines the approach through its acceptance that non-material drivers of behaviour matter, then an argument could be made that this strand of investigation predominates outside the confines of contemporary Economics. Below, an overview of the early contributions to the Constructivist IR cannon is presented. By following established literatures and identifying a precise body of work, it is possible to clearly communicate the overall contributions that emerge from the study and situate them within a wider context. It is important to do this in order to give the work greater relevance and to contribute to the social Constructivist literature. In line with Rhodes’ approach noted above, this allows for incremental improvement to be made to the emergent organising approach that is provided by Constructivist scholarship.

Alexander Wendt is a key proponent of Constructivism and much of his work grew out of finding the traditional perceptions of ‘anarchy’ and ‘self-help’ within international relations unsatisfactory. The two prevalent perspectives of the time, Neorealist and Neoliberal, despite their differences, both shared a strong commitment to the concept of rational choice. Although each school of thought speculated different outcomes as to how this ‘self-help’ system would manifest itself, they both shared a single belief- that the ‘self-help’ element of global politics was inherent to the system. This led Wendt to question whether ‘self-help is a logical or contingent feature of anarchy’ (Wendt, 1992, 396).

The self-help doctrine is the cornerstone of Neoliberal and Neorealist thought and long dominated thinking within the study of international relations. Glaser sums up this view well when he explains that these schools of thought:

argue that states live in a "self-help" world that results from international anarchy: without an international authority capable of protecting them, major powers must look out for themselves. The standard interpretation equates self-help with states' pursuit of unilateral, competitive policies. This inclination toward competition is reinforced by doubts about the adversary's motives and intentions. (1994, 56)

Waltz, a key proponent of the Neorealist school, believes that states have to help themselves in such a system or face the hazard of suffering at the hands of another state, which takes advantage of the position and that actions should be judged in terms of relative gains over other states (Waltz, 1988: 624).

Historically, IR theory has been dominated by the realist assumption of characterising this self-help feature not as an institution but instead as a ‘state of being’. The result of this is, therefore, that scholars’ perspective of study shifts. Rather than investigating why things happen, they instead focus on analysing what happens as the cause is already established. Wendt frames the topic in terms of institutions and sets out to show that ‘international institutions can transform state identities and interests’ through developing a Constructivist argument (Wendt, 1992, 394). He believed that this ‘self-help’ system is not inherent but rather is a result of a process; this led to his well-known declaration that ‘Anarchy is what states make of it’ (Wendt, 1992, 395).

Ted Hopf provides further enlightenment for this idea, attempting to debunk what he sees as the Neorealist myth by explaining that self-help ‘is a structurally determined behaviour of an actor only to the extent that a single particular understanding of anarchy prevails’ (Hopf, 1998: 174). Essentially Hopf believes, to combine his beliefs with those of Wendt, is that self-help has emerged because what states have made of anarchy is based on a single perception of anarchy.

Constructivist thought, instead of assuming that states will always relate to one another in the same way, attempts to understand the different ways in which states interact. The key principle at the heart of this is that people act towards objects based on the ‘meanings that objects have for them’ (Wendt, 1992, 397). Wendt cites the relationship of a student and professor as an example as being dependent on society’s understanding of the concept of university, without it any power ceases to exist (Wendt, 1992, 397). While Wendt’s use of this example actually remains somewhat superficial, a closer examination reveals that it works on a deeper level as well.

Although the student/professor example does to an extent demonstrate well how the relationship the relationship is reliant on understanding the specific connotations of the general perception of a university, the relationship also draws from less tangible, deeper rooted sources. If one removes the understanding of a university context, there are a number of factors which have their base in various norms which would give the professor a form of authority. For example, historically most societies have attributed respect and authority on individuals on the basis of age as well as learning/wisdom. To this end therefore, even without the context of an understanding of a university, these norms within society would still confer a degree of authority and respect.

The student/professor example therefore demonstrates Wendt’s point even further than he may have originally intended given the multitude of layers of detail which need to be considered when analysing an interaction. There is a vast array of factors which make up the identity of the parties involved in any exchange. The aim is to read situations and actors’ relationships in context, which will involve a myriad of norms, identities and understandings, rather than simply through Neoliberal and Neorealist ideas of the distribution of power. It does, however, also reveal a methodological pitfall of taking a simple approach to social Constructivist ideas- believing that a relationship can be framed in terms of a single identity or norm. However, this raises the issue as to what level of complexity should be pursued.

Through these relationships and perceptions, actors acquire identities which then dictate their own behaviour in addition to the way in which other actors relate to them. It is this structure of identities and interests which often includes formal rules and norms that form the basis for what Wendt calls institutions (Wendt, 1992, 399).These institutions are ‘fundamentally cognitive entities which do not exist apart from actors’ ideas about how the world works’ (Wendt, 1992, 399).

It is important to note that Wendt would appear to believe norms to be a constituent part of institutions- the individual ideas and values which contribute to the formation of these value sets. He specifically wants to understand how these ‘institutions’ actually define the arena for IR compared to the more sociologically orientated writers who prefer to focus on how these norms then work within this structure.

Wendt further contrasts his views to Neorealism in an attempt to clarify the Constructivist agenda. At the heart of neorealism is the thought that at the centre of the international system is a structure, a trait that Constructivist theorists share; however, it is the nature of what this structure is made up of which sets them apart (Wendt, 1995, 73). Whereas Neorealists believe that it is ‘made only of a distribution of material capabilities’, Wendt believes instead it is made up of social relationships. He further explains that these social structures have three strands running through them: shared knowledge; material resources; and practices (Wendt, 1995, 73). Such an outline plays a key part in the Constructivist agenda and norms represent a significant element.

The first of these strands, shared knowledge, plays a key part in the theory around norms. Wendt stipulates that ‘social structures are defined, in part, by shared understandings, expectations or knowledge’ (Wendt, 1995, 73). Essentially, although Wendt is yet to fully utilise the phrase at this point, social structures are made up of norms. It is these norms which then define, as Wendt points out, the existence of a ‘security dilemma’ opposed to a ‘security community’ in that at the heart of this issue are the perceptions that states have of one another.

Although the second of these strands, ‘material resources’ is, at first glance, close to the Neorealist belief of material capabilities, on closer examination, it is subtly different when one applies the principles of the first strand. Realists as a whole would believe that material capabilities, i.e. the resources of a country, define its power (Mearsheimer, 1995, 91). Instead of having an entirely desocialised view of these physical capabilities, Wendt argues that these objects do not hold inherent significance and instead ‘only acquire meaning for human action through the structure of shared knowledge in which they are embedded’ (Wendt, 1995, 73).

Thirdly, Wendt believes that these social structures exist not only as a mental exercise but through practice (Wendt, 1995, 74). A key aspect of social structure is that the actors involved follow it, without doing so it ceases to exist. These three strands, the cognitive, the physical (with implied social values) and the practical, combine to form what Wendt considers to be social structures which stand in stark contrast to the purely power and material focus of the Neorealists.

The implication is that these social structures run through everything within society, or as Wendt put it, they are ‘ideas all the way down’ (Wendt, 1995, 74). Indeed, as Wendt describes it ‘to analyze the social construction of international politics is to analyze how processes of interaction produce and reproduce the social structures... that shape actors’ identities and interests and the significance of their material contexts.’ (Wendt, 1995, 81) Norms within the Constructivist field have a cyclical nature, they both produce and inform the social structure within which actors operate.

At the heart of this thesis is the question as to how norms move from the global arena down to the local level. In relation to Wendt’s theory, it raises the debate as to whether in fact ideas are ‘all the way down’ (Wendt, 1995, 74). This issue as to the exact nature of the makeup of the world which Wendt describes will be addressed later within this chapter.

In summary, Wendt himself identifies and summarises what he believes to be the two key elements of constructivism, the first as being ‘that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material force’ (Wendt 1999, 1). This is a significant sea change in the history of international relations and marks a notable difference in ideology to the dominant ideas of the latter part of the twentieth century. The second key factor he identifies is that ‘the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature’ (Wendt 1999, 1). As previously observed, without understanding the specific relationships and contexts of situations, actors are not inherently predetermined to act in a certain manner.

Wendt’s work is widely held to have catalysed the emergence of additional prominent scholarship on non-material foundations of international politics (e.g. Broome 2014, Hurd 2010). However, in large part Wendt’s work remained at a high level of abstraction. Subsequent scholarship drew more from Sociology’s institutionalist traditions and it is to this tradition to which the review now turns.

### Contributions from Sociology’s institutionalism

Once the Constructivist field was established within IR, the debate was enriched by attempts to draw from the institutionalist debates within Sociology. This section will outline some of the key contributions that were drawn from the field of Sociology.

One of the earlier thinkers to write on this from a Sociology perspective is Martha Finnemore. The term institutionalist is used quite differently by sociologists compared to proponents of rational-choice or indeed historical institutionalism in that it emphasises ‘the social and cognitive features of institutions rather than the structural and constraining features’ (Finnemore, 1996, 326). Finnemore felt it was beneficial to apply institutionalism to political science and IR for four reasons; the first is that ‘it challenges dominant paradigms in political science directly’ (Finnemore, 1996, 326). Through using this framework, she believed it provided a theory that raises issues around the spread of ideas and norms which liberalism and realists will have to confront- principally the idea of global culture and how different actors show similar behaviour.

As with Wendt, Finnemore feels that the realist assumption of power fails to explain a raft of similarities of behaviour for actors. Instead, she believes that Sociology’s institutionalism ‘provides a system level theoretical framework with which to analyze international politics and generates testable hypotheses about international behaviour’ (Finnemore, 1996, 326).

Second, Finnemore sees institutionalist arguments as being an ‘escape route’ or bridge for American IR scholars to engage with a wide variety of other theoretical material (Finnemore, 1996, 326). Historically, American IR scholarship has been dominated by a Neorealist-Neoliberal focus. Finnemore, however, proposes using institutionalism to open out the field and give it the opportunity to appeal to other disciplines.

Finnemore’s third reason for introducing institutionalism is that she feels that within Sociology the debate is more evolved than in IR. As a result it has sought to apply the theory of social construction rather than simply argue its existence. She characterises this point by saying ‘They [institutionalists] do more than simply argue that social structure matters; they tell us what the social structure is’ (Finnemore, 1996, 327).

This argument certainly would appear to be particularly relevant to Wendt’s work. Within IR, these theories were very much in their infancy in challenging some very deeply embedded norms within the academic community. She feels that historically, political science has tended to limit its application of norms theory to specific areas of study. More specifically, she felt that the principle of norms had only been applied to certain issue areas rather than accepting and embracing the all-encompassing nature of norms. This would then inevitably lead to the challenging academic field of having to establish how various norms interact and mesh together (Finnemore, 1996, 327).

Fourth, Finnemore believes that political science should learn from institutionalism’s evolutionary outlook on norms. She believed that political scientists were too focused on developing a set overarching theory which explains state interactions, rather than looking at the way these interactions have changed and evolved; essentially ‘the emphasis is on what is the same over time, not what is different’ (Finnemore, 1996, 327). She believed that the focus of analysis should be investigating how prevalent norms at particular times influence states’ behaviour.

Through these four reasons, Finnemore makes a compelling argument for IR scholars to further investigate the field of Sociology’s institutionalism. Institutionalism stresses ‘the consensus that arises round various cultural models - of citizenship, of statehood, of education, of individual rights – to the point that these norms and institutions are taken for granted in contemporary life’ (Finnemore, 1996, 343). She believes that institutionalism provides IR scholars with a ‘substantive theory from which to hypothesize and carry out research’ (Finnemore, 1996, 344).

Institutionalism in the sociological sense does differ in its language from conventional Constructivist theory in that it discusses issues in terms of institutions rather than norms. They believe that institutions are essentially a collection of practices and rules rather than norms which tend to be ‘singular standards of behaviour’ (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 891). Norms have also been divided within the literature into constitutive norms and regulative norms.

This division between constitutive and regulative norms relates to the relationship which the norm has with the relevant actor, their behaviour and their identity. On occasion norms ‘operate like rules that define the identity of an actor... [which] specify what actions will cause relevant others to recognize a particular identity’ whereby they can be considered constitutive (Katzenstein 1996, 5). To formulate this in terms of an equation statement: State X must adopt norm Y if it wishes have identity Z. This is contrasted with the idea of a regulative norm whereby ‘norms operate as standards that specify the proper enactment of an already defined identity’ (Katzenstein 1996: 5). In this case ‘if state A has been identified as B then it must adopt norm C’ (Katzenstein 1996: 5). These two are used to show the complex relationship between norms, actors and identities.

One source for debate is the existence of norms as a global entity. Although the term ‘global norms’ is used throughout the general literature, Sikkink and Finnemore challenge this perspective and refer instead to ‘international norms’ and the difference appears to be beyond simple semantics. They believe that ‘norms may be regional, for example, but not global’ (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 893). This appears to be an epistemological question in that they question whether it is possible to obtain such empirical data.

However, further to this, they also appear to believe that ‘norms must always work their influence through the filter of domestic structures and domestic norms, which can produce important variations in compliance and interpretations of these norms.’ (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 893). Subsequently, they believe that actually there is a ‘two level norm game’ occurring with frequent interactions between the two tiers (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 893). The nuances of this relationship vary throughout the norm’s ‘life cycle’, on which subject the work of Finnemore and Sikkink has been joined by a selection of additional scholars.

### Models of norm lifecycle

A number of scholars have explored the concept of a ‘norm lifecycle’, presenting differing accounts of how they evolve. This idea of a lifecycle is important in understanding how norm transmission takes place and will help to provide the wider understanding of norms needed for this thesis. The question as to how norms are created then accepted and spread by actors is obviously a key factor for understanding how norms affect various actors. Finnemore and Sikkink propose a linear three stage model (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 894), whereas Park and Vetterlein build on this idea but instead view it as a three point never ending circle (Park and Vetterlein, 2010, 20). Each of these models will be investigated in order to gain a sound understanding of the process through which ideas and practices reach a level of acceptance whereby they can be considered a norm. While this norm lifecycle literature on occasion makes note of the importance of sub-national actors and processes, detailed explorations of these areas remain largely absent. By and large, the global or international level remains privileged.

The first stage of Finnemore and Sikkink’s model is norm emergence, an area they believe the exact nature of which is currently under-researched (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 896). The key element of this stage is the presence of ‘Norm Entrepreneurs’, these individuals or groups are where norms begin their lifecycle. Often changes in opinion around important historical issues can be traced back to a small number of individuals who choose not to accept an existing norm and instead actively promote an alternative. These groups by definition are challenging the established order of the world and are condemned for their actions as they defy people’s views of ‘appropriateness’ (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 897). Groups such as the suffragettes serve as a very effective example of how groups, led by Norm Entrepreneurs, face resistance for trying to convince others of this new norm.

The ‘Norm Emergence’ stage of the model is said to end when the issue hits a ‘Tipping Point’ with those around it. When a new norm has reached a critical mass with the population it is attempting to reach out and ‘convert’ (be it individuals within a country or states within the international arena) then it moves into a new phase of its lifecycle. The concept of a ‘Tipping point’ is problematic for those attempting to study norms as although most scholars agree its existence, it is very difficult to quantify.

The exact dynamics of a tipping point contain two as yet unanswered (and arguably unanswerable) questions: how many states are required for a certain idea to hit a ‘tipping point’ and become a global norm and are certain states more or less significant as adapters? (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 901). The latter of these may in fact relate to a separate set of norms resulting from the social construction of international politics in itself whereby prevalence is given to certain actors. Furthermore, there is a question as to the relationship between local and global actors; i.e. can a norm be promoted solely by the former or is it necessary for the latter to become involved?

Having achieved a ‘tipping point’ the norm would then move into the second phase, that of norm cascade. Having been successful in recruiting a significant number of actors to its cause, Finnemore and Sikkink believe that the new norm will increasingly gather momentum in its spread amongst actors. They believe that this process is spread actively through norm socialisation amongst states to ‘induce norm breakers to become norm followers’ (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 902). Furthermore, they believe that it is a state’s identity as wanting to be a member of the international community and the appeal of legitimation, which shapes their desire to be socialised and adopt the new norm (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 902).

The final stage of Finnemore and Sikkink’s model is that of internalisation of the norm. This third stage is when the new pattern of behaviour or value becomes so embedded within its actors that it ‘achieves a taken for granted quality’ (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 904). By this point, the norm has been so strongly embedded within a community’s identity and psyche that it is simply accepted as ‘business as usual’.

Following the publication of Finnemore and Sikkink’s agenda-setting work, many studies drew on and sought to extend the conceptual framework that had been sketched out (e.g. Vetterlein, 2006; Weaver and Park, 2007; Clegg, 2010). A useful synthesis and consolidation of this line of work is provided by Park and Vetterlein (2010), whose contribution offered a revised conceptualisation of the norm lifecycle

Although they acknowledge the value of Finnemore and Sikkink’s model, Park and Vetterlein suggest that their own model ‘adds a historical/temporal element such that a norm is not just ‘born’ and at some point ‘dies’’ (Park and Vetterlein, 2010, 20). Essentially their contribution is based around the world being made up of norms which evolve rather than being replaced by new norms. Under their theory, rather than the norm of limited suffrage dying out as a new norm of universal suffrage emerges, they would conceptualise it as being a single norm of ‘suffrage’; which, as a result in a change of attitude moves from being limited in nature to being universal.

Although technically there is no starting point given the cyclical nature of the model, it is useful to begin the review of Park and Vetterlein’s work with norm emergence phase. Park and Vetterlein chose to characterise ‘norm entrepreneurs’ as ‘norm advocates’. These norm advocates use ‘argument, persuasion and negotiation’ in order to try to drive the norm forward (Park and Vetterlein, 2010, 20).

Despite this, there remains a fact they freely acknowledge; that there is little actual detail as to what it is which makes one norm development ‘stick’ and another fail. They believe that:

often criticism is supported by other crucial events that undermine the formal validity, social recognition or cultural validity of entrenched understandings...and open up policy space for new norms to settle into the world (Park and Vetterlein, 2010, 21).

However, there is relatively little detail as to whether these norm advocates emerge as a result of these favourable conditions (disillusionment) or whether the norm advocates are always present – however, the ideas they advocate are not recognised until the climate for them is favourable. The reason for this may be that, in general, it is difficult to distinguish between the two. Through these processes of habitualisation and institutionalisation the norm will move into the second stage of stabilization (Park and Vetterlein, 2010, 20). Norm stabilisation marks a formalisation of the acceptance of the norm through its inclusion within policy and legislation, as result they subsequently guide and constrain action. This prevalence of norms within society further adds to their socialisation and internalisation within the population’s consciousness (Park and Vetterlein, 2010, 22).

Once the norm has become fully embedded and accepted as practice, it is then at the point that it is accepted as the ‘dominant standard of appropriateness’ (Park and Vetterlein, 2010, 22). They believe that the norm will change should ‘relevant actors give new meaning to the situation in which the norm usually applies’; however, such change is very difficult because by this point the norm has inherently become fully part of the actors’ own identity and it requires a large scale shift in situation to convince actors to initiate change (Park and Vetterlein, 2010, 22). Should this happen though, the circle will re-start with ‘arguing, persuasion and negotiation’ once again leading to Norm emergence (Park and Vetterlein, 2010, 20).

There is an issue to be raised, however, as to the exact nature of what is meant by accepting a norm and the relative strength which is attached to this state. Although an idea may become the ‘dominant standard of appropriateness’ (Park and Vetterlein, 2010, 22), this does not necessarily confer its strength. What remains relatively unexplained is the active or passive nature of those who accept the norm. Indeed, it is not stipulated how passionately or actively the norm needs to be accepted in order for it to be successful. The precise nature of this interaction remains relatively unexplored.

Within Park and Vetterlein’s work and associated literature, this is little detailed explanation of the concept or yardstick of norm acceptance within the norm lifecycle. Park and Vetterlein and accompanying literatures offer useful extensions to the framework for exploring the dynamic lifecycle of international norms. However, the framework lacks detail on the interactions that promote or restrain the spread of global practices or ideas across national terrains. Some additional insight in this regard can be gained from parallel work on norm strength and the evolution of the human rights regime, which will now be focussed upon.

### Norm Strength

In Risse’s work around human rights norm transitions, he lays out a five stage spiral model as to state reactions to norms transgressions which work towards integration (Risse, 1999, 538). Risse raises a number of interesting conceptual questions for the wider norms model which have yet to be addressed when one considers whether it is able to be transplanted and used as a wider, more general model of norm socialisation. This section will first examine Risse’s spiral model.

Risse’s five stage model for the socialisation of international human rights norms in some ways bears a passing resemblance to a state level ‘five stages of grief’, which has become widely known in modern culture. The first stage of the model is that of repression, representing the state trying to suppress the internal dissidence to their norm transgressing actions and seeking to restrict the issue to the national level. The norm only progresses to the second stage of the model if the human rights issues are able to be identified by what Risse calls the ‘transnational advocacy network’ (which would be made up of INGOs such as Amnesty International) and they manage to successfully force the issue onto the international agenda (Risse, 1999, 538).

Once the issue has progressed by virtue of the transnational advocacy network, Risse believes that the initial reaction by most repressive governments is denial. They will question the legitimacy of the international community’s right to interfere within their internal affairs as well as querying the norm itself. Risse believes that ‘If the transnational network is strong and mobilized enough and if the norm violating state is materially and/or morally vulnerable to international pressure, the next stage will be reached’ (Risse, 1999, 538). They do this because:

Under increasing international pressures, norm-violating governments feel that they must make some concessions to enlarge their margins of maneuver [sic], to increase their international legitimacy, or simply to regain foreign aid (Risse, 1999, 542).

The issue which is not raised within Risse’s work, which should be noted, is a question of what if the state is not materially and or morally vulnerable to international pressure and what does this tell us about the wider principle of norms?

Having moved out of the denial stage due to various pressures, the country then enters a stage which has been labelled as ‘tactical concessions’. This stage sees the government make what Risse regards as ‘cosmetic changes to pacify international criticism (E.g. by temporarily improving the human rights situation)’ (Risse, 1999, 538). This shift gives local organisations enough space to exert ‘bottom up’ pressure, which works in tandem with the ‘top down’ pressure from the international community. What the government initially thought was a controllable concession soon escalates and limits the scope of actions available to the government. As a result they often progress to stage four of the model whereby they attempt to implement a process of building a ‘prescriptive status’. At this point the norm has been accepted, and as a result ‘some leaders start a process of ‘controlled liberalization,’ while others seriously miscalculate and are then thrown out of power’ (Risse, 1999, 538). Now that the norm has been accepted, actions which contravene it are no longer tolerated.

Eventually the process is complete when the state becomes involved in ‘rule consistent behaviour’ whereby ‘international human rights norms are fully institutionalized domestically and norm compliance becomes a habitual practice of actors enforced by the rule of law’ (Risse, 1999, 538). This model therefore shows the full transition between a state repressing the norm to becoming a norm advocate.

Overall, contributions from the key literatures outlined above provide important foundations of the Constructivist approach to the study of global norms and international politics. Through this thesis, the focus within this work on the transmission of global norms through national constellations is extended. On the back of the empirical content of the study, it is suggested that the implementation of global norms is shaped through the internal structures and scenarios. This line of analysis is elaborated on in the discussion presented in Chapter Seven. Below, attention will briefly turn to work on environmental norms, with which the thesis also intersects closely

### Environmental Norms

This chapter has focused on the nature of norms in general terms, but it would be useful to look at a specific example from the field of environmental norms in order to detail processes which are directly related to this thesis. Although highly relevant to this thesis, this area of the literature remains less developed than the general topic of global norms. Filling this hole within the literature is one of the aims of this study.

The theory and practice of transnational environmental governance has become increasingly prominent since the turn of the century (Betsill and Bulkeley, 2004; Gulbrandsen, 2010; Jasanoff, 2004). This trend has in part been driven by an increasing realisation that key environmental issues require global rather than national level solutions. While the global politics of the environment would seem to provide a useful source of empirical material from which to engage with and extend Constructivist IR literatures, to date a limited range of work has been directed toward this end.

One of the few writers to have addressed this task is Charlotte Epstein, who focuses on the tension between the use and the preservation of natural resources and relates this to endangered species protection (Epstein, 2006, 32). Generally this topic has been hotly contested with Garrett Hardin’s concept of ‘The tragedy of the Commons’ being a significant if not controversial contribution. The essay, broadly speaking, describes a Neorealist approach to natural resources (Hardin, 1968; Hardin 1998). However, Epstein instead examines the role which norms have played in this arena.

It is important for the purposes of this chapter, as well as the thesis as a whole, to understand the distinction between the concept of ‘resource conservationism’ and that of ‘preservationism’ as these ideas feature heavily. This is an important distinction which is used within some of the environmental politics literature, however, is not really acknowledged by Epstein. Although the overall aim of conservationism and preservationism may appear similar at times, the ethos behind them is subtly different.

The chief proponent of ‘resource conservationism’ was Gifford Pinchot (Carter 2007, 27) who was appointed the first director of the US Forest service by President Theodore Roosevelt and was one of the key proponents of the ‘wise use movement’ (Jepson and Whittaker 2002, 163). The overall principle of Pinchot’s ideals is not that resources should not be used, but rather that they should be used in a way to maximise the gains to ensure minimal wastage and that this should be done ‘to the wider benefit of society rather than the privileged few’ (Carter 2007, 27). This therefore includes not using resources in an unsustainable way.

Pinchot’s views lie in contrast to the preservationist movement whose aim is instead to simply ensure that nature remains unspoilt. The difference can be summed up by Eckersley’s statement ‘whereas Pinchot was concerned to conserve nature for development, Muir’s concern was to preserve nature from development’ (cited in Carter 2007, 27 emphasis in original). This distinction is particularly important within this thesis as various groups have different aims either to conserve or preserve resources.

As previously mentioned, Epstein does not draw this distinction between preservation and conservation. Overall, she believes that international society has developed to the point now whereby

once a species is designated as “endangered,” protecting it becomes the only accepted and expected (i.e. Normal) course of collective policy response: in these regulative and prescriptive effects, endangered species protection constitutes a norm of inter-state interactions (2006:33)

She believes, however, that the adherence to this principle by states is not necessarily born from feeling passionately in support of the issue but instead it is attributed to self-perception and the perception of other members of the international society.

States wish to be observed to be ‘as a “good”, fully integrated or respectable member of the international society’ (Epstein, 2006, 33). This does not only apply to how they are seen by other states but also in their own self-perception. The motivating factor therefore of the adoption of norms in this field is not so much concerned with morality as with the dynamics of international state relationships.

There remains still a question of self-interest within the social Constructivist field generally but especially with respect to environmental norms. Many states now become vocal on environmental topics which may concern them in a very broad sense, but in a more direct sense do not impact them. For example, a state may support conservation norms due to the social unacceptability of the problem, however, they may do this freely precisely because they have no stake in it and there is no ‘cost’ to them to support it. This then brings them into conflict with those states which do have a stake in breaking the norm. In this scenario, the ideas of self-interest remain true in an odd inverse form; it is a lack of self interest in an issue but the weight of ideas of acceptability which cause states to subscribe to a particular norm.

The obvious observation about such a theory is that in fact, the norm regarding endangered species is nestled within, and somewhat heavily reliant upon, the wider norm of being environmentally responsible, leading states to be perceived as ‘good’. Epstein tracks the norm of preservation of natural resources, in this case whaling, from what she believes to be its birth in the United States to the international community and subsequently across the globe. Furthermore, she believes that it is this specific issue which established the wider issue of conservation as a norm in the international sphere. However, this does not explain how a state could use the logic of being perceived as ‘good’ before that norm was created.

Epstein lays out three factors which allowed this norm to be successfully integrated from the domestic setting of America to the wider international community. The first of these was the emergence of the ‘global village’ through the increased flow of information through from media which allowed the issue to garner a much wider level of public support (Epstein, 2006, 46). Furthermore, this further facilitated the second factor of increased numbers of environmentalist NGOs. Finally, the issues especially appealed to 'the post material generation of advanced post-industrial countries’ (Epstein, 2006, 46). Awareness of the issue subsequently rose and provided a spring board for the wider context of a global environmental crisis (Epstein, 2006, 46). Although it is not named as such by Epstein, this would appear to be almost a ‘reverse framing’ of the issue in using a more specific issue to highlight a wider problem.

Epstein’s story of whale preservation does, however, come with a cautionary note as she believed that in recent years ‘the pendulum has begun to swing the other way, with an increasing number of voices in the IWC (international Whaling Commission) calling for a move towards controlled exploitation’ (Epstein, 2006, 46). The specifics as to why remain a secondary issue, in regards to the role of norms it instead raises a different set of questions. Epstein feels that this does not signal a new or in fact returning norm and that endangered species protection remains the dominant norm; however, ‘current developments merely prolong the axiomatic divide’ (Epstein, 2006, 32).

Although highly relevant to this thesis, a number caveats should be noted regarding the case studies within this thesis and some of the work undertaken by Epstein. The majority of Epstein’s work has been focussed upon the topic of whaling, which she puts forward as having been the cornerstone of establishing the conservation norm (2006, 42). But this case could be seen as unique in several ways which include whales’ habitat existing outside of conventional state borders and the fact the threat to whales is through direct human action i.e. hunting rather than through habitat loss.

Epstein points out that the conservation norm allows the investigation of the construction of norms in the context of a north/south division (Epstein, 2006; 34)[[1]](#footnote-1). There is a hazard in studying global norms in construing western/global north ideas and norms as being global. Studying whether or not they are ‘all the way down’ in countries which can be construed as the ‘global south’ helps to guard against these hazards. When investigating international issues such as whaling, this issue is negated to some extent, however, when these issues are internal to a global south state such as Indonesia, this dynamic changes

Overall, Epstein’s analysis presents a detailed exploration of the norm lifecycle associated with anti-whaling. While Epstein offers a detailed exploration of some of the mechanisms through which institutional structures have mediated the progression of anti-whaling practices ‘all the way down’, the level of detail through which the national and sub-national layers are explored remains limited. This is further exacerbated by the fact that her work largely focuses upon whaling which is an international issue due to whale’s status as being unconstrained by national territories. Through this thesis, by focusing heavily on these overlooked spaces, and by focusing on manifestations of conservation practices in relation to the Komodo dragon and Bornean orangutans in Indonesia, this thesis offers extensions to the existing body of work. Through the section below, reflections are presented on the conceptual framework that has been developed through this study, and through which these extensions are achieved.

Overall, the current literature on environmental norms, especially conservation norms, is limited in terms of scope. Its limitations are further exacerbated by the fact that the current literature which stands at its cornerstone is focussed on a conservation issue which is very different in its nature to the ones studied within this thesis.

## Norm framework for this thesis

### Introduction

Having outlined the key facets of the global norms literature in section 2.2, the two important conceptual debates into which this thesis will feed are now outlined. The first of these debates is focussed on the role of local actors and their relationship with the concept of the ‘global’. The meaning of the term ‘global’ within the literature of global norms is surprisingly under-conceptualised. The second debate is what is what is meant by the idea of norm acceptance. These two debates will lead into section 2.4 whereby the methodology and structure of this thesis will be outlined.

### Role of local actors and concepts of ‘global’

Despite the existence of multiple models that present schematic overviews of the ebb and flow of global norms within the Constructivist literature, uncertainty remains over how to precisely gauge the extent of their presence in spheres of global politics. Through this thesis, existing approaches are built upon through the addition of a multi-level analytic framework, which suggests that the status of a global norm should be assessed across the global, national, and sub-national spaces. This extension hooks in to the call from Wendt for the manifestations of ‘ideas all the way down’ to be explored (Wendt, 1995, 74).

Taking the above work on norm lifecycles as a point of entry, this multi-level analytic framework coheres with Acharya’s model of localisation (2004), through which global norms evolve as the progress through spaces of governance. Through this thesis, in line with the case study observations the progress of global conservation norms is tracked across global, regional, national, provincial, and local spaces (Figures A and B).

**Global**

**Regional**

**National**

**Provincial**

**Local**

Figure A- Global norms encompassing lower levels

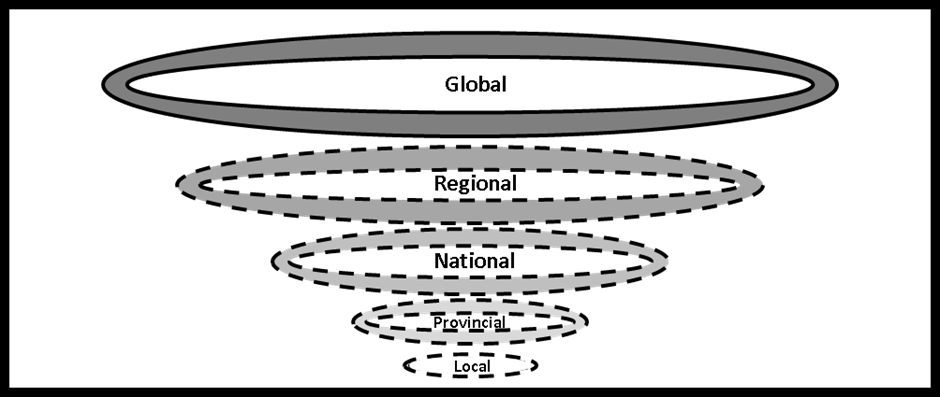


Figure B- Multi level norm interaction

As is shown in figure A., each of the various geographic governmental levels sits within the wider levels with a porous level barrier in between. In this model, when authors discuss a ‘global norm’ it would be referring to the outer core of this model which then includes everything within this. It is global in the sense that it covers the entire globe and all within it. The dotted divisions between the levels symbolise the fact that although demarcated and separate, the different levels remain part of the same overall structure with seepage between the various levels.

The second model instead views global as simply representing a level of government referring solely to a global level. If one conceptualises the different levels of norm integration as a number of separate entities (essentially, the bodies within them) interacting (as to whether there should be more connections between none adjacent levels is a separate debate which will be investigated elsewhere) as shown in figure B then this interpretation is eminently possible. The global level is conceptualised as a level of government which interacts with the other levels, however, it is not the all-encompassing outer layer as in figure A. Instead of the term global norm referring to a norm encompassing everything, instead it could be interpreted simply as a norm operating at the global level of government, which does not imply specific connections or inclusion of the levels below.

Within this view of global norms, to say that a norm is global is to say that it is established at this top level; it is global in the sense that it operates within global institutions. Currently within the literature there are few studies looking at the way in which these norms are tracked from the global level down to the local level (Thakur, 2001; Philipps and Stewart, 2008). It is important to investigate this issue as currently it is difficult to assess the usefulness of Social Constructivism without doing so.

An international relations theory, although clearly focussed on the international sphere, needs to relate global norms to the national and local levels in order to be comprehensive enough to be of use. With the large ‘blind spot’ of not being able to adequately connect the global to the local, the school of thought is limited. There are clear local implications for these global norms and without an explanation as to how norms pass from one to the other; the theory is undermined. These methodological issues surrounding such ideas will be investigated later in this chapter.

In order to fully realise the value of social constructivism and better understand the role which norms play in adoption of policy, it is necessary to view the different levels of government in this three dimensional manner.

### Diffusion vs Translation

There is a trend within the literature to use the terms ‘diffusion’ and ‘translation’ interchangeably, however, some scholars do draw a distinction between the two. An example of this distinction would be Zwingel who differentiates the two *“because translation implies that differently contextualized norms may be translated into another realm, for example, from global to national or local to national, whereas diffusion assumes a oneway influence from global to non-global.”* (2012, 124). Further to these thoughts, this thesis puts forward the view that ‘translation’ implies a much more active process than the more passive verb of diffusion; the process of translation puts the focus on the actor rather than the norm and also allows for the possibility that somehow this norm may be altered during the process. As a result of this, it is fitting within the thesis to use the term translation rather than diffusion.

### Is talking about norms enough?

In order to evaluate the extent of a norm’s presence across these multiple spaces of governance, it is necessary to develop a degree of analytic traction over the concept. In contrast to work that focuses exclusively on the presence of key frameworks of ideas in written discourse, through the thesis a more holistic approach is adopted. Discourse analysis is used to inform the understanding developed of the relationship between the global and the national levels of transmission; in particular, the analysis of key policy documents is used to identify points at which international conservation practices are invoked in to the national level. This discourse-analytic approach follows closely the method promoted by Epstein, and followed widely through other works (e.g. Clegg 2010, Broome 2015)

However, to gain a detailed understanding of the transmission of these ideas through other layers of governance, interviews are relied on heavily to gain an interpretation of the extent to which practices have been adopted and adapted. In broad terms, this holistic approach to analysis ties in with the suggestion from Adler and Pouliot (2011) that scholars of international politics should focus on developing deep explorations of particular areas of practice, paying attention to the nuances that emerge in often overlooked spaces of governance. Below, issues relating to methodology and the study of global conservation norms ‘all the way down’ in the Indonesia case are reflected on.

The second key issue within this thesis is the question of how we look at norms and what constitutes a norm being integrated. At the core of this thesis is the relationship between the global conservation norm and practical action. This is a key theme which runs throughout and to some extent it is at the very heart of the questions which have been raised. This would, according to Epstein, be something of misdirected effort. This section will outline this perspective and show its inaccuracy and through this outline the value of this thesis’ contribution.

Charlotte Epstein, whose work, as shown in section 2.2.5, has informed a substantial part of the central premise of this thesis, would appear to advocate that evaluating whether or not global norms are enacted is an unnecessary pursuit. In the past she has advocated a state level only approach;

From this perspective, then, the focus is not so much on the ethical content of a norm but rather on how it works in the dynamic interactions between states: it is more functional then ethical. And norms are located in discourses. The degree to which a norm actually surfaces in the discourses circulating in the society of states, then, is a good indication that it is in place; better, in fact, than whether states are actually doing anything about it. For as long as they are talking about endangered species protection, states are still positioning themselves vis-à-vis the norm; it is shaping their behavior (Epstein 2006, 33, emphasis in the original)

This perspective raises some interesting questions in relation to the outcomes of this thesis; not least, is it simply sufficient that Indonesia is ‘talking about’ conservation? As might be expected, there is a not a clear cut answer to this but it is hoped that this thesis will be able to contribute to this debate and prompt further discussion on the topic.

Overall, this thesis puts forward the argument that it is essential that we should investigate whether they are ‘doing anything about it’; it is questionable whether the conservation norm does exist if states are not doing anything about it. It has been shown that investigating possible disconnects between global policy and local reality is not only an interesting area of scholarship but also an important one. Through doing so, the collective understanding of countries’ government structures, their relative strengths and weaknesses as well as the ‘mechanics’ of policy implementation, is enhanced. By limiting scholarship to investigating whether states ‘talk about’ conservation and then claiming this discussion is sufficient as it therefore shapes policy, actually serves to weaken and undermine the Constructivist agenda. To focus purely on rhetoric is a rejection of the study of real and tangible effects of policy in favour of abstract discussion which will serve to disconnect research.

At the heart of Epstein’s statement ‘For as long as they are talking about endangered species protection, states are still positioning themselves vis-à-vis the norm; it is shaping their behavior,’ (2006, 33) appears to be putting forward very strongly the premise that there is no distinction between rhetoric and behaviour. It does not entertain the idea that a state may ‘talk about’ something yet their behaviour displays another agenda. Such a perspective does not acknowledge that although states may position themselves in terms of the norm and this may affect their behaviour, this line of thinking takes an extremely narrow definition of ‘behaviour’. Without investigating the practical implications, we are facing a situation where the Constructivist agenda will become just a discussion of rhetoric rather than understanding that rhetoric’s relation to policy.

To paraphrase Wendt, conservation of endangered species may be ‘what states make of it’, however, it is important to understand what in fact states do make of it. Through doing this we can identify discrepancies and attempt to understand the underlying issues which may cause this. In turn, this in fact enhances our understanding overall of the prevailing global norms.

Providing a counter narrative to the rhetoric focussed work of Epstein is a key contribution of this thesis. Without studying the practical implications of policy formation in the form of on the ground impacts, the area of social constructivism simply becomes ‘talk about talk’. It is absolutely invaluable to look at how this rhetoric makes a practical difference otherwise there is the risk that academic studies become far removed from reality and in effect become an introspective talking shop.

Without connecting itself to practical implications, social constructivism is in danger of becoming caught in a process of self-verification whereby rhetoric is seen as the sole important factor to study; thus all such studies focus upon rhetoric and find, not surprisingly, that rhetoric is the only important factor, and so the loop continues. Social constructivism needs studies which focus on practical reality in order to prevent this problem and provide verification points.

## Methodology

### Introduction

The aim of this thesis is, then, to identify the way in which global norms have been transmitted from one level of government to another ‘all the way down’ to the local level. With a concept which is as nebulous as that of a ‘norm’, this is a challenging task. This will be achieved through mapping out the governmental structure of bodies which relate to conservation in Indonesia. Through understanding the roles of different actors across different levels of government and different departments as well as some NGOs, this thesis will build a comprehensive picture as to how global norms are, or indeed are not, transmitted in this case.

### General Research Design

The theoretical section above has shown the need for a greater understanding of how global norms are transmitted from one level to another. This thesis combines data from semi-structured interviews with elites with analysis of the content of framework documents in order to gain a greater understanding of how conservation is implemented within Indonesia.

As is demonstrated by the inclusion of research question five above, the methodology is a key characteristic of this study. Rather than being an unproblematic means through which to extract data, methodological issues are in fact a core analytic focus of the project. There is currently a lack of studies within the field which attempt to track a global norm ‘all the way down’ and therefore in doing so, the study will make an important contribution.

The assessment of the status of a norm across global, national, and sub-national spaces is a particularly complex methodological issue. Although the influence of global norms can be seen and indeed measured through the presence of programmes and legislative agendas, a global norm itself is a mind-set rather than a visible object. Therefore, research in the area tends to focus on assessing these reflections of the norm and those embodiments of this idea which generally focuses on assessing legislative and policy changes. The investigation of the influence of these policies at a national level will largely be done within chapter four.

The second part of the methodology will be to establish what the current situation is at a local level with regards to the conservation protection of the identified species. This will take place through observation as well as interviews with NGOs and other actors in the area in order to establish a clear understanding as to the practical issues currently affecting the selected species. There are very few academic studies looking at the issues directly affecting these species, so the literature is currently extremely underdeveloped. Through this element of the fieldwork a detailed analysis of the current issues will be formed for the thesis. The results of this work will be presented in chapters five and six.

The third element of the methodology will be to link the first two, and is a key focus of the study. This will be done throughout chapters five and six but also developed further in chapter seven. The aim is to establish how the norm is transferred from the global level, as established through the literature mentioned previously, to the local level. The extent to which this is achieved will be evaluated as described in the previous paragraph. In order to link these two elements, government elites were interviewed at different levels of government in order to understand the form that the global conservation norm has taken at that level of government. By tracking the norm in this way and investigating it at every level, it was possible for changes to be observed and detailed.

The method of semi-structured interviews was selected as it would give the freedom for interviewees to expand on their answers and a dialogue to be created. This prevented the research from becoming too limited in its approach. By holding interviews with elites working in the relevant areas, a greater understanding of the role of each body could be established and the influences on their work understood.

Other research methods such as surveys and focus groups were rejected for differing reasons. Surveys were rejected as they were not appropriate for gathering sufficient data; they would not allow for sufficiently long answers to really capture the detail which would be required. Furthermore, they would not allow for the clarification which could be gained through having an ‘in person’ exchange. Additionally, as a developing country, information about Indonesia’s structures is not accessible remotely. Whereas in many other studies it may be possible to identify the relevant individuals and then send them a survey, in Indonesia this is not possible. Finally, the specific data which was required did not lend itself to being studied in a quantitative manner and therefore surveys were of limited use.

With regards to a focus group approach, this too was rejected as a means of data collection. Indonesia, and especially the civil service, is a very hierarchical societal structure. As a result, any sort of focus group which was undertaken with individuals who were not of identical standing would have led to a skewing of responses. Furthermore, this thesis looks at the overall policy direction of different bodies rather than individuals’ experiences and therefore focus groups were less relevant. However, a number of interviews were conducted with small groups of individuals (largely with no more than two) as the interviewees felt it was helpful to have an assistant or subordinate in attendance.

### Case study selection

The focus of this thesis is on two charismatic megafauna within Indonesia, namely Komodo dragons in the East Flores area and orangutans in East Kalimantan. This section will outline the reasoning behind the decision to select these case studies and why they are relevant.

The case study and the methodology have been selected for a number of reasons and this section will outline why the overall general structure was selected. First, it was decided that a case study approach was appropriate to investigate the themes raised because it allowed a practical exploration of the impact of global norms. The nature of global norms dictates that it is too large a scale to try to investigate through experimentation. Furthermore, one of the aims of the project was to attempt to test in a practical manner the wide body of literature which focuses upon the theoretical and abstract side of global norms. Using a case study approach allows us to ‘expand and generalize theories’ in what Yin refers to as ‘analytical generalization’ (1994, 10).

The case study was across multiple sites within one country for methodological reasons. Using a comparative case study looking at one single species in two countries and comparing the way in which the conservation norm was adopted was considered. One possibility was to compare the norms impact on orangutans in both Indonesia and Malaysia; however, this idea was rejected. If when comparing two countries the outcome had been the same in both then it could have been seen as lacking rigour as discoveries could be dismissed as being species specific. The wider impact of the research could have been undermined through the results being attributed to the particular peculiarities of that specific species.

Conversely, had the case studies differed significantly then it would have been open to the criticism that it is simple the peculiarities of either, or indeed both, of the two countries selected. For example, it could just be seen that one state follows the norm as a responsible member of the international community and the other chooses to break it and is no different from certain ‘rogue states’ breaking norms around human rights. By focusing the study on a single country and comparing species, it allows the study to demonstrate how the norm may be applied differently within a single state, which then gives greater insight into the norm itself. Comparing similar species across a single state was rejected as results could be questioned on the basis that the findings were a result of the similarities of the two species. It will show how the norm operates within a specific legal and cultural framework, which is the same for both case studies.

The decision to select Indonesia as the location for this study had a number of different elements: the country’s biodiversity; its wealth of natural resources; its programme of decentralisation and its status as a member of the ‘global south’. These will each be investigated in turn.

Indonesia is amongst the most biodiverse areas in the world both in terms of flora and fauna; this is shown by the table 1 below:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Species group | Number of species | Percentage which are endemic | World ranking |
| Mammals | 515 | 39% | 1st |
| Palm Species | 477 | 47% | 1st |
| Swallowtail butterflies | 121 | 44% | 1st |
| Tiger Beatle Species | 103 | 46% | 1st |
| Parrots | 75 | 51% | 1st |
| Reptiles | 512 | 29% | 4th |
| Birds | 1531 | 26% | 5th |
| Amphibians | 270 | 37% | 6th |
| Flowering plants | 37,000 | Around 50% | 7th |

Table 1- Biodiversity in Indonesia (Statistics taken from World Bank 2000, p1)

Table 1 demonstrates that with regards to biodiversity, Indonesia is one of the most important conservation areas in the world. This breadth of flora and fauna mean that Indonesia draws significant interest in terms of conservation from around the world. One reason why it was selected for this study was due to its importance in terms of biodiversity which therefore results in international interest for conservation. It was decided that this diversity and importance would mean that for understanding global norms, it would be an area where global conservation norms should be of significant relevance.

Indonesia is a country with significant natural resources. In addition to the vast teak forests which are found in areas such as Kalimantan, it also boasts significant coal and oil reserves. Furthermore, the climate in many areas is conducive to farming on a large scale. This availability of natural resources means that conservation issues are likely to be relevant given that resource extraction is likely to cause habitat damage.

For this study, it was decided that it is important to look at an area where conservation is likely to be contested. As mentioned in section 2.3.3. one of the aims of this study is to understand the practical implications of the conservation norm and look beyond the rhetoric around conservation, in essence connecting the rhetoric with the practical implications. If a case study were selected where there were no challenges to the conservation of a species, this would not be able to test the practical implications of the norm. It is essential for the investigation of whether or not the norm is a practical reality for the idea of conservation to face some sort of challenge; without any sort of contestation or threat to conservation, the norm is not being tested.

Indonesia is one of the largest countries in the world to undergo a process of decentralisation. The precise history and details of this process will be detailed within the following chapter which examines Indonesia’s history in greater depth. However, it should also be highlighted here that it is Indonesia’s status as a decentralised country which led to it being selected for this thesis.

Indonesia’s status as a decentralised country makes it an excellent case study of norm transmission between levels of government. The process of decentralisation combined with Indonesia’s large size and ‘spread out’ nature offers an interesting opportunity for study. Furthermore, its relatively recent history of decentralisation also gives the opportunity to examine how these decentralised bodies have dealt with conservation. These divisions of government combined with their recent history allow for a clearer view of the ongoing processes rather than an alternative country whereby these processes may be less clear.

As discussed in section 2.2.5, the divide between the ‘Global North’ and the ‘Global South’ is an important dynamic in terms of the investigation of global conservation norms (Epstein, 2006, 34). As previously eluded to, there is an inherent danger for western scholars in discussing ‘global norms’; rather than being ‘global’ norms they could be construed as being western or Global North norms. Through setting the study within the global south, this once again allows it to really test the idea of the global nature of norms. As discussed in this chapter, the nature of a norm means that it needs to be generally accepted, although by whom is an ongoing question. However, as mentioned previously, in order to truly test this idea of a global norm, we need to consider a situation whereby it may be contested.

In order to understand how much a norm influences behaviour, it is important to know to what extent it prevails when other interests are pressing. If the study was set in a country within the global north then the outcomes could be dismissed as being unreflective as conservation could be seen as simply being the privilege of more economically developed nations. However, investigating whether the norm is able (or indeed not able) to withstand the demands of being implemented within a country which faces pressure to contravene it, will produce greater insight into the nature of the norm. The precious nature of biodiversity in Indonesia makes studying it more important than studying other countries such as the UK.

Komodo dragons in Flores/the Komodo national park and orangutans in East Kalimantan were selected for several reasons. The following paragraphs will set out the reasoning for selecting these two species. Underlying the selection of these two species is a significant theoretical reasoning. It was decided that two ‘charismatic megafauna’ should be selected. This is because charismatic megafauna have often been described as being ‘flagship’ species (Leader-Williams and Dublin, 2000, 53). The basic underlying logic of this is that these charismatic species can be viewed as being a way of promoting conservation in a wider sense.

The two species can be seen as being charismatic in their own way. The orangutan’s close physical and genetic similarities to humans evoke a great deal of empathy generally amongst the general global population. Although Komodo dragons are not generally viewed with the same affection and generally would not be seen as being ‘cute’ in the same way, they do elicit a great deal of curiosity and interest; their almost prehistoric appearance and unique nature draw a great deal of interest from the public. This charisma and their potential role as ‘flagship’ species make them interesting choices for the study. It is almost an inversion of the flagship species which is of interest to this thesis; rather than being about how their charisma can be used to promote conservation it is instead the principle that if even charismatic species struggle to be conserved then surely less charismatic species will be even more threatened.

Sumatran tigers were also considered as a potential subject for the study. Although Komodo dragons do occasionally kill humans, largely they remain docile and live in rather close proximity to humans without too many issues. In contrast, tigers are extremely dangerous yet rarely come into contact with humans. It was felt this status as a predator may add an additional variable and that perhaps this factor would make it unsuitable for a comparison.

One of the advantages of comparing Komodo dragons and orangutans is that they reside on different sides of the Wallace line; this imaginary line demarcates a difference in terrain, climate and native species. The dense jungle in which the orangutan resides is in stark contrast to the much drier scrub land which is home to the Komodo dragon. This difference allows comparisons and theories to be drawn from the impact which these factors may have.

Having selected these two species, specific areas needed to be selected. This was an obvious choice for the Komodo dragon as they are unique to the area of West Flores, mainly within the national park of Komodo. In terms of the orangutan, the decision was more complex.

Firstly, Bornean orangutans were selected rather than Sumatran orangutan for a number of reasons both methodological and practical. From a methodological perspective this was because Sumatra is historically considered to be much less peripheral in terms of Indonesian history and therefore the dynamic of the regional government’s interests not necessarily being aligned to the national government is not present. In addition, the area of northern Sumatra where many of the orangutans live borders on and includes Aceh which is an area which historically and until relatively recently has undergone a great deal of political strife. Aceh also was affected badly by the Tsunami of 2004 which also may have affected policy in the area.

Once it had been decided that it would be Bornean orangutans which would be studied this still left a number of regions to be chosen from. Southern and Central Kalimantan were both rejected for their high levels of development and deforestation. North and West Kalimantan both share extensive borders with the Malaysian territory on Borneo and it was decided therefore that the East Kalimantan would be used as it shares the shortest border with the Malaysian Territory. The reason was to try to negate any impacts of cross border issues such as illegal logging or pollution from the Malaysian territory.

Within East Kalimantan, the regency of East Kutai was selected. This is because it contains both a national park and areas in which orangutans reside, but which are not national parks. This not only affords the opportunity to understand the possible effects which the national park may bring but also it mirrors the other case study; West Flores also contains areas which are part of the national park and those which are not.

The above paragraphs have demonstrated how the two case studies of orangutans in East Kutai and Komodo dragons in West Flores were selected. Having explained in the previously how Indonesia was chosen as the country for the case studies, above has elaborated on why these case studies were selected as well as revealing why some others were rejected.

Three departments were identified to be interviewed as part of this study. These three departments were that of Agriculture, Forestry and Environment and they would be interviewed at the national, provincial and local level. The basic outline of the bodies to be interviewed is shown below in figure C.

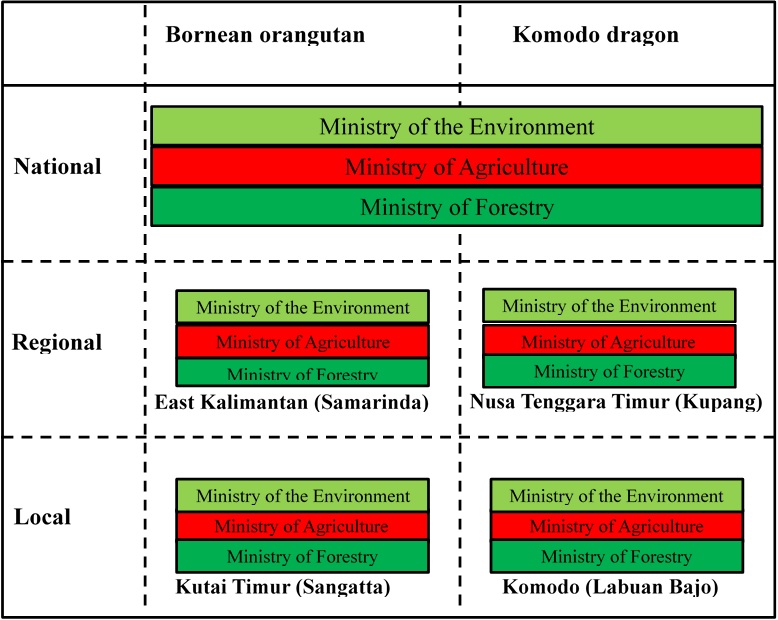


Figure C- Case study departments

These government departments were selected as those which were believed to be most relevant to the question of conservation in Indonesia. They were identified as being so within Indonesia’s own Indonesian Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (2003, 66). The reasons for their relevance will be expounded upon further within the fieldwork chapters (chapters 4, 5 and 6).

## Interviews

Due to the complexities of the fieldwork of conducting fieldwork in Indonesia, access to interviewees mainly had to be done on an ad-hoc basis. The government infrastructure in Indonesia is not sufficient to be able plan in advance and schedule interviews. Although many of the departments have websites and telephone numbers, these were not of much help. Numerous departments were contacted in advance of travelling to Indonesia; however, no responses were received. Furthermore, even had this been successful, the complications of the visa process meant that it would have been difficult to arrange specific times and dates for interviews.

Rather than being able to plan in advance the interviews, contact had to be made and interviews arranged in person. This was done by locating the relevant departments on arrival in an area and visiting them with an interview request letter. From there, the relevant member of staff could be identified and a specific time and date arranged for the interview. On some occasions, contact details for the subsequent level of government could be gained which helped to smooth the process.

Most of the interviews took place with the head of the department and/or the deputy head of department. This approach was followed as those in charge of the department were best positioned to be able to talk about the strategic workings of the department and vertical and horizontal relationships with other departments. Where possible this was supplemented by including the deputy head of department within the interview, which often helped to bring a practical ‘frontline’ perspective on some of the issues.

Arranging interviews with the NGOs was much easier as they tended to be more easily contactable by e-mail. This reflects the fact that they tend to be much smaller operations than government departments as well as also being more connected with the global community.

Generally the interviews took place in the interviewees’ places of work, although some interviews took place in a public area (for example a local café) in order to make it as convenient as possible for the interviewees. The interviews took on the form of loosely structured interviews giving the interviewee opportunity to talk freely about their work. The interviews were conducted in an informal and friendly manner.

The majority of interviews were recorded aside from those where permission was not granted or in the event of technical failure. In addition to this, brief notes were made during the interview to collect key information. Immediately after each interview, a more comprehensive summary was produced by the interviewer to ensure that the data collection was contemporaneous and accurate.

The interviews were performed in English, Bahasa Indonesian and sometimes a mix of the two. Where an interviewee was able to speak English, the interviewer/researcher would check answers back to the interviewee in Bahasa Indonesian to ensure that the correct meaning had been conveyed. Where available if the interviewee was not able to speak English, a local translator was used to ensure the clarity of what was being said. These translators were suitably briefed in advance in line with the ethics committee submission. Where a translator was not available, the interviewer/researcher undertook the interview in Bahasa Indonesian. To ensure that there were no miscommunications due to the researcher’s own linguistic failings, recordings of these interviews were transcribed into English by translators and cross checked against the researcher’s summary.

## Ethics

In line with the University of York ethics guidelines, ethical approval was applied for and subsequently granted. As the research did not involve children or vulnerable adults, the completion of the ELMPS light form was sufficient and ethical approval was granted on 9th May, 2013.

All interviewees were provided with an information sheet which outlined the project and how any interview data would be used. Furthermore, they also signed a consent form which confirmed that they understood everything and gave various options such as to whether they consented for their names to be used and whether they consented to be recorded. Both of these forms were translated into Indonesian so that there could not be any misunderstanding associated with language.

Although nearly all of the interviewees gave consent for their names and positions to be used, a decision was made to withhold names and positions in the final thesis. This was because certain individuals gave answers which it was felt may have a negative impact upon their work should their names be included. Therefore, even though permission was granted, a decision was taken to withhold some information. This decision also applied to the name one of the NGOs which were interviewed.

## Conclusion

Overall the aims of this chapter have been to lay out the theoretical background to this thesis, explain the methodology which has been employed, and – crucially – to link these two together. The framework based in the global norms literature will provide the thesis with a theoretical backbone and the methodology which has been laid out is designed to show how these global norms will be tracked ‘all the way down’.

The social Constructivist literature on norms and its various facets including lifecycles have been outlined. This has also served to show the current gaps and blind spots which this thesis will fill. It has set out a three dimensional view of norms which raises questions about the very nature of the social Constructivist agenda. In response to this, it has outlined the methodological approach which is employed.

The chapter has also then outlined the various decisions which have been made around case study selection. This has included how a single country with two case studies was decided on, how Indonesia fulfilled this case study need and then how decisions were made as to which species were examined and why.

The explanation of the emergence of global norms and development of social constructivism as a school of thought which is contained within this chapter is particularly pertinent to two of the research questions for this thesis, specifically:

**1) Through what processes have global conservation norms been incorporated into Indonesian conservation practices?**

**And**

**4) How can understandings of conservation across the global, national, and local levels be systematically analysed? How can the lessons learnt inform the wider debate around norms?**

Although question one cannot be fully answered in a purely theoretical sense and requires the fieldwork element of this thesis, an understanding of the norms literature is an essential part of the answer. Although this chapter does not directly answer question four it sets out a methodological framework drawn from within the social Constructivist literature which can be used as a basis for this analysis.

In many ways the social Constructivist literature is still in its infancy with the concept only emerging in the 1990s. Currently the majority of the texts are focussed on either laying out general frameworks or attempting to apply this framework of norm analysis to specific case studies. Social Constructivism will form the backbone of this project and will be used to augment, enhance and provide a framework for the empirical, fieldwork-based data. Through doing so, the project will not only aim to build a better understanding of the conservation issues in Indonesia but will also attempt to relate it’s discoveries back to the Social Constructivism literature to interrogate, expand and build upon the current literature.

In summary, this chapter has set out the overall direction and rationale for the thesis. It will be followed by a chapter examining the history of Indonesia in terms of two key themes; namely the environmental history of Indonesia and the development of decentralisation in Indonesia. Having explained why Indonesia was selected, this next chapter will provide the context of the country in which the study takes place.

# Chapter 3- Case Study Background: Understanding Indonesia’s Environmental History and Decentralisation.



## Introduction

Indonesia enjoys a rich and complex history. The archipelago has undergone a number of changes over the past century, a period which has included: colonial rule; Japanese invasion; independence and dictatorship before eventually emerging as one of the largest democracies in the world. The aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive overview of relevant aspects of Indonesian history. In order to understand the impact which modern conservation norms have had within Indonesia and how they have been changed as they have passed through various levels of government, it is important that a detailed understanding is gained as to the historical influences on these policies. In order to develop a deep understanding of the transmission of global conservation norms to national and local political contexts in Indonesia, it is necessary to adopt such a broad-based approach to analysis.

This chapter presents an overview of the evolution of environmental practices and broader governance structures in Indonesia. As such, the chapter provides background information that contextualises the detailed content put forward through subsequent case study explorations. The chapter is divided into three sections. It will provide a comprehensive account of Indonesia’s political and environmental history. This level of detail is important for understanding the overall context in which the case studies occur. Without understanding the evolution of the Indonesian state, it isn’t possible to understand the full picture of the regulatory framework in which the different bodies and actors operate within the case studies.

The first section will outline the overall environmental history of Indonesia; this overview will detail the evolution of the context surrounding contemporary environmental governance in Indonesia. It is important to provide a detailed, in-depth account of this process as many of the practices have shaped the current landscape in which regulatory bodies operate. None of the periods of Indonesian history can be viewed and fully understood in isolation but rather they are heavily influenced by their predecessors and therefore the overall evolution of the state needs to be understood. Many of the policy decisions are rooted in, or are a reaction to, the decisions of the previous historical period and therefore it is necessary to understand the entirety of the history of Indonesia as a single state.

Within the first section, three periods will be covered: namely, Pre Independence/Colonial Rule; the end of Colonialism/New Independence; and the period of the New Order and Suharto’s rule. In addition to the environmental elements of each period, a brief historical contextualisation is included. The second section outlines the policy of transmigration which has spanned several different periods of Indonesian history as does the focus of the third section, decentralisation. It is extremely important to understand the processes and implications of decentralisation. One of the key themes of this thesis is the importance of understanding the multi-level interactions which affect conservation and this section contributes to that understanding and history of how decentralisation was implemented within Indonesia and its practical implications.

Through investigating these different periods and themes, this section will show how different environmental issues have emerged and developed within Indonesia since its colonial period right through until the modern day. This chapter will identify the connections between Indonesian policy and wider trends or norms surrounding it. Each period reflects prevalent ideas and ethoses and has impacted on the local populations in different ways. In addition, there have been some themes such as policies of transmigration and decentralisation which straddle a number of different periods and their evolution through these periods is significant. Overall, this history of Indonesia shows a wide range of actors operating at different levels (global, regional, national, local) which have shaped ideas and events and this chapter will identify them and the level at which they are principally located.

## Indonesia’s Environmental History

### Introduction

This section will proceed through the three different historical periods: Colonialism/Pre-independence; the End of Colonialism and New Independence; and Conservation in Suharto’s New Order Regime. Overall, the period covered stretches from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century. Each sub section covering Indonesia’s conservation history also includes a brief explanation of the contemporaneous historical context. This is important not only to understanding the specific events within that period but also the overall situation in which these changes were happening.

First, however, it is important to note some of the difficulties involved in providing an overview of such a broad and diverse country as Indonesia over such a significant period of time. Indonesia is made up of over 11,000 islands with each having its own cultural variations. Policies and trends throughout the last two centuries will have had varying effects on each area. This variation is further expressed by the fact that Indonesia cannot for much of its history be considered a single, cohesive state.

The aforementioned variations are exacerbated by Indonesia’s size and lack of geographic homogeneity; there were different forms of government in different areas with no collective overarching structure for much of its history and with unique power struggles in each area. What are detailed within this chapter therefore are just some of the key effects that policies have had overall as well as specifically on certain areas. The literature often focuses on individual cases, which frequently skews towards the island of Java. Given the significance of Java as a centre of power, these developments are particularly relevant given its dominant position within Indonesian history and politics and as a centre of influence.

### Pre Indonesian Independence/ Colonial Rule

The colonial history of Indonesia is essentially a history of the Dutch presence in the archipelago. Although many other countries such as England and Portugal had a presence there at different times, the Netherlands emerged as the dominant power. Covering several hundred years, the Dutch rule left a lasting imprint on Indonesia in terms of policies, institutions and ideas as well as on the physical environment itself.

Colonialism and its history within Indonesia is not a clear cut issue which falls neatly into a definitive timeline, instead the history should be seen as a slow growth and expansion. Due to Indonesia’s nature as an archipelago, which historically has not been considered a single unified state, its history of power struggles between various regional rulers and different colonial powers is a rich and fascinating story. The first section therefore will attempt to provide an overview of this complex period which will give context to the later events. The subsequent sections will investigate specific issues, policies and events which can be seen as important in shaping the environmental history of Indonesia. Many of the subsequent ideas and issues of Indonesia which occur after the departure of the Dutch can be traced back to the actions during the colonial era.

#### Historical Context

In the period up to the mid seventeenth century, the VOC (Vereenigde-Oost-Indische Compagnie: the Dutch United East India Company) had succeeded in ‘laying the military foundations for commercial hegemony over the seaborne trade within Indonesia’ (Ricklefs 2001, 73). Formed in 1602, its interests extended around the globe trading in clothes and spices in Indonesia (as well as India) and as far as the slave trade in Africa and Brazilian sugar (Adams, 1996, 13).

The period from the mid seventeenth century until the late eighteenth century was notable for the expansion policies of the VOC, which brought them into military conflict with regional and local powers throughout the country. Given its lack of historical status as a single state and the continuing conflicts during this period, the complicated power arrangements with local leaders as well as the complexity of the precise nature of what constitutes ‘being colonialised’, it would be counterproductive to pinpoint an arbitrary date at which a tipping point was reached and Indonesia, in the form we now know it, came under colonial control.

By the late eighteen century/early nineteenth century, the VOC was beginning to experience difficulties; these have been explained by the crowded global market place and issues with indigenous social structures (Adams, 1996, 13) or alternatively attributed to VOC officials’ ‘corruption and depredations’ (Peluso, 1994, 45). The company was not being well run, which was being covered up by officials wishing to hide their own corruption (Tas, 1974, 36). This was not helped by the company’s refusal to update its business model as other countries had - moving from purely extraction to industrialising within the colony and creating a market for their own goods (Tas, 1974, 37).

Finally, in 1800 the VOC, overstretched financially due to its continual military commitments, collapsed and was effectively nationalised by the Dutch government (Ricklefs 2001, 144). Under this new centralised control, by 1830 ‘political dominance throughout Java was at last achieved’ (Ricklefs 2001, 155), a significant milestone in furthering Dutch control of the country. Although there were various periods of conflict with local leaders, reforms put in place between 1808 and 1826 established ‘a centralized state built on a newly created ‘modern’ bureaucracy’ (Luiten van Zanden, 2010, 161).

Over the course of the colonial period until the early twentieth century, the Dutch government expanded its dominance to include the majority of the outer islands. The expansion by this point included most of modern day Indonesia. This expansion was necessitated by the need to suppress neighbouring regions in order to ensure the viability of those areas that were already under Dutch control as well as to protect Dutch interests as the scramble for colonies by European powers peaked in the late nineteenth century. This increased domination of the region was made possible by a widening gap in military technology between indigenous rulers and their colonial aggressors (Ricklefs 2001, 171). After many years of expansion, by approximately 1910, most of the regions which make up modern day Indonesia were under Dutch colonial control (Ricklefs 2001, 171).

As the Dutch were close to establishing control of the archipelago, Dutch policy within Indonesia seemingly broke with the conventional sole aim of exploitation and instead focussed upon what was known as ‘ethical policy’ with ‘professions of concern for Indonesians’ (Ricklefs 2001, 193). This change in direction in international policy was brought about by domestic changes in power; with the election in the Netherlands of a coalition of Christian parties it was felt there should be a change of direction. The logic of this was a rejection of purely exploitative ambitions, embracing instead principles of moral obligation as well as preparation for self-rule (Vandenbosch, 1933, 52).

Humanitarians were able to use the logic of market gains and the potential of Indonesia for imports and exports as a justification to implement policies in order to raise living standards. This garnered support from those with financial interests, although this support can be seen as dependent on economic success (Zainu’ddin, 1978, 140). It was hoped this policy would allow the country to be a more viable destination for the export of Dutch goods as well as provide a more viable and productive workforce (Ricklefs 2001, 193). These ideals were presented as a paternalistic mission and were typified by C. Th. Van Deventer, the author of the influential article ‘A debt of Honour’ (‘Een Eereschuld’) (Zainu’ddin, 1978, 140). This article argued that the Dutch were obliged to help Indonesians as a penance for the setbacks suffered by the country as a result of their colonial masters' extraction of wealth.

The Dutch government, as well as the public, had become increasingly uneasy with the ‘fierce outbreak of economic imperialism in the far east’ (Vandenbosch, 1933, 53). There was a growing pressure therefore that the focus of policies would be of benefit to Indonesians. Under this policy the Dutch guaranteed to bring ‘peace, order and modernity’ (Farram 1998, 207) and this was to be achieved through focussing upon the three areas of education, irrigation and emigration (Ricklefs 2001, 194).

In addition to the three areas of focus, the Dutch also wanted to increase decentralisation as well as popular involvement and created a Volksraad (People’s council) as well as various local bodies. The early twentieth century in Indonesia saw the emergence of a heightened sense of identity as well as increased political mobilisation further enabled by decentralisation (Ricklefs 2001, 206). (This will be expanded on further in section 3.4.2.). These ideas facilitated primarily nationalist movements but they also politicised Islam and led to the growth of leftist parties – and sometimes a combination of the two (Ricklefs 2001, 217). The ethical policy has been credited with increasing and facilitating nationalism (Zainu’ddin, 1978, 140). It was against this backdrop that ‘The Dutch regime entered the most conservative and repressive phase of its twentieth century history’, which allowed the Dutch to maintain power in the country until midway through the Second World War (Ricklefs 2001, 227).

#### Overall Trends of Conservation

Conservation prior to Indonesia’s independence in 1945 represents an interesting synthesis of local and colonial influence. As a general rule, the Dutch were reluctant to ‘over legislate’ in colonial matters that extended beyond their own economic interests (Cribb 2007, 53); however, for a century or so before independence, Indonesia’s European masters played an increasingly active part in the conservation framework of the archipelago. As this section will show, the reasoning behind this was multi-facetted and was influenced by changes in the prevailing attitudes of the period.

The precise nature of this ‘conservation’ is debatable and therefore shapes the way in which the history of Indonesia can be viewed. For example, Robert Cribb believes that conservation first appeared as a political concern at the close of the nineteenth century (2007, 51), which marks a significant milestone. However, according to Peter Boomgaard there are relevant conservation trends some two hundred years before this date in the early seventeenth century occurring within the indigenous population (1999, 260).

Although he concedes that generally little is known about pre-colonial conservation issues, Boomgaard identifies hunting by indigenous royalty as having a significant and possibly positive indirect impact upon conservation (Boomgaard 1999, 263). Although in many senses this appears to be counter intuitive (i.e. hunting normally tends to be a threat to conservation) it prompted the establishment of game reserves (Boomgaard 1999, 260). Within these areas animals were protected as hunting was the pastime of aristocracy, which required game to be available on demand. This ideal of protecting nature for the use of humans can be seen as conservationist rather than preservationist, although it may be seen as elite conservationism. The absence of poaching or arable farming meant that these limitations actually served to protect various species. As the game reserves disappeared due to the declining influence of local aristocracy, so did the previously abundant ‘game’ because of the opening up of land-use to many parties (Boomgaard 1999, 260).

#### Flora

Another instance of an action which was, as Boomgaard put it, ‘“conservational” in its outcome, though perhaps not in its design’ is the tradition of spirits and wooded areas being haunted, these were known as Angker in Javanese (1999, 263). Spiritualism and traditional beliefs are widespread throughout Indonesia and there are a number of examples showing that in some circumstances the limitations which this placed on the population had a positive conservation outcome. In some areas either through formalised religious rules or simply through fear, extracting resources (such as timber) or even entering the forest was prohibited (Boomgaard, 1999, 263). Forests and the threats to them generally became a more significant factor in the Indonesian conservation landscape over time.

After two short lived attempts from 1800 onwards, the Dutch managed to establish a forestry service, at least in Java, in 1865 as part of a number of Forest Regulations, which in fact still operate to this day. These regulations were quite comprehensive and Peluso believes they were significant as ‘The laws of 1865 were the first to describe in detail the procedures by which teak was to be logged, thinned, and otherwise managed’ (1994, 52). The forestry service was suitably equipped with skills, resources and a legal framework in order to ensure Java’s forests (initially only the teak, however, it was widened to include the ‘non teak’ forests in 1876) were sustainable and protected from over-exploitation. This increase in protection was initially prompted by fears that teak was being consumed at a rate that would result in a shortage in the immediate future (Boomgaard 1999, 261). Teak is a particularly complex conservation issue given its position as a commodity; it is a high value, high profit resource, however, it is difficult to encourage individuals to maintain sustainable practices given how long it takes to grow the tree, in fact ‘whoever plants a teak sapling is likely to be dead before it can deliver profit’ (Henley 2008, 279).

Despite these obvious direct conservation concerns, the forests’ protection was actually widened due to issues around both shortage of water for irrigation as well as flooding and there was a growing recognition that these were both caused by deforestation (Boomgaard 1999, 262). However, in a sense this widening of protection can be seen once again as an unintended conservation outcome. These changes were aimed at protecting the interests of those farming nearby, especially downhill from the forests, rather than for conservation purposes per se. It was a similar concern about flooding and irrigation which led the Dutch to create the Cibodas forest reserve in 1890 (Boomgaard 1999, 264).

To some extent, the measures to protect teak forests were successful, as David Henley points out:

Between 1900 and 1940 the total area of teak forest on Java increased by 28% (despite the fact that the population of the island also grew by more than 50%) (2008, 279).

This shows, albeit in a narrow sense, that improvements were slowly being made in forest protection towards the end of the colonial period.

#### Fauna

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Dutch authorities within Indonesia began to become concerned with the hunting of birds and certain mammals within the archipelago. As has been shown previously as a re-occurring theme, their usual stimulus to act was when an environmental issue became an economic threat and there was a belief that ecologically speaking, farming was becoming threatened by increasing levels of hunting by the indigenous population. It took some ten years or so between this ecological recognition that the destruction of local populations of pest eating birds and mammals was leading to poorer crop yields and famines and the development of legislation. However, it marked the beginning of formalised attempts to protect fauna rather than just flora (Cribb 2007, 52). It would appear that this desire to preserve the resources for economic reasons marked a significant milestone in conservationism in Indonesia.

It is interesting to note, however, that despite there being a delay of over ten years from when this process was initiated in 1896 to cohesive action, previous lobbying for action in the 1880s had been ignored. Boomgaard believes that this is due to the earlier requests being seen as being too narrow in scope and serving the interests of the Dutch estate owners who had submitted them (1999, 264).

The Dutch authorities commissioned a survey by zoologists to ascertain which animals should be protected. The results were eventually published in 1910 after some reluctance from the chief zoologist, J.C. Koningsberger in the form of an Ordinance. The Dutchman was of the belief that the brief for the work, to decide which species were useful to humans, was fundamentally flawed. He regarded this objective as an oversimplification of the complexities of an ecosystem. Eventually the Ordinance gave protection to all species which then was waived for certain species that Koningsberger was willing to classify as dangerous to humans or indeed obviously harmful to agricultural interests. These included: monkeys; orangutans and fruit bats which all damaged orchards and birds of prey that fed on domesticated chickens and ducks (Cribb 2007, 52).

Once again, although a very important stage in the development of conservation tradition within Indonesia, like previous actions it cannot be seen as a measure that was predicated on environmental principles per se. This legislation is a pragmatic and conservationist action rather than an ideological response motivated by preservationist tendencies. For example, had the desired outcome been achievable though alternative methods (for example, had modern pesticides been available) it is debatable whether or not the ‘conservation’ action would have been taken.

On a logistical level, the law was significantly flawed. As an archipelago, Indonesia experiences significant variation across the country on a number of levels. Part of the reasoning for structuring the law to cover all animals was that despite various surveys there was still a lack of knowledge as to what species actually inhabited the country, the various islands and in fact areas of individual islands. Consequently, whereas a species might be considered plentiful on one side of an island, it could be considered endangered on the other side. The issue was further complicated by the wide range of languages and dialects; it was extremely difficult to specify particular species as being protected or not as there was no guarantee that people would be able to recognise it due to it having another name in the locality. In order to attempt to negate the dangers of these variations, power was given to local authorities to lift the protection on a temporary basis in order to manage variations – a practice that had the outcome of undermining the law (Boomgaard 1999, 265).

Despite these flaws, the 1910 Ordinance is of particular interest when one considers it as part of the wider contemporary trend towards fears of species becoming extinct, a global norm in some senses, which was forming at a global level. A number of species across the globe had become extinct at the tail end of the nineteenth century and the futures of several others were looking increasingly precarious. Given the global dynamics of the Dutch position in world politics they were especially keen to adopt this norm. With the rise of countries such as Germany and Japan who were increasingly looking to establish a colonial presence, The Netherlands as a small state with an impressive Asian empire was keen to prove its credentials as a responsible colonial power in the international community to avoid being forced to give up its territories (Cribb 2007, 54).

These pressures can be seen as an important reason why the Dutch decided to take action to protect the increasingly threatened bird of paradise (*Paradisaeidae*). The magnificent plumage of the tail feathers of this bird were popular globally in a number of ceremonial purposes as well as being the height of fashion for society ladies in cities such as London and Paris in the early twentieth century. As a result of this sizable and profitable market, large scale hunting began to rise. Pressure to act came from both within and outside Indonesia. There was a recognition amongst the international community that action had to be taken, in fact Cribb marks this as a milestone as ‘The movement to limit the plumage trade was the first case in which public opinion in developed countries was mobilized to influence environmental policy elsewhere in the world’ (2007, 54).

This global pressure was further enforced by the fact that both Britain and the United States banned the import of feathers in 1920 (Boomgaard 1999, 280). Furthermore, the hordes of hunters sponsored by traders travelling to Papua to embark on long hunting trips had brought pressure upon the authorities from certain religious actors. Dutch missionaries feared the negative influence, both physically in the form of disease and morally through undesirable behaviour such as drinking, on the local population (Cribb 2007, 54). As a result the 1910 Ordinance was adapted to increase protection of more rare species of birds, however, this was not achieved until much later in 1922 (Boomgaard 1999, 267).

In addition to the cause of the bird of paradise, Preservationists were keen to seek wider protection for other animals; especially the Sumatran orangutan which had been omitted from protection under the Ordinance in its original form given their destructive impact on attempts at fruit cultivation. Eventually, in 1924, they were protected by name along with seven other species of mammals and 53 species of birds (Boomgaard 1999, 268).

When the Ordinance was first implemented, Komodo dragons had not yet been discovered by the zoologists responsible for providing data for the legislation. Thus lizards had not been included in the original 1910 Ordinance. Not long after the rule had been implemented, the Komodo dragon was discovered and, due to its unique nature, the Dutch persuaded the local ruler of the area to ban hunting of the giant lizard and the export of their skins in 1915 whilst at the same time the Ordinance was amended to include selected lizards (Cribb 2007, 55).

The protection of Komodo dragons is in some senses a notable development as previously, as noted, the Ordinance had been restricted principally to protecting those species which were not harmful economic interests or likely to harm humans. However, the Komodo dragon is in fact dangerous to human beings, although not especially harmful to economic interests. This is an important theme that can be seen to reoccur in the contemporary situation described in chapter five. Although lizards as a group were not mentioned in the original Ordinance on the selection remit given to data collection zoologists, they would also have not been protected given their dangerous nature. In this sense protecting them therefore marked a significant shift in policy. The aims of the conservation ‘mission’ had moved away from the pragmatism previously described as ‘protecting interests’ and begun to recognise the preservationist ideals of the value of preserving species in their own right, despite possible dangers to humans.

This trend was furthered in 1916 when a decree was issued which gave further preservationist protection through enabling the Governor General to establish nature reserves. The aim of these reserves was to preserve areas due to their aesthetic or scientific value. This was the first legislative step towards the trend of preservationism in its own right rather than for simply pragmatic reasoning. These powers came about as a result of lobbying and a petition from the ‘Netherlands Indies Society for the Protection of Nature’ which had been founded in 1912 (Boomgaard 1999, 265).

In 1931 two new Ordinances were enacted in Indonesia which further extended the conservation protection of species in Indonesia. It formalised the protection of the Komodo dragon in law rather than relying on the decree of the ruler of the region. Additionally it also placed a total ban on the exports of dead or living protected animals. Although in some sense this law could have been seen as superfluous given the possession of protected animals was already detailed in previous Ordinances, it reinforced the rules and responsibilities of customs officers and therefore afforded greater protection. Furthermore, it limited but did not fully close the loophole allowing local authorities to lift protection as well as detailing a raft of species specific regulations (Boomgaard 1999, 270).

In addition to protecting particular species, the Ordinances also put into place strict rules around hunting through a system of permits. In general terms the rules outlawed a number of hunting practices in such a manner that it still allowed small scale traditional indigenous hunting to continue whilst attempting to inhibit hunting for sport or trade. The system of permits allowed a licence to kill what were called ‘noxious’ animals to be obtained for free with further licences allowing wider hunting; however, this came at a fiscal price. The outcome of this was that it allowed local authorities who administered the licences to gain financially (Cribb 2007, 57). The system has also been criticised for effectively introducing a system whereby richer members of society, who were nearly always westerners, could continue to hunt albeit in a slightly more limited fashion and thus exacerbating social division (Boomgaard 1999, 273).

Between 1919 and the end of the colonial rule in the 1940s, some 120 or so nature reserves were established. Most of them were of the variety previously explained although a number were based around the concept of ‘Angker’ or ‘sacred place’ described in section 3.2.2.3. This actually meant on occasions the creation of a nature reserve which was limited to one tree or cave in order to preserve its spiritual significance (Boomgaard 1999, 273). Additionally, conservation justification was also used to protect the island of Nusa Kambangan when in fact the more significant issue was preserving the spiritual significance of the area (Boomgaard 1999, 277). This represents an interesting intersection between religion/culture and conservation practice.

Overall, this section has shown how the Dutch colonial period was generally following an improving conservational trajectory when it ended. Through an increasingly interventionist ideology, the Dutch began to put into place policies which reflected the changing views about the importance of conservation. However, the environmental issues within Indonesia extended beyond simply trying to protect species but also in the way in which the Dutch authorities were extracting wealth from the country.

#### Oil and Rubber

The invention of the motorcar in the early 20th century was of immense importance within Indonesia as it increased worldwide demand for two commodities which Indonesia was able to supply: oil and rubber. By the 1920s there were around twenty different international companies drilling for oil in Sumatra, Java and Kalimantan, which included the newly formed Dutch company, Shell, as well as major interests from America and, by the 1930s, Japan (Ricklefs 2001, 195). These two industries experienced growth both in terms of size and significance in the early part of the 20th century which was shown by the fact that

The average combined share[of total exports] of new staples [oil and rubber] climbed from less than 15% before 1910 to more than 40% in the 1930s. Oil and rubber ranked immediately after sugar as prime earners of foreign exchange. (Lindblad 1989, 57)

The scramble for oil also brought improvements to infrastructure in the extraction areas in the form of roads, hospitals and education centres as well as bringing money and employment into these areas due to both the extraction and its processing (Lindblad 1989, 72). Although there does not appear to be any specific documentation of any damage to the environment from oil extraction or processing at that time, it would seem unlikely that it would have a positive effect upon the environment. Furthermore there appears to be no documentation of any form of regulation or environmental protection by the colonial government.

Indonesia also endeavoured to meet increasing global demand for rubber and replaced the native rubber tree, Ficus Elastica, by importing Hevea brasiliensis which allows for the tapping of the sap after just five years of growth. The fact that Indonesia was not subject to the ‘Stevenson Rubber Restriction Scheme’[[2]](#footnote-2) allowed exports from Indonesia to grow rapidly and by 1930 ‘as much as 44 per cent of the acreage devoted to the principal plantation crops in Indonesia was planted with rubber’ (Ricklefs 2001, 195). This was a result of extensive state encouragement and practical help and by the 1930s nearly fifty percent of the world’s supply of rubber originated in Indonesia (Ricklefs 2001, 195). During colonial times these were grown in large scale plantations (Dove, 1996, 37) and in order to make way for this ‘sizable tracts of forest land had been cleared’ (Gillis 1988, 53). Such large scale deforestation would have environmental impacts; however, it was in line with Dutch colonial aims.

#### Actors

It is difficult to evaluate the impact of the Dutch colonial period on the environmental history of Indonesia. In many ways, despite the obvious ethical issues surrounding colonialism, they were able to bring modern ideals and norms such a Preservationism to the archipelago by virtue of its place within international society. However, it is hard to justify that this doctrine offset the environmental damage which done by the colonial presence.

What has been shown to be particularly prevalent through this period is the influence of a wide range of actors. These actors operate on varying scales from global right down to the local. These actors are summarised in the table 2 below.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Actors | Operating Level | Detail |
| Dutch Government | Global | Shaped policy within Indonesia |
| International Civil Society | Global | Established norms over the acceptability of certain practices such as hunting |
| Other Colonial Powers | Global | Eagerness to acquire colonies placed pressure on the Dutch to comply with norms |
| Dutch Humanitarians | Global | Promoted ‘ethical policy’ |
| Dutch Industrialists | Global | Eagerness to export to Indonesia encouraged colonial leaders to improve standards in Indonesia. |
| European Fashion followers | Global | Cause demand for birds of paradise pelts |
| UK and US Governments | Global | Banning of birds of paradise pelts |
| Oil Companies/ exporters | Global | Impacted environment through extraction |
| Rubber Plantation owners/exporters | Global | Impacted environment through clearing of forest for plantations |
| J.C. Koningsberger and other zoologists | Global/ National | Shaped perceptions of various species |
| Dutch Officials within Indonesia | National | Responsible for implementing policy and dealing with the practicalities. |
| Volksraad (People’s council) | National | Helped to shape policy |
| Dutch Forestry Services | National | Shaped forest use. |
| Birds of Paradise Hunters | National |  |
| Dutch missionaries | National | Lobbied government against hunters |
| Governor General | National | Shaped policy in Indonesia |
| Dutch Estate Owners | National**/** Local | Campaigned to shape policy. |
| Local Rulers | Provincial /Local | Power sharing arrangements caused the twisting of policies |
| Pre-colonial rulers | Provincial/ Local | Influenced land usage |
| Indonesian Farmers | Local | Affected land usage |
| Indonesian Teak loggers | Local | Affected forestry and therefore prompted legislation |
| Local Indonesian Hunters | Local | Affected agriculture and therefore prompted legislation |

Table 2- Key Actors of the Colonial Period

These different actors demonstrate how even before Indonesia can be considered a unified state it was already subject to the influence of a wide range of actors. Global norms already began to conflict with and shape local norms even at this early stage.

### End of Colonialism/ New Independence

Our knowledge of the impact of the New Independence period on the environmental history of Indonesia is limited because the high level of conflict, confusion and disruption meant that environmental issues were generally considered of secondary importance.

#### Historical Context

In early 1942 the Japanese invaded Indonesia, an event which signalled the end of the Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia (Ricklefs 2001, 244). Once Japan had defeated the limited allied resistance in the country and interned all remaining Europeans including those running key industries, the country was in something of a state of disarray and at times it teetered on the verge of revolution. In the following years Japan tried, with varied success, to utilise Indonesian resources in order to help fuel their war effort. Despite the efforts of the occupying forces their lack of experience meant they relied heavily on the local elites (Ricklefs 2001, 249).A power vacuum emerged after the Japanese surrender when no allied troops replaced them[[3]](#footnote-3); into this vacuum stepped Sukarno with a declaration of independence in August 1945 which signalled the beginning of the revolution (Ricklefs 2001, 260).

What followed in the period between 1945 and 1950 were a series of conflicts and political wranglings before Indonesia could truly be considered independent[[4]](#footnote-4). These took place between Indonesians and the Dutch (although initially backed by the British) who were keen to reclaim their former colony. Although this is a fascinating period of Indonesian history, it is beyond the remit of this thesis to investigate in any great depth. The key outcome of these struggles, however, was that in 1950, the Dutch finally recognised Indonesian independence and Sukarno was the leader of the first fully unified Indonesian state (Ricklefs 2001, 285).

Initially, what emerged from the revolution was a system of liberal parliamentary democracy based closely on the polity which Indonesia was most familiar with, the Dutch system (Ricklefs 2001, 295). Unfortunately, due to regional and religious cleavages the democratic system became increasing unsustainable until eventually Sukarno decided that martial law needed to be declared to control the population. Part of this process included introducing a heavily centralised system which was called ‘Guided Democracy’ in 1957 with power being solely concentrated with the president and his cabinet without elections in order to replace parties struggling for power in the parliament (Crouch, 2007, 43). Sukarno did not feel that parties should play a role and called for parties to be ‘buried’ in a speech in October 1956 whilst also claiming he did not want dictatorial powers (Legge, 1972, 280). He rejected western parliamentary democracy claiming it was not ‘a true democracy in accordance with the ideals of the Indonesian people’ (Kosut, 1967, 76).

As is suggested by the term ‘Guided Democracy’ people expected an eventual return to democracy and power being less concentrated, as these changes failed to materialise citizens became increasingly disillusioned and there was a flurry of protests and democratic movements before eventually Sukarno was forced to concede he was no longer in control in 1965 (Ricklefs 2001, 340).

#### Bali and Javan tigers

Some of the conservation issues facing the newly independent Indonesia are shown by the plight of the now extinct subspecies of tigers, the ‘*Panthera tigris balica*’ and ‘*Panthera tigris sondaica*’ - better known as Bali and Javan Tigers. Seidensticker attributes their demise to four factors namely:

1) widespread poisoning during the period while habitat was being rapidly reduced, 2) uncontrolled fragmentation of the forest during the social disruption of World War II and the events following, 3) loss of critical ungulate prey populations to disease, and 4) civil unrest of the 1960s resulting in tigers killed by armed groups seeking sanctuary in these reserves (1987, 7).

In evaluating these factors, Seidensticker concludes ‘There is not much a wildlife manager can do about this class of problem’ (1987, 7).

This highlights some of the issues which were surrounding conservation during the era of New Independence within Indonesia. Conservation, as a general theme within New Independence, is a subject which lacks extensive coverage within the literature. As Seidensticker alludes to, and as was described in the previous section, this was a time of great disruption and upheaval. This upheaval had a twofold impact on the conservation effort within Indonesia, not only was it neglected as an endeavour, furthermore it had a negative effect on species as shown by the destruction of tiger species due to the presence of rebels in the jungle.

#### Reform of the Forest Service

After the end of colonial rule in Indonesia, the institution of the forest service remained. The laws which gave them authority and outlined their role were simply directly translated into Indonesian from Dutch, and Indonesians were recruited to fill the roles of the outgoing Dutch nationals who had previously worked as rangers. The revamped forestry service faced a number of new challenges. The damage from the Japanese occupation as well as the various rebellions was widespread and, in addition, they now had to compete with local famers and peasants to re-establish control of access to the forests (Peluso 1992, 887). The forestry service continued to operate, as it had under the Dutch, as a department nestled within the Ministry of Agriculture. This meant that its funding was provided and controlled by the Government and it remained so until the 1980s when it became a ministry before becoming a non-stock public state enterprise (Peluso 1992, 899).

Peluso describes how the forest protection remit of the forestry service serves two roles, both preventative and repressive (1993, 211). The former is very much routine in that it included the general management of those wanting to access the forest including patrolling and managing those who access the forest. The latter element was used as a last resort when the preventative measures fail and involves acting more as forest security in order to react to illegal logging and other prohibited activities (Peluso 1993, 212).

The most significant move by Sukarno, with respect to the forestry services’ dual remit, which was more significant symbolically than practically, was the move to arm the forest police with pistols in 1962. This act was extremely important as a declaration in that it elevated them to the same level as the police and the army; no other groups either public or private were authorised to carry firearms at that time (Peluso 1993, 212). This could be seen as reinforcement by the government of its ownership of the property rights to the natural forest as detailed in the 1946 declaration of independence. Furthermore, it would allow them to commercially protect their right to exclusively grant ownership rights for set periods of time to private parties (Gillis 1988, 49).

#### New Independence actors

The newly independent Indonesia faced a wide range of environmental problems many of which had arisen from the war and the fight for independence. Overall the country was still ill-equipped to properly legislate and take a proactive approach to protecting wildlife and their habitat. The principal priority at the end of this period was to try and get the floundering economy back on track, which would bring further environmental challenges.

As a result of Indonesia’s status as a newly independent state trying to establish itself as a legal and social entity as well as the increasingly dictatorial centralised government, the number and influence of external actors was reduced. This introspective attitude combined with environmental concerns being of secondary importance at this time, means that environment policy within this period is not well covered in the literature. This point is demonstrated by the shortness of the table 3 below.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Actors | Operating Level | | Detail |
| Sukarno Government | National | Increased centralisation and introduced a number of environmentally significant policies. | |
| Rebels | National | Caused environmental degradation whilst fighting against the regime. | |
| Forestry services | National | Re-established with Indonesian nationals who were armed for the first time. | |
| Farmers | Local | Had conflicting interests for land use. | |
| Illegal Loggers | Local | In conflict with forestry services for use of forest. | |

Table 3- Key Actors of the New Independence Period

### Conservation in Suharto’s New Order Regime

Suharto is well known in the west for his poor human rights record and dictatorial style. However, the most significant themes relevant to Indonesia’s environmental history were his efforts to stabilise and grow the economy.

#### Historical Context

The history of Indonesia under the rule of Suharto is well known for its nature if not the specific events within it. Suharto’s ascension to power was in the midst of political strife and national confusion. His reign as leader of Indonesia spanned some thirty two years and as such should not be viewed simply as one homogenous period but rather as an evolution. As is shown below, much of Suharto’s policy making was influenced economic fluctuations, threats to his power and international events such as the end of the Cold War.

Suharto had been asked by Sukarno to personally restore order after the unrest of 1965.The group which Suharto principally saw as the cause of the problems was the Indonesian communist party, the PKI, whom they publically blamed for the failed coup attempt on the 30th September. Holding near complete control under his remit to return order to the country, Suharto attempted to crush the PKI. In late 1965, members were either arrested or murdered with the army either turning a blind eye or actively participating (Cribb 1991). Eventually, in March 1966, Suharto used his power to push out Sukarno and become the official President of Indonesia (Ricklefs 2001, 347).

The transition from the Sukarno regime to Suharto’s New Order regime is an extremely complex situation around which, to this day, there is discussion and debate. The events of 30th September 1965 began one of the bloodiest periods in Indonesia’s history. The details of this period are well beyond the remit of this thesis: the salient facts are that on the night of the 30th of September, six generals and a lieutenant were kidnapped and killed and this was seen as an attempted coup.

In the aftermath, Suharto seized power, which led to the killing of a great number of Indonesians[[5]](#footnote-5). There are numerous theories that the coup was engineered by Sukarno (such as Hughes 1968, 115) or in fact Suharto (an idea described as a ‘cheap thrills’ by (Farid 2005, 5)) as well as claims and counterclaims of CIA involvement (Scott 1985 and Brands 1989 respectively). However, as mentioned previously the details are outside of this remit of this thesis. For simplicity it is easiest to view it as being either Sukarno’s role in, or at the very least his reaction to, the killings which allowed Suharto to assume power (Hughes, 1968, 3).

Having finally emerged from the malaise of the stuttering end to Sukarno’s regime, Suharto set about establishing his ‘New Order’, so named to differentiate and distance himself from his predecessor’s policies and failures. The approach which he settled on for his new and fresh government in fact bore striking resemblances to the period of the ‘ethical policy’ of the early twentieth century Colonialism (as described in section 3.2.2.1). The areas of reform within this economic development were ‘Agriculture, industry, mining and energy, communications, trade and co-operative, education, housing, science and technology, housing and commercial investment sector’ (Yazid, 2014, 3).

The challenges faced in these areas which were targeted for reform were great. The reforms under the Dutch had been of limited success and years of neglect during the occupation and subsequent turbulent years of the previous regime had left provision far from adequate. These issues were exacerbated by a swelling population, high levels of urbanisation and economic crisis, (Ricklefs 2001, 344-345).

Suharto’s main priority was economic development, which was sorely needed with the country in a precarious position. In order to gain international financial support and renegotiate debt repayments with the country’s long list of debtors, Suharto agreed to make very liberal economic reforms. Many felt this would make Indonesia subject to international commercial interests but instead Suharto used this international support to establish state capitalism and authoritarian rule rather than ‘unfettered market capitalism’ (Hadiz and Robison, 2005, 223). Being able to put the economy on a level footing allowed Suharto to start the recovery of Indonesia’s economy; it was this which was to give him his bedrock of support for many years but would ultimately contribute to his downfall.

In 1969, with inflation under control Suharto launched his five year economic plan. Now that the country had some stability he believed that it would allow him to develop the economy. The aim of this plan was to focus upon the areas which would yield the maximum returns that could be expected for central government funding. These areas were ‘agriculture, economic infrastructure, expansion of exports and import-substitution industries’ and these developments were to be funded through new foreign loans (Ricklefs 2001, 358). Some of the plan’s key elements were the extraction of natural resources such as timber, minerals and oil. Vatikiotis stresses the significance of the infrastructure developments and the revenue provided through oil. He even went as far as saying that Indonesia’s economic success made it ‘the nightmare of US foreign policy analysts in the 1960s,[Indonesia] suddenly became burning proof that not all regimes born out of the barrel of a gun are bad’ (2003, 34).

This improving financial position was further helped by rising oil prices (Hadiz and Robison, 2005, 223; Vatikiotis, 2003, 34). As the economy grew, so did the corruption and nepotism; however, this was generally accepted by the middle classes as they benefited from the improvements in the economy (Ricklefs 2001, 366). Most of the major growth industries in the country had strong personal ties to Suharto and/or were mainly run by his own children. It was these issues along with others such as electoral fraud which caused repeated student protests and the regime took on an increasingly oppressive nature. In 1978 Suharto tried to implement mass education in the principles of the state ideology, Pancasila; the aim of this was to promote national homogeneity and conceptualise conflict as coming from outside of Indonesia’s ‘organic society’ (Cribb, 2010, 69).

By the late 1980s cracks began to appear in the regime, although not as a result of its continued appalling human rights record or the increased banning of news outlets, but instead as a result of world events. The falling oil price of 1980s, most notably in 1982 and 1986, had weakened Indonesia’s economic position given its heavy reliance on oil revenue and steps were taken to loosen the state monopoly on many industries (Hadiz and Robison, 2005, 221)

One of the key changes, however, was the end of the Cold War and by the early 1990s this would have an effect on the economy of Indonesia. With the collapse of the USSR, western democracies were less inclined to lend to third world regimes with questionable human rights records (Fleck and Kilby, 2010). This was a particular issue for Suharto’s regime as much of the suppression was tolerated by the middle classes as it served their financial needs. However, as foreign investment dried up and the country was trying to recover from other financial problems, this destabilised the government’s position. In addition, there was an increasing paranoia within the state that they would suffer a similar collapse to the USSR as a result of various religious and ethnic tensions (Ricklefs 2001, 387). These tensions were sharpest in Aceh[[6]](#footnote-6) and in East Timor[[7]](#footnote-7) and the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in the latter proved a turning point for international support with human rights abuses in Timor moving onto the international agenda (Hess and Martin, 2006, 258; Ward and Carey, 2010, 54)

When the Asian currency crisis hit Indonesia in the late 1990s it was ill prepared and vulnerable. Much of the debt Indonesia had built up had been in US dollars so that when the rupiah’s value plummeted the debt became almost unmanageable (Ricklefs 2001, 404). These problems were exacerbated by the corruption that meant Suharto was increasingly under pressure to get rid of the monopolies which were held by his family and friends (Vatikiotis, 2003, 221).

Suffering from increasing poor health, including a rumoured minor stroke (Vatikiotis, 2003, 221), Suharto attempted to push forward wildly unrealistic budgetary ideas; absurd to the point that the IMF withheld relief without reforms (Hadiz and Robison, 2005, 221; Vatikiotis, 2003, 221). The refusal to make reforms contributed to rioting in major cities including Jakarta (Siegel, 1998, 76). By the time Suharto proposed such changes, he had become entirely discredited and in May 1998, with the economy crumbling President Suharto resigned and passed power to his vice president Habibie (Vatikiotis, 2003, 232).

Much of Suharto’s success and longevity was premised on Indonesia’s economic improvements and his close alignment to the economic success. These measures allowed him to maintain a regime which committed widespread human rights abuses for over 30 years. However, basing his authority largely on these factors left him extremely vulnerable once the economy hit troubled times. Much of this economic success was premised on environmental abuse.

#### Conservation in the New Order Regime

Although the Dutch colonial period lends itself to producing a neat time line of environmental issues and policies, the ‘New Order’ Regime under the rule of President Suharto is less well addressed within the literature. Instead of a neat history being available, the literature instead deals with overarching themes and issues based around various case studies. This section will characterise these conservationist or more anti-conservation themes and trends to give an overall background to the case studies.

Under the New Order regime, economic development was a key focus as it was believed by military ideology that this would act to ‘save the nation from the politico-economic catastrophe that took place under President Sukarno’ (Honna 2001, 55); such an attitude combined with high levels of corruption is not generally conducive to sound conservationist policies. However, despite this, since the 1970s, the regime did acknowledge that environmental degradation as a whole was an issue within Indonesia. Unfortunately this was not a cast iron commitment given:

that the government, in making major decisions may at times give priority to environmental considerations, while at other times give greater weight to more pressing political or economic policy needs (MacAndrews 1994, 374).

More generally, the government would use environmental rhetoric to mobilise support for certain issues (MacAndrews 1994, 374).

#### The Ban on Exporting of Logs

Colin MacAndrews identifies three key areas where he believes that environmental concerns have varied in influence against other concerns. The first example is the ban on the export of logs which was introduced in 1980. This was primarily an economic move which he believes also had a conservationist undercurrent. The aim of banning the export of logs was in fact to promote forest development in the form of plywood timber mills. As the majority of exported wood at this point was being used for industrial plywood, it was more economically profitable to process the logs within the country and make the transition from an exporter of raw materials to that of being an exporter of processed goods. MacAndrews believes that there was some environmental consideration, albeit subordinate to the economic ideals, behind this law (1994, 375). However, other more recent authors such as Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing have been able to place it in a wider context and linked it to identity; Tsing believes that the legal changes were not only made for financial reasons but also as a matter of standing up to the Japanese business presence (2005, 16).

In the 1970s, President Suharto formed links with Japanese general trading companies, *the Sogo Shosha*. The aim was to try to encourage foreign investment into the country and as a result the government endorsed logging as a method to achieve this. The relationships between business and government actors are murky at best and as a wider trend, corruption was a major problem within the New Order government. Various trade agreements and loans were put into place, this was ecologically damaging but fulfilled a need for the Japanese who were ‘Hungry for large quantities of cheaply produced logs rather than for quality control, they were comfortable with the ecological short-sightedness’ (Tsing 2005, 15).

The agreements and practices reduced the forests to resources to be exploited and furthermore, they were treated as one single homogenous mass to be exploited with no acknowledgement or management as to which trees would be cut down. The loggers only wanted Dipterocarps (a wide and diverse variety of tree), however, this meant the process was also wasteful and invasive, given that the forest was now simply categorised as Dipterocarps and ‘other’ with the latter including non-useful trees, herbs, fungi and fauna simply becoming wastage. This also applied to humans who were unable to maintain their traditional lifestyles and simply had to leave (Tsing 2005, 16).

Although MacAndrews describes the reasoning behind the banning of exporting raw logs he fails to acknowledge the nationalistic element to this decision beyond the simple economics of the situation. Part of this process was the establishment of the Indonesian Wood Panel Association which adopted the modus operandi of *the Sogo Shosha* in beginning to produce low cost and quality plywood (Tsing 2005, 16). However, the motivation extended beyond economic benefits as Indonesia took great pride in the fact that it had managed to establish this market position, in fact Mohamad ‘Bob’ Hasan boasted that ‘We’re the only guys in Southeast Asia who fight the Sogo Shosha’ (Tsing 2005, 16).

Therefore, to say that banning the exporting of raw logs was an economically motivated action which had an environmental undercurrent is misleading; that may have described how it began, but what happened over time was that environmental destruction became a matter of nationalist sentiment. Furthermore, certain studies believe that the additional investment required to make the transition to plywood rather than log exporter as well as inefficient saw mills and plywood factories meant significantly increased production costs. In cash terms this has been estimated to have cost Indonesia a net drain on natural resources of some $956 million (Gillis 1988, 96).

#### Expansion of National Parks

The second element of government policy which MacAndrews highlights as having been influenced by the environmental agenda, this time in a positive manner, is that of the expansion of national parks and protected areas throughout Indonesia during the late 1970s. He explains that

The Ministry of the Environment played a key role in implementing this policy and between 1978 and 1982 helped turn 20% of heavily forested areas in Kalimantan and 27% in Sumatra into natural conservation forest.... This trend has continued and by 1993 some 16 million hectares of Indonesia's total forest area had been reserved for conservation purposes, with 31 national parks and 348 conservation areas established throughout the country (MacAndrews 1994, 375)

Gillis attributes these changes to pressure from environmental groups both within and outside Indonesia rather than the impetus coming from the forestry service (Gillis 1988, 84). However, the motivation could be seen as being far more devious; establishing national parks and conservation areas in fact gives the authoritarian government a greater degree of control within those areas which can then be used for development (MacAndrews 1994, 375) and generally establishes a greater degree of centralised control on peripheral areas (Smith et al 2003, 295).

Despite this generally positive step of having further expanded protected areas, benefits are offset by issues of corruption and illegal logging. In fact, the usefulness of having protected areas which are subject to illegal logging is called into question; it essentially amounts to the state privatisation of resources. The forests removed traditional informal rights held by locals and instead designated the areas as ‘state forests’ (Smith et al 2003, 295). This reclassification opened up the possibility of widespread corruption. Illegal loggers worked through bribing public officials and the police in order to gain access to these restricted areas. Even when other agencies attempt to crack down on such practices, the high level perpetrators were able to escape prosecution through bribes (McCarthy 2000, 98).

#### Fuel Oil Subsidies

The final example which MacAndrews gives to demonstrate the intersection between political, economic and environmental interests is that of fuel oil subsidies. On the surface this may be solely environmental rather than conservational in nature; however, it does in fact have a conservational impact. Providing the population with a financially viable fuel source not only ensured support and popularity with low income groups, it also protected the forests in that it reduced the amount of wood which was used as a fuel source. From an environmental and long term economic perspective this is very damaging as not only does it put a strain on one of Indonesia’s non-renewable fuel sources, it also has considerably increased air pollution (MacAndrews 1994, 376).

#### Actors in the New Order Regime

Through these three particular examples of policy, this chapter has highlighted some of the wider issues which have surrounded conservation throughout the New Order Regime. Overall it was a period beset with issues stemming principally from what is characterised in Indonesia as ‘KKN’ (Korrupsi, Kulusi and Nepotisme) namely Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism. Suharto’s principle aim, in fact the source of his authority, was the promise and deliverance of economic improvement.

This economic improvement, however, was almost exclusively based on environmental exploitation. In an indirect but very relevant sense Suharto’s power and legitimacy was premised almost entirely on the (often unsustainable) exploitation of Indonesia’s resources. In reality, environmental destruction was the power base for a dictatorship that lasted over thirty years allowing Suharto, his family and others close to him to live in luxury from the financial rewards of corruption.

Although natural resources gave Suharto power, he was increasingly reliant on external forces in order to fully utilise them. Indeed, without market support as well as direct financial assistance from bodies such as the IMF, he would not have been able to maintain his power. However, over time it was this reliance on outside bodies which forced him to accept or at least be seen to accommodate norms such as human rights. Given the presence of such gross abuses of human rights, international pressure for environmental change was somewhat limited: however, it does show how Indonesia was susceptible to external influences. The key actors of the period are shown in table 4 below:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Actors | Operating Level | Detail |
| IMF | Global | Lending policies towards Indonesia evolved and changed |
| Oil Market | Global | Indonesia affected by falling oil prices |
| Sogo Shosha | Global | Responsible for environmental damage to the forest. |
| International Environmental Groups | Global | Lobbied for expansion of national parks |
| U.S.A | International | Lending policies towards Indonesia evolved and changed |
| U.S.S.R | International | Collapse and reform altered prevalent norms around financial aid. |
| Asian Countries | Regional | Actions in the Asian Debt Crisis impacted upon Indonesia. |
| Suharto Family/ personal presidential elite. | National | Corruption and abuse of presidential influence allowed those close to him to bypass many general and environmental laws. |
| Indonesian Environmental Groups | National | Lobbied for expansion of national parks |
|  |  |  |
| Illegal Loggers | Local | Competing for resources use in the forest |
| Sawmill owners | Local | Involved in processing timber and responsible for driving unsustainable practices. |
| Low income members of the public | Local | Oil Subsidy decreases forest exploitation for fuel |
| Local Farmers | Local | Affected by the increased protection of forests. |
| Locals Displaced by logging | Local | Communities who lived in Dipterocarp rich forests were removed to allow Japanese logging. |
| Local officials/Police | Local | Were involved in corruption to allow illegal loggers access to forests |

Table 4- Key Actors of the New Order Period

## Transmigrasi

Transmigrasi, or Transmigration to give it its English term, is a key feature of Indonesia’s history over the last century or so. This is the term for the programme of internal movement of population within Indonesia. It merits its own section because it has been taking place, under differing auspices, since the early twentieth century colonialism, Sukarno’s rule and Suharto’s rule – so it cuts across the three time periods. Although the reasoning behind this practice ranges from population relief to promotion of national homogeneity and even the establishment of penal colonies, it continually has environmental impacts beyond the simple logistics of transporting thousands of individuals.

The initial transmigration programme was run by the Dutch and was a modest endeavour with an average of just one thousand people (a tiny fraction of the population) being moved per year from the turn of the century until the late 1920s. The initial aim of the project was population relief from the perceived overcrowded Java to Sumatra. Despite being abandoned in 1928, the great depression caused it to be revived just twelve months later on a much larger scale in order to relocate thousands of recently dismissed workers in the hope of transferring them into farming sector. Until the programme was interrupted by the Second World War, the programme had swelled to approximately sixteen thousand per year (Fearnside, 1997, 554).

In the post war/New Independence period, Sukarno took up the mantle of transmigration with great fervour. His refusal to promote family planning programmes led him to set a target in 1949 of relocating forty eight million people over the next thirty five years to help reduce the population of Java from fifty four million to thirty one million. This involved moving the equivalent of the natural increase plus an annual quota, although in 1965 he revised these targets to just one and a half million each year to offset natural increase (Fearnside, 1997, 554).

When Suharto came to power, despite being more realistic about the targets, he was also a keen supporter of the Transmigrasi, although he saw it as being important alongside a family planning programme. Between 1969 and 1989, a total of approximately five million people were officially moved to other islands with an estimated two to three times that number moving outside the programme (many of whom received some support from the government and, for example, included those following members of extended family) giving a total of fifteen to twenty million people who moved over the period (Fearnside, 1997, 554).

Although it does not lessen the environmental impacts in any way, it is worth noting that some of the transmigration may not be as it seems. In the 1970s Suharto did attempt to ‘transmigrate’ a large number of political prisoners, many from East Timor, to the outer islands of Indonesia. After the election of Jimmy Carter as US president on a campaign in which human rights featured heavily, Indonesia wanted to curry favour in order to be able to access finance. As a result they needed to not to be seen to have so many political prisoners and ‘transmigrating’ them appeared to be a viable solution. What awaited these prisoners when they left their prisons in Java was essentially no more than what Ricklefs regards as ‘permanent detention and labour camps in the outer islands’ (Ricklefs 2001, 368). In addition, there was also the transmigration of military personnel to remote areas, which was included within the statistics (Fearnside, 1997, 558).

It is interesting to note that the programme as a whole was strongly supported by the World Bank between 1976 and 1992. Although they themselves only provided approximately ten percent of the cost of transmigration, their support has been attributed as the key factor which allowed the government to be able to access other sources of international finance. This was especially controversial given the ‘Transmigration’ of political prisoners especially from East Timor. This money was used not only to transport the transmigrants, but also to provide them with land and finance agriculture as well as the development of transmigration settlements (Fearnside, 1997, 558). In 1969 transportation to twelve ‘transmigration’ units was begun with a total of approximately fourteen thousand prisoners being moved to these locations. These prisoners were ‘released’ into these units where conditions were extremely poor (Fearnside, 1997, 564).

Aside from the obvious social impacts of the large scale movement of people as was undertaken under the transmigration period, there was a high environmental price to pay. It should be observed that some transmigrants have genuinely had a positive experience since moving from Java and have been able to build a new life and make a good living from farming. It is important to recognise this rather than simply be critical. Unfortunately, for the individuals and for the wider environment, this has not been the experience of the majority. Furthermore, agricultural gains in terms of the national economy have been negligible (Fearnside, 1997, 559).

The negative environmental aspects of transmigration have been significant. Although it varied over time, generally each family which migrates received:

a 0.25-ha house lot and home garden, 1.0 ha of potential sawah area [farming of irrigated rice paddy], and 0.75 ha of ladang or upland farming area.’ as well as in some areas ‘an additional 3ha was given to the transmigrants to clear for themselves for rubber planting (Fearnside, 1997, 559).

This land was generally reclaimed from forest areas (Fearnside, 1997, 560). When considered in terms of the numbers of transmigrants this becomes a significant area of land and this is just the land given directly to the families and does not reflect the true scale of deforestation which is required for each family in terms of infrastructure (for example, schools, roads etc. to accommodate additional population). Furthermore, this is only the official members of the transmigration programme not those who simply receive support to move.

Exact figures as to how much forest has been cleared as a result of Transmigrasi vary significantly depending on the source. The World Bank estimated in 1990 that approximately seven hundred and fifty thousand hectares were being cleared each year of which five hundred thousand hectares were for smallholdings with a further two hundred and fifty thousand hectares cleared for development projects although the ranges given mean this total could be as high as nine hundred and fifty thousand in total (Fearnside, 1997, 561). In addition to this forest clearance, there was also swamp drainage in areas of Sumatra, which has serious implications for CO2 emissions and general environmental degradation (Fearnside, 1997, 562).

In addition to the clear environmental problems caused by the transmigration programmes, there have also been significant social issues and technical problems with the transmigrants. Although it was assumed historically by central government that transmigrants moving from Java would be able to educate the indigenous populations in efficient farming techniques, in most cases the opposite happened. Many of the transmigrants were from urban areas and lacked the knowledge and expertise to be able to farm the land effectively. In addition to the environmental impact of poor farming techniques, there was also a social impact for the transmigrants themselves in terms of financial hardship and other connected issues (Fearnside, 1997, 559). Transmigrants may have also experienced a ‘disconnect’ with the area and land, so they might not have felt that they have a stake in the area and therefore are likely to have used less sustainable techniques, although this is conjecture.

Questions have been raised as to the cultural impact of the transmigration. Javanese culture differs substantially from the areas into which they moved. This has a significant impact on the local cultures and often caused tensions between the indigenous population and their new Javanese neighbours (Fearnside, 1997, 559). In the Sukarno and Suharto eras this Javanese cultural imperialism was specifically one of the aims of the Transmigrasi programmes (Gietzelt, 1989, 216) although this has been disputed (Abdoellah, 1987, 193)

Transmigrasi has had a significant environmental and social impact on Indonesia and official international backing drew significant criticism especially for the World Bank with Survival International branding it ‘the World Bank’s most irresponsible project’ (cited in Fearnside, 1997, 553). The direct environmental damage that it has caused may never be known but it can certainly be regarded as one of the most environmentally significant government policies in Indonesian history. The key actors for the actions of Transmigrasi are summarised below in table 5.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Actors | | Operating Level | | Detail |
| World Bank | Global | | Provided financial support for transmigration programmes | |
| Jimmy Carter’s U.S presidency | International | | Increased pressure on Suharto government to change human rights abuses. | |
| Dutch Colonial Rulers | International | | Implemented first transmigration programmes | |
| Sukarno Government | National | | Re-initiated transmigration programmes | |
| Suharto Government | National | | Expanded transmigration programmes | |
| Local Farmers | Local | | Affected by incoming transmigrants into areas | |
| Transmigrated Farmers | Local | | Were incentivised or moved by force | |
| Political Prisoners | Local | | Forcibly ‘transmigrated’ to other areas of Indonesia. | |

Table 5- Key Actors in Transmigrasi

## Decentralisation[[8]](#footnote-8)

### Introduction

The fall of the ‘New Order’ regime unsurprisingly led to a period of significant and rapid change within Indonesia. In addition to the lauding of democracy as the way forward, the magic bullet designed to rid the country of the horrors of the Suharto regime, namely corruption and Jakarta centric policies, was dubbed ‘Decentralisasi’ in Indonesian, but is known better as Decentralisation. For a country where government corruption was just a way of life and which was falling apart at the seams, the choice to move power away from the centre was a popular one. The decentralisation is reflected on in some detail because of its central importance in shaping the contemporary political context in Indonesia. The shape of the governance structures through which global conservation norms have been transmitted were, in outline, established through the decentralisation process.

The aim of this section is to provide a background to the global context, history and mechanics of decentralisation in Indonesia. The central theme of this thesis is in understanding the interactions between different levels of government and understanding decentralisation is a key building block in this process. It is vital to understand the process of decentralisation which underscores much of this study.

This section will consist of two different sub sections, which will give an outline of decentralisation. The first subsection will broadly outline the history of Indonesia’s decentralisation focussing on the rapid decentralisation in the early part of the twenty-first century. The second subsection will examine in greater depth the specific implications for the Department of Forestry in relating decentralisation to natural resources, which is an area of key importance within this thesis.

### Indonesia’s history of decentralisation

The idea of decentralisation has floated around Indonesia for most of its history, which is unsurprising given its vast size and variations in culture, religion and geography. Since the early twentieth century, there are roughly three very general periods relating to decentralisation: the period from 1903 to 1957 when broadly speaking policies of decentralisation were pursued; from 1957 through to 1999 when this was reversed and the ethos was towards centralisation; and from 1999 onwards when decentralisation has been revived in its most comprehensive form to date.

Tikson (2008, 28) characterised these overall post-independence changes into a table which has been reproduced and updated below in table 6;

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Periods | Political System | Decentralisation acts | Forms of autonomy |
| Early Independence  (1945-1949) | Democracy | Act No.1, 1945  Act No.22, 1948 | Real autonomy |
| Post-independence  (1950-1959) | Democracy | Act No.1, 1957 | Real autonomy |
| Guided Democracy  (1959-1965) | Authoritarian | Presidential Decree  No.6, 1959  Act No.18, 1965 | Restricted autonomy |
| New Order  (1965-1998) | Authoritarian | Act No. 5, 1974 | Centralisation |
| Reform Era  (1998- Current) | Democracy (Presidential election) | Act No.22, 1999  Act No.25, 1999  Act No.32, 2004  Act No.33, 2004  Act No.12, 2008[[9]](#footnote-9) | Real autonomy (Local election) |

(Tikson, 2008, 28)

Table 6- Table of post-independence decentralisation legislation

However, this thesis will also examine pre-independence measures and look at it in terms of the three phases explained in the previous paragraph rather than the different eras shown in Tikson’s table. The first phase covers both the ‘ethical policy’ era of Dutch colonialism, which is discussed elsewhere in this chapter, and the early years of the period of new independence; as an overall trend these two periods can be characterised as seeing increasing levels of decentralisation. Ricklefs characterises the initial efforts of the ethical policy period as being to increase representation, however this was soon abandoned when times got harder for the Dutch colonists (2001, 193-194).

Indonesia’s initial steps towards decentralisation came with the 1903 Decentralisation Law (Wollenberg et al, 2008, 3).The basic trend of decentralisation within this period was that power was decentralised from the Hague to Batavia (the colonial capital), and then from Batavia to the regions; essentially from the Dutch to the Indonesians (Ricklefs, 2001, 194); although this shift has also been seen as mainly cosmetic (Vickers, 2005, 21). One of the outcomes, which was arguably the intention, was that it was used to make ruling easy and to increase control in remote areas (Wollenberg et al 2008, 9). Furthermore, this did little to enhance any notion of power being moved closer to the people as in the majority of cases it simply reinforced the local elite and royal families (Vickers, 2005, 21).

In practical terms, this decentralisation included the establishment of a number of urban councils and the establishment of local executives (‘Bupatis’) as well as the formation of the Volksraad, an elected council advisory body. Overall, however, the limited franchise (an electorate of 2228 for a country of 70 million) as well as the limited advisory powers meant that very little tangible change was achieved. Although limited in impact, Ricklefs described it as ‘a gesture towards popular involvement in what was still a colonial state…But, not surprisingly, from it’s very beginning the Volksraad was caught up in the political awakening’ (2001, 194).

After the confusion and stasis in political life caused by the Second World War and the Indonesian revolution which followed it, the idea of decentralisation reared its head again under its new president, Sukarno. Laws were passed in 1945, 1948 and 1957 which aimed to increase regional autonomy as well as giving a role to the local level (Wollenberg et al 2008, 8). However, as discontentment increased and the central government feared the secession of problematic regions such as Aceh, Sukarno abolished regional autonomy in 1959. Although measures were put in place through the passing of law 18 in 1965 (18/1965) to re-attempt decentralisation, Sukarno’s period of ‘Guided democracy’ ended before they could be put into place (Wollenberg et al, 2008, 11).

The end of Sukarno’s regime marked the end of this first overall period of decentralisation and what followed was the period of the New Order, which could be characterise as being focussed much more on centralisation. The period of the New Order saw little of relevance to decentralisation; indeed, there were some reforms within the local and provincial governments which increased centralisation.

Although the New Order era should generally be characterised as being centralist in nature, this is not to say that there was no government offices at a local level. Clearly, such a large country cannot be governed purely from the authorities in Jakarta. However, it is the nature of these lower levels of government which is the difference. The layers of government which handled affairs at a local and provincial level were centrally controlled by the national government; to this end, they were national government bodies which existed and operated at a local and provincial level. In fact, under the New Order regime, Suharto undertook a process of standardising the structures of government down as far as the village level. This standardisation was aimed at creating uniformity and therefore suppressing ideas of differentiation and notions that authority could exist outside of the national government structure (Tyson, 2012, 9).

In the wake of the collapse of the Suharto regime the focus once again turned to the idea of decentralisation as part of the plan to create a more democratic Indonesia; this can be considered to be the second and most recent phase of decentralisation. This phase began with what is regarded as a ‘big bang’ approach to decentralisation in 2000 with a series of refinements and clarifications in the following years, most notably with a significant restructure in 2005.

The drive towards decentralisation can also be seen as being externally driven; the World Bank and IMF have particularly favoured this system of government. Tyson sees it as one of the key factors within Indonesia’s decision to decentralise:

External pressure was an important factor driving the interim administration to undertake a policy of decentralisation. The World Bank and IMF prescribed decentralisation with the aim to reduce centralised corruption and bureaucratic stagnation, to promote a dynamic, competitive and open economy, to unleash local creativity, to improve the investment climate and to enhance democratic local governance and community-driven development (Tyson 2012, 34)

However, within their structural readjustment programme in the wake of the Asian banking crisis, the IMF’s support for decentralisation was initially only implicit in nature (Barr et al, 2006, 10).

As a result of these pressures initial decentralisation was hastily undertaken in the wake of breakdown of the Suharto regime and the country was ill-prepared for such rapid change. The urgency was due to high levels discontent that caused fears about the break-up of country (Vickers, 2005, 221, Mokhsen, 2003, 10) and the idea of federalism was rejected due to its association with the colonial period (Vickers, 2005, 221).

Other writers have framed the demand for decentralisation much more in the context of resource management. Barr et al, believed that:

Indonesia’s decentralization process was largely driven by demands for greater regional autonomy on the part of provincial and district governments whose jurisdictions are rich in timber, petroleum, and other natural resources (2006, 10).

Furthermore, McLeod (2005, 375) believed that the terms of the decentralisation were aimed at buying favour with resource rich regions. These themes will be explored further, along with some of the details of the legislation in regard to natural resources, in the following section.

The focus of this initial legislation was on local government as it was feared that handing too much power to the provincial level of government may encourage the secessionist ambitions of regions such as Aceh; whereas decentralising power to the locality meant that no individual territory was significant enough to harbour such dreams (Ricklefs, 2001, 396).

The reforms have been characterised as being different from previous attempts at decentralisation as rather than simply transferring administrative power to lower levels they signified the transfer of political power (Mokhsen, 2003, 6). Both levels of government, the provincial and the local, were autonomous and the local executives, the Bupatis, were not subordinate or responsible to the provincial executives, the Gubernurs (Mokhsen, 2003, 6). Rather, they were responsible to their own local legislative body (Alm et al, 2001, 85). Many of the regions and localities were woefully unprepared for this rushed implementation and not only did they not have the capacity to handle many of their new responsibilities, confusion ruled as to the responsibilities of the provincial and local levels of government (Mokhsen, 2003, 10).

These reforms were seen as being too focussed on laying out the rights of the districts but had been remiss in detailing the district’s responsibilities, and from 2002 work began on a series of refinements to the legislation (Bünte, 2009, 111). After some political wrangling, in October 2004 Law 32/2004 was signed by President Megawati days before her term as president ended (Bünte, 2009, 111). Generally, the post 1999 reforms are not as well covered within the literature even over a decade later.

The two laws which were passed in 2004, numbers 32 and 33, did not augment their 1999 predecessors but rather replaced them (Schulte Nordholt and Van Klinken, 2007, 15) and drastically reshaped the nature of decentralisation in Indonesia; they were different ‘in both spirit and letter’ (Bünte, 2009, 111). Although they were presented as being to increase effectiveness and efficiency, they redefined the relationship between the different levels of government (Bünte, 2009, 112).

Laws 32 and 33 restructured government to refocus decentralisation on a hierarchical structure. The role of the Gubernur was changed to being directly elected, responsible to the central government, the provincial executive and the electorate and was now charged with the ‘guidance and supervision’ of the districts (Bünte, 2009, 112). These moves marked an increase in power for the Gubernur and the central government and a reduction in power for local government as well as the provincial legislature.

The Gubernur’s direct election meant that they could no longer be removed by the provincial executive. Furthermore, the election of Gubernurs was changed to being supervised by the regional electoral commission rather than the national election commission. This may appear to be a decentralising move, however, these regional electoral commissions were bound to carry out the rules laid out by the national government rather than an independent body. In reality, this change in electoral procedure strengthened the central governments control over the provincial government; overall, although the Gubernur’s position may be strengthened, they were also more reliant on central government (Schulte Nordholt and van Klinken, 2007, 15).

Through a system of legislation review, a strict hierarchy was implemented through this legislation. In reality, provincial legislation had to be reviewed by national bodies and should it be found to be in contradiction, it would be revoked. Likewise for laws made at the local level, they could effectively be vetoed by the provincial level of government. Overall, this hierarchy has been characterised as returning much power to the centre and as such is seen as something of a recentralisation. The changes marked a shift from viewing the provincial levels of government as being ‘autonomous regions’ to instead viewing them as being arms of the central government with Jakarta retaining the right to supervise and monitor them (Barr et al, 2006, 53).

There was a refinement of the 2004 laws in 2008 as a result of law 12/2008. Previous to a 2007 Constitutional court ruling, political parties held a monopoly on nominations. The court ruled that this monopoly was unconstitutional and that all citizens who were eligible should be able stand in sub- national executive elections. This ruling broke the control which political parties had held and allowed independent candidates to stand in these elections. The following year, law 12/2008 was passed in order to enact this change (Buehler, 2010, 271). This law change in reality had little impact on the overall structure of decentralisation, however it is noteworthy in terms of highlighting that decentralisation and democratisation is an ongoing process within Indonesia.

Even outside the restrictions which were corrected by the 2008 legislation, the democratic value of decentralisation in a wider sense within Indonesia has been called into question. McLeod puts forward the bold view that ‘With Suharto’s demise Indonesia gained democracy but lost effective government, the blame for which is generally centred on decentralisation’ (2005, 368). The noted writer of Indonesian history, Vedi Hadiz believes that there is no inherent link between decentralisation and democracy. Instead he believes that decentralisation is a norm propagated by neo-liberal institutions and that this has led to an appropriation of decentralisation by more localised authoritarian elements (Hadiz, 2004, 697-699). This is a view also echoed by Vickers who describes the earlier years of decentralisation as being dominated by local elites who simply followed the leadership example of their deposed former leader Suharto, with the early years of decentralisation being dominated by mini dictators (2005, 221). However, rather than being an underlying problem with decentralisation, this can instead be seen simply as being an inevitable initial teething problem with the system as a democratic culture was being developed, arguably for the first time, after such a long period of authoritarian rule.

### Decentralisation and natural resources

One of the key elements of the decentralisation process which will be highly relevant to this thesis is the relationship between decentralisation and natural resources. The relationship between revenue raising powers and political powers is key to the functioning of decentralised government. Decentralised government is heavily subsidised by the central government and Alm et al (2001, 89) identify the balance between provincial and local expenditure and its ‘cost’ as problematic; the fact that the public do not see the ‘cost’ of expenditure in the form of localised taxation etc., impacts the way in which they perceive local government expenditure. Decentralised government is not able to raise its own taxation and therefore the local population do not see the ‘cost’ of policies; furthermore, localised power does not involve the question of cost but rather how resources are allocated (Alm et al, 88).

Although the decentralised governments do not have tax raising powers, they do receive significant revenue from the exploitation of natural resources. The sources of income for the decentralised governments are shown in table 7 below.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Revenue area | Percentage |
| National budget (article 7) | 25% (22.5% for regencies, 2.5 for provinces) |
| Special grant for priority areas (Inc. education etc.) | Not fixed but requires matching funds from the province. |
| Land Building Tax | 90% |
| Forestry, Mining and Fishery | 80% |
| Oil (from local revenue of nationalised oil company) | 15% (after tax) |
| Funds for reforestation | 40% of national budget for reforestation. |

(Source: Mokhsen, 2003, 9)

Table 7- Revenue received by decentralised government laid out in law 104/2000

What this decentralisation legislation shows is that while the decentralised governments do receive support from the national government, they are incentivised to exploit natural resources in order to increase their revenues. This incentivisation is shown by the high level of ‘Land Building Tax’ and ‘Forestry, Mining and Fishery’, 90% and 80% respectively, which are retailed by the decentralised government. Therefore, this gives them an incentive to authorise ‘Land Building’ and ‘Forestry, Mining and Fishery’ in order to boost their own income. Furthermore, in the initial decentralisation legislation, there was significant confusion as to who was in charge of natural resources. Within the decentralisation legislation 104/2000, article 7 gave the national government the power ‘exploit strategic natural resources’, however, article 8 then empowers regions to manage national natural resources (Mokhsen 2003, 7). This led to significant confusion between the levels of government because there was no clarification of the term ‘strategic’. This set up of rewarding natural resource exploitation combined with the confusion as to where the authority lay facilitated a hunger for cash which drove resource exploitation most notably through logging in Kalimantan (Mokhsen, 2003, 15).

The specifics of the way in which administration was organised at the local level further complicated forestry matters. Siswanto and Wardojo believe that in the context of forestry, decentralisation was seen by some local governments as freedom to do as they want (2005, 143). This was not helped by the local structure of government being based on a five year period of office. This short term in office demanded instant results to generate revenue for the locality and as a result the forest was perceived as a cash generator for the locality (Siswanto and Wardojo, 2005, 142). Although such a term length is common throughout democracies, in terms of natural resource use the existing legislative structure means that they have the freedom to pursue unsustainable policies and five year terms and demands for instant returns for the population put pressure on them to do so. A large number of forestry permits were initially issued and plans for development for the areas were made based on the presumed revenue that they would bring (Barr et al, 2006, 2).

Overall, what has been shown in this section is the progression and regression of decentralisation over the last century within Indonesia. What is important to note it that this has not been a constant process and instead there has been an ebb and flow. The current state of decentralisation has seen an increase in localised political power rather than simple administrative power.

What we can also see from the current decentralisation is that questions of deforestation and decentralisation are intrinsically linked. Lower levels of government operate in a system which hands them a high level of control of deforestation regarding the issuing of permits and at the same time incentivises them to use this power in a non-sustainable manner. This system is of specific relevance to this thesis as this transfer of interests into structural reality has a significant impact on the overall conservation landscape and the way in which global norms progress ‘all the way down’.

## Chapter conclusion

This chapter has highlighted a number of salient factors within Indonesian history, which are relevant for understanding the current ecological framework for the case studies within Indonesia. There are two key factors which emerge from the different periods throughout this chapter. This is in addition to the overall understanding of the origins and influences on Indonesian conservation and environmental policy.

The first key factor is the multiplicity of actors and the various levels at which they operate. This is relevant to this thesis as it shows the historical complexities which still exist in modern Indonesia and shape the implementation of conservation policy. It is by examining the evolution of policy constellations in detail that a deep understanding of national conservation practices is developed. This chapter has demonstrated that such an approach is necessary in relation to the three periods covered, which were namely Pre Indonesian independence/Colonial Rule, End of colonialism/ New Independence, and the New Order eras. Through the following chapters, these shifting networks that have shaped conservation practices through the contemporary period will be explored.

Each of the examined periods has contained to a greater or lesser extent actors which operate at the local, national, regional, international and/or global levels. These actors have influenced the way in which policies relating to the environment have been shaped. Both the Colonial period and the Suharto period have been shown to be particularly sensitive to changes at a higher level. Many of the specific examples examined have demonstrated how Indonesia has reacted to various global norms.

The second key factor which has emerged is the link between Suharto’s power base and environmental degradation. Suharto’s power was based on economic success which came at the cost of environmental damage. This structure had a significant impact on the Indonesian environment and began trends which continue within contemporary times.

This chapter provides important relevant historic context that will contribute to answering three of the research questions set out for this thesis, namely:

**1) Through what processes have global conservation norms influenced Indonesian conservation practices?**

**2) How have national and local conditions shaped the ‘downloading’ of global conservation norms?**

**3) Who are the core actors involved in the conservation of charismatic megafauna in Indonesia, and what are the dominant understandings of the appropriate means and ends of conservation practices?**

This chapter is especially relevant to questions one and two, by providing a historical context which helps to build understanding of modern practices. Many of the actors identified within this chapter as being historically significant remain in the modern context and will feed directly into the first part of question three. However, given that the events detailed in this chapter are spread over the course of several centuries, it is difficult to grasp a detailed understanding of the ‘means and ends’, which are detailed in the second half of the question.

Overall, this chapter provides the understanding of the historical context which is essential for understanding the following three case study chapters. Without the sufficient understanding and knowledge of the history of Indonesia and decentralisation then it is not possible to engage with and understand the multiscalar complexities which are important within the analysis of the national level policies in chapter four and the two case studies in chapter five and six.

# Chapter 4- Indonesia’s National Conservation Policy Formation and Global norms



## Introduction

This chapter explores the intersection of global norms and national-level conservation practice. The key elements of this relationship are captured in Figure D, which highlights three areas of central government as playing a particularly prominent role. These three key areas are in forestry, environment and agriculture.

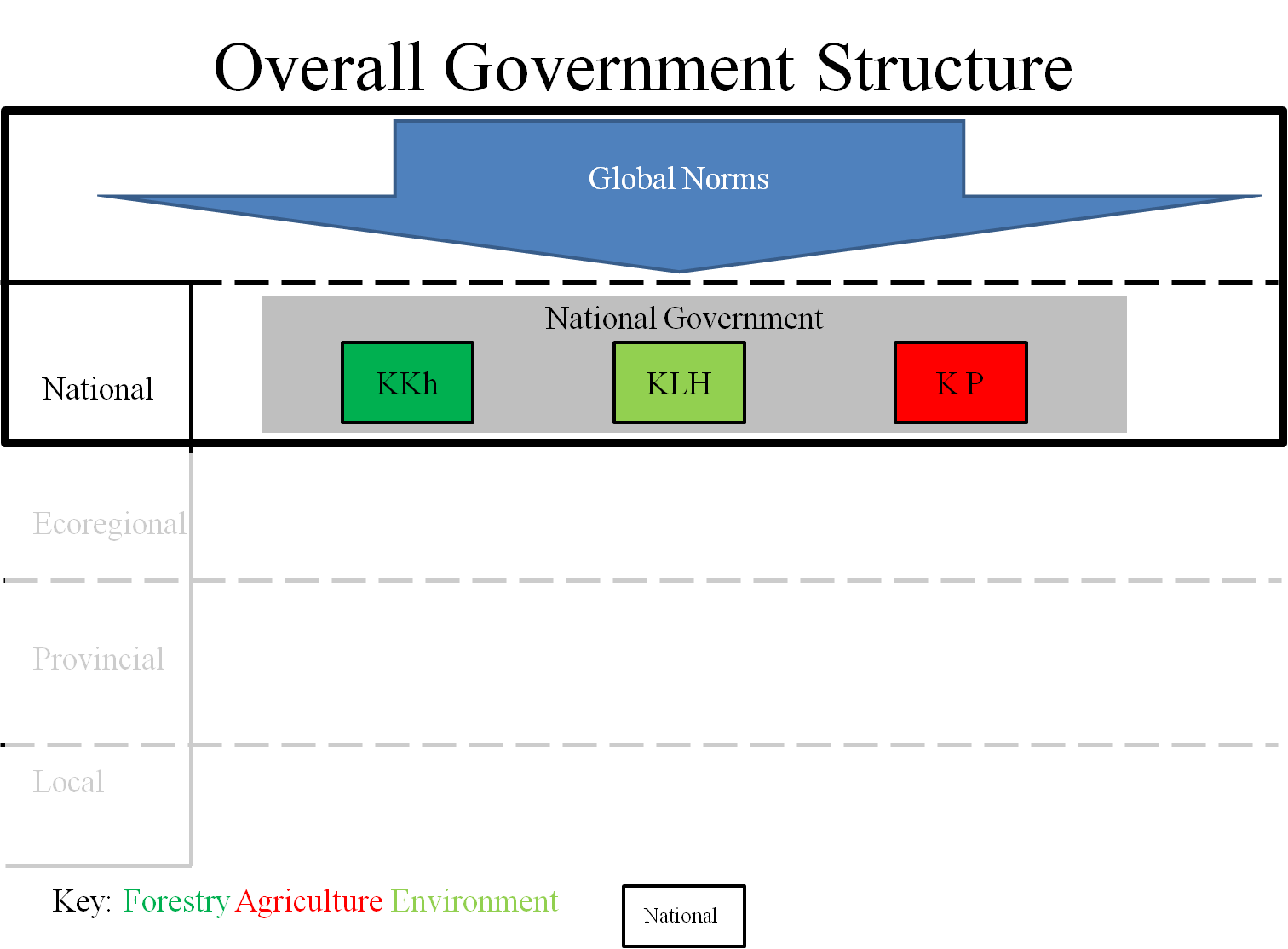


Figure D-National level government

In order to understand the specific conservation scenarios for both Komodo dragons and orangutans, it is important to fully understand how the national government interacts with international bodies and as a result formulates policy. This chapter will lay out the way in which the national government has responded to and adopted global norms, shaping them into national policy. It will focus on four key pieces of legislation and how they have influenced national policy. It will also outline how three different departments operate at the national level in terms of conservation.

Through understanding how Indonesia has interacted with global norms and formed national policy, it sets a context for how conservation has been implemented at the sub-national levels of government beneath it. The dual purpose of this chapter is in understanding how the national level of government has interacted with the global level but also in understanding the role different departments play in making and applying conservation policy within Indonesia. It is important to understand the role of these three departments and how they set precedence for the levels below.

To reflect these aims, the chapter will be divided into three main sections. The first of these sections outlines Indonesia’s perception of itself as being a ‘norm setter’ within the region. The second section, International Influences, details the four key policy nodes which represent the most significant influences from a global level- essentially those bodies, conventions and treaties which can be said to embody global norms. These documents have been selected through a thorough literature review and through interview data. The section’s aim is to understand what influences, if any, are ‘downloaded’ into Indonesia at the highest level as well as how they are ‘downloaded’. There are many different manifestations of international influence; here, the focus is on those that have gained a degree of traction in national frameworks. There is therefore a degree of selection bias, but this allows us to see how even in these positive cases problems in translating ideas ‘all the way down’ still persist.

The third main section will investigate the way in which the Indonesian government operates in relation to conservation. This section will be divided into four subsections each focusing on separate departments. Each subsection will detail how these departments operate and the influences they have from above. This will provide a basis to investigate if there is any transference to, or interpretation, adaption or ignoring of these ideas by the levels below.

This chapter draws heavily on interview data gathered through fieldwork undertaken in summer 2013. This data has been used to give a practical and detailed profile of these departments in order to supplement the information taken from policy documents. In total, twenty one interviews were undertaken. At the national level, these interviews involved individuals from both the Department of the Environment (Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup) and the Department of Forestry (Kementerian Kehutanan). It had been planned to interview individuals connected with the Department of Agriculture (Kementerian Pertanian), but it transpired through the fieldwork that this organisation considered itself to be excluded from conservation practices in Indonesia. This is itself noteworthy and will be explained further in section 4.4.4.

## Indonesia’s self-perception

Before investigating the influences that international bodies have had on Indonesian policy, it is worth considering the Indonesian government’s self-perception of role within the international community, especially in relation to the rest of the region. This self-perception as a regional leader is accompanied by a relative openness to external engagement: as was shown through the literature of Katzenstein (1996), the power of self-identification is important with regard to constitutive and regulative norms; the position within the international community in which a state sees itself can affect how they adopt or fail to adopt norms. Although understanding this self-perception is a difficult task, there has been a significant speech by the previous president which is of interest.

On the 5th November 2012, the then President of Indonesia, H.E. Dr Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono delivered a speech titled ‘Indonesia’s role as regional and global actor’ at Wilton Park (an executive agency of the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office). This speech contained particularly interesting policy shaping principles which are especially relevant to this study[[10]](#footnote-10). Although not an actual policy as such, it does demonstrate the way in which Indonesia sees itself within the region.

The overall perception that Indonesia has of itself, is as a ‘norm setter’. Although this is in reference more to foreign policy, it is still relevant to this study. President Yudhoyono said:

Indonesia believes that this [international] order [based on cooperation] will be peaceful, stable and sustainable if it is built upon a set of norms and principles. This is why norms setting is one of the critical parts of our foreign policy. This is why we attach particular importance to our role as a NORM SETTER. In the context of South China Sea, for example, there must be a set of norms that would guide regional countries in their conduct, in relations with the overlapping territorial claims. (Yudhoyono, 02/11/12, emphasis in original).

Furthermore, within the same speech he discusses at length Indonesia’s role as a prominent member of ASEAN. As mentioned, although not directly connected to the environment or conservation, it is highly relevant that the head of state would chose to position the country as being a norm setter. Furthermore, if one takes ‘foreign policy’ in a broad sense to be the way in which Indonesia interacts with the wider world then it would include environmental elements.

It shows that at the highest levels of national government, there is a clear perception that they wish to be involved in the international community in two ways: as a country that can be regarded as a ‘good neighbour’ in international society whilst also being one of the countries which shapes the norms. To translate this into simpler terms: Indonesia’s president wanted the country to be a ‘team player’ whilst also being a ‘team captain’ in the region. This self-perception is interesting in the context of Katzenstein’s framework outlined in Chapter 2 because it does not fit particularly well into either of Katzenstein’s constitutive and regulative norms. It highlights the idea of global versus regional norms. It puts Indonesia in the position of almost being constitutive in its attitude to global norms: wanting to adopt certain ideas in order to fit into, and gain an identity as a good member of, the international community. But further than this, it actually wants to be an advocate for these norms to the rest of the region.

There is no detail as to the areas in which this self-perception applies; however, it seems to be an overall perception of the country’s place in the international community. It implies, in theory at least, that Indonesia would want to be highly responsive to prevailing norms at the global level, although, to which norms is a matter for debate.

## International Influences

### Introduction

In the realm of conservation policy, there are four key policy nodes around which interaction between global actors/ processes and the national level of the Indonesian political constellation have coalesced. There are a great many influences on any country’s policies and therefore the focus has remained on the more tangible interactions between the Indonesian law makers and the international community. These four nodes were selected on the basis of an exhaustive review of official documentation, and content of data gathered through interviews with relevant actors. The four nodes that are addressed in this section are ‘BAPI-Biodiversity Action Plan for Indonesia’, ‘IBSAP- Indonesian Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan’, ‘Indonesia’s Four Pillars of Development- World Bank’ and ‘Integrated Protected Areas (IPAs)/Integrated Conservation and Development Program (ICDP)/Biosphere Reservations’.

### BAPI- Biodiversity Action Plan for Indonesia

The Biodiversity Action Plan for Indonesia was produced in 1993 by the government office of BAPPENAS (National Development Planning Agency) as

a strategic step of the Indonesian government prior to the ratification of the UN Convention on Biodiversity (CBD)’ and that ‘It was hoped that BAPI 1993 would be used as a reference to set priorities and investment in biodiversity conservation (IBSAP, 2003, 1).

This document is not directly relevant to this study but is important for context to understand the overall aim of the document, how it was formulated and funded, and how it was implemented.

BAPI had a threefold aim: to reduce habitat degradation, to improve biodiversity data collection and to encourage more environmentally friendly and sustainable natural resource use - one of the document’s purposes was to bring Indonesia into line with the CBD (IBSAP, 2003, 2). It is notable that this appears to be an attempt to fall into line with other elements of the international community within conservation and is very much in line with the prevailing global norms. It was not, however, well executed in its formation and implementation.

The work had a seemingly collaborative nature involving many different parties, which are shown in Figure E below:

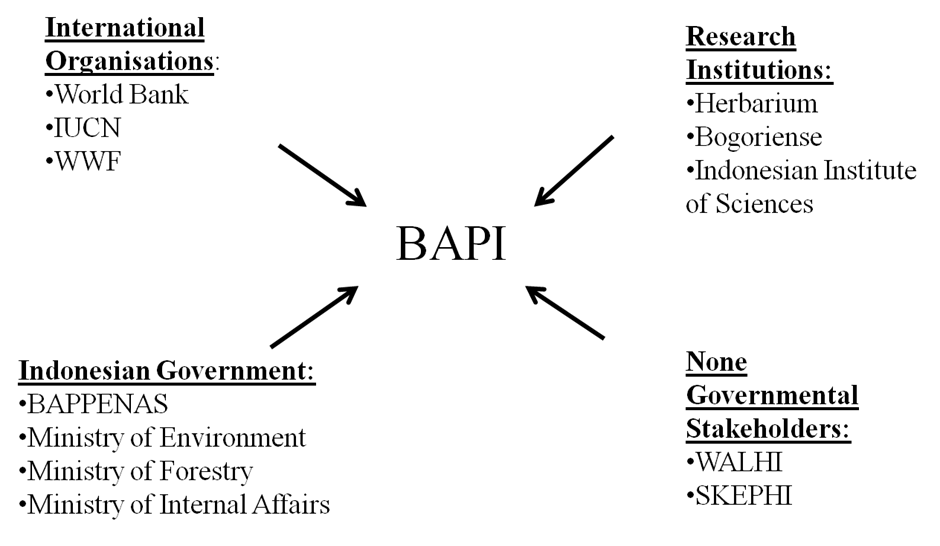


Figure E- BAPI inputs

What the above diagram shows is that BAPI was influenced by international organisations whilst also taking on a broad range of opinions from within the country[[11]](#footnote-11). However, it is criticised for being top down in its formulation process and failing to get ‘on the ground buy in’ from within the country; a problem not helped by very poor implementation, which included only being published in English (IBSAP, 2003, 2). Further information as to why BAPI was only published in English isn’t available. Although it is entirely speculative, it raises the question as to whether the Indonesian government was only interested in giving the appearance of compliance with the prevailing norms. The government may have wanted to conform to expectations; however, it lacked the interest or conviction to follow it through.

Very little has been written about the BAPI beyond what is available within IBSAP, where it outlines BAPI to explain the context in which IBSAP was itself created. Furthermore, generally there is little detail as to how the policy was funded. It was written whilst the highly centralised dictatorship of the ‘New Order’ regime was still in place. What appears to have happened based on the available data is that the leadership wanted to be perceived to be ‘responsible members’ of the international community, so formulated a plan to bring them into line with prevailing norms. This interpretation is consistent with the speculative idea about why that it was only published in English. The implementation, however, was lacking (IBSAP, 2003, 2) and it would appear there was a disconnect between the national level and the ‘on the ground’ reality.

The issues which were seen as part of BAPI also provide an excellent historical reinforcement for this thesis. As has been outlined in previous chapters, the aim of this thesis is to understand the connections, or disconnections, between global norms and local policy. BAPI shows historically there has been a significant disconnect and ‘lip service’ behaviour. As mentioned in chapter 2 (section 2.3.3.) scholars such as Epstein (2006) would argue that it is sufficient that the state is talking about conservation. This clear failing to put into place tangible legislation and action is important. Despite its failings, BAPI did give an overall structure whereby other activities and ideas could be brought into Indonesia. It established a basic structure which created space for other policies to be implemented. An example of the way in which other policies utilised this space is the ICDP which is be described in section 4.3.5, was able take advantage of some of the existing structures which were part of BAPI (IBSAP, 2003, 3).

Overall, it would appear that as regards tangible and measurable change, BAPI made very little impact on conservation within Indonesia; it does not seem to have left any legislative impression and was rarely mentioned during interviews. BAPI appears to lack any sort of integration into policy and was effectively a paper exercise to satisfy the international community. This meant that at the turn of the century, Indonesia did not have any coordinated strategy or policy for dealing with conservation.

### IBSAP- Indonesian Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan

Ten years after the formulation of BAPI in the post ‘New Order’ Indonesia, the Indonesian Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (IBSAP) was developed. This document is of prime importance to this study and serves to show a link between the international community and Indonesian policy. IBSAP served as a replacement for the largely defunct and ineffective BAPI in line with Indonesia’s new period of ‘reformasi’ in recovering from the ‘New Order’ era. The IBSAP was supported through grants from the Global Environmental Facility (GEF). The GEF is the body which acts as the financial mechanism for various international agreements including, significantly in this case, the CBD (GEF, 2015). Essentially, by being part of the convention, Indonesia was supported financially in order to produce a policy document to help with its implementation. Hopefully, international support for this activity would help to avoid the pitfalls of the BAPI. IBSAP’s own formulation diagram is shown below in Figure F.

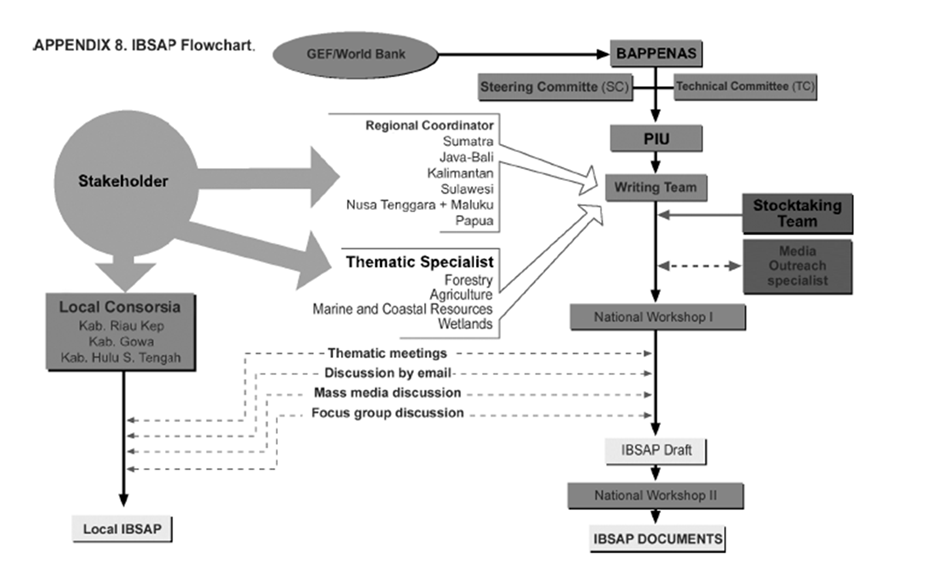


Figure F- IBSAP formulation flow chart taken from IBSAP (2003) Appendix 8

In relation to the ‘downloading’ of global norms into national policy, receiving such funding is highly relevant. This financial backing and expertise demonstrates the relationship between the national and international level. Funding allows for the aims of the convention to be rooted in the country and avoids the convention being neglected or delayed due to a lack of financial resources. The necessity for a document such as IBSAP is clearly laid out in the obligations of the CBD.

The overarching aim of IBSAP is to create national policy and implement the outputs of international conventions. Furthermore, it explicitly aims to act as an umbrella for the great multitude of legislation that has been enacted by different departments, which often duplicate or contradict each other. An example is that at around the same time that BAPPENAS published BAPI, the Ministry for the Environment published the Strategy for Biodiversity Management, resulting in two documents that overlapped and contradicted one another as they were not co-ordinated (IBSAP, 2003, 49). The creation and enactment of IBSAP was effectively an admission that previous attempts to integrate international conventions and norms - as well as BAPI - had failed and it attempted to rectify this by encompassing their principles within a new strategy.

Several key pieces of legislation are cited, which will be described here. Two key pieces of legislation are CITES (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species), which was enacted through presidential decree number 43/1978, and RAMSAR (Convention on Wetlands of International Importance), which was enacted through presidential decree number 48/1991. Both of these conventions were high profile international agreements and were thus officially ratified, but neither was fully adopted - specifically, the management principles (IBSAP, 2003, 49).

These two pieces of legislation are, once again, examples of international agreements being formally accepted although not implemented within Indonesia. The IBSAP document itself acknowledges that this is because of poor planning and implementation at the national level and had they been properly implemented they would most likely have offered sufficient protection for the country’s biodiversity (IBSAP, 2003, 49).

A further example would be the Ministry of the Environment’s use of Agenda 21 from the 1992 Earth summit in Rio. As part of a review of the policy after 10 years it was revealed that a wide variety of stakeholders were not aware of its existence, including NGOs, government offices and local communities. IBSAP states that the National Agenda 21 ‘was never adopted in the planning and implementation of national development or sectoral activities’ (IBSAP, 2003, 50).

Therefore IBSAP covers a very wide variety of different international conventions and, in turn, norms. It is something of an all-encompassing document designed to aid the implementation of a large number of conventions over a forty year period.

### Indonesia’s Four Pillars of Development- World Bank

One of the key bodies shaping global norms is that of the World Bank and at the end of 2012, the ‘Country Partnership Strategy for Indonesia’ was approved by the World Bank group. It is intended to govern the World Bank group’s Indonesia program in the country for the fiscal years 2013 to 2015. The programme was developed with various stakeholders. It is especially relevant to this study as it contains details of what President Yudhoyono referred to when he stated ‘We pursue a comprehensive development strategy that is founded on Four Pillars: pro-growth, pro-poor, pro-job and pro-environment’ (Yudhoyono, 02/11/12). These ‘Four Pillars’ appear to be a new policy invention with no significant previous history as a group. These ‘Four Pillars’ were directly cited by the Department of the Environment when discussing how their policies fit into the national overarching strategy. However, on closer examination the associated documentation raises interesting questions relevant to this study.

On the surface, the inclusion of ‘Pro-environment’ (which is also referred to as ‘for the environment’ or ‘Pro-green’/ ‘For green’ on occasions due to translational issues) into a development strategy, is a very positive step for Indonesia. It shows an awareness at the highest levels of government of the importance of environmental protection within Indonesia as well as showing a mainstreaming of environmental norms at a national level. The Four Pillars represent concepts which are dominant norms within international society and would be seen as being universally ‘good’ and indisputable; for example, it would be extremely rare for anyone to be anti-poor or anti-growth. The inclusion of the environment on this list therefore can be seen as being something of a triumph and an advancement by Indonesia. This is certainly the manner in which it was seen by the Department of the Environment according to the fieldwork interview data. However, there are some inconsistencies when one starts to investigate the exact connections between the World Bank documentation and the Indonesian policy.

Within the World Bank’s ‘Country Partnership Strategy for Indonesia’ it states:

The CPS [Country Partnership Strategy] is aligned with the country’s [Indonesia’s] Master Plan for ‘Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia’s Economic Development 2011-2025’, which seeks to accelerate development through a pro-growth, pro-jobs, pro-poor and pro-green strategy (CPS, 2012, 1).

This therefore could be viewed as a good example of norm transmission/interaction; the planning of the World Bank, a dominant norm setter on the international stage, developed with the country itself, is aligned with the national strategy of the country. Essentially, it would appear that Indonesia at a national level is mirroring the ideals set by a major international body. However, on closer inspection, this view does not appear to be wholly accurate.

The Indonesian government’s ‘Masterplan for Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia Economic Development’ was published May 2011 and is a 212 page explanation of how the country will move forward and develop itself. Within the document, it makes no more than a passing reference to the environment[[12]](#footnote-12) and does not explicitly, or indeed implicitly, contain or describe a ‘pro-green’ strategy at all.

The lack of this ‘pro-green’/ ‘for the environment’ component within the ‘Master Plan’ does raise interesting questions. There may be the possibility that it is simply an oversight on the part of a member of staff preparing the World Bank report. However, even in isolation the lack of an environmental concern and consideration within the ‘Master Plan’ is glaring. One would expect that even discounting the specific link made by the World Bank report, that a national strategy document prepared around the same time would include some significant coverage of environmental issues if it was in fact a serious and embedded concern for the government.

This oversight, leaves reasonable room for conjecture that national policy may not be as connected to or concerned with environmental issues as it appears within the World Bank report. What currently appears to exist is a disconnect between the desired level which may be aspired to and the practical plans which are in place. Although the national document is not designed as a conservation document, the World Bank specifically cites it as containing a ‘Green’ Agenda. Furthermore, although this assertion is speculative, it might also be reasonable to believe that the World Bank included this ‘Green Agenda’ as it is a global norm and therefore it would be counter cultural not to reference it despite their being no factual basis for including it.

Although the ‘pro-green’/ ‘for the environment’ element of the Four Pillars is in some senses a sign of progress for Indonesia, in that it is recognised as being something which the country should aspire to in order to fit in with the global norm, it may be misleading. This discrepancy does raise the possibility of a more deep rooted inconsistency. The inclusion of the ‘pro-green’/‘for the environment’ element may be part of a larger process and ‘getting it onto the agenda’ and thus can be considered progress, however, it does not seem to be formalised into policy making. This inclusion once again highlights Epstein’s position whereby talking about conservation and environmental issues is sufficient. As was highlighted in section 2.3.3., Epstein (2006) asserted that as long as states are talking about conservation and environmental issues then it is affecting their position and therefore a norm can be considered to be established.

Despite this discrepancy, it does not mean that the ‘pro-green/for the environment’ pillar’s presence might not affect policy. As previously mentioned, the Department for the Environment did directly refer to its presence and therefore it may be that this pillar is influencing policy in other departments and policy makers. However, the impact of this specific policy is very difficult to quantify and measure.

### Integrated Protected Areas (IPAs)/ Integrated Conservation and Development Program (ICDP)/ Biosphere Reservations

IBSAP cites three programmes that were major influences on the existence of conservation areas within Indonesia: the ‘Integrated Protected Areas’ (IPAs) programme; the ‘Integrated Conservation and Development Program’ (ICDP) and Biosphere Reservations. These were funded by the Asian Development Bank loans, the World Bank and UNESCO respectively. This section will briefly look at each of these.

Through funding mechanisms such as these three programmes, agendas within a country can be set by international and regional organisations which help to establish norms in a country. As such, organisations such as the World Bank are often seen as key bodies in setting global trends (Park, 2005). The presence of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) is notable as, although its membership is not exclusively from Asia, it could be considered to be a ‘regional’ body given that the majority of its membership is drawn from the Asian-Pacific area. Its loans in order to establish IPAs therefore are notable as a regional to national transfer of norms.

The precise details of these loans are not currently available despite requests being made to the ADB. However, it is worth noting that as well as furthering its own agenda, the ADB can also be used as an executing agency for the GEF (Mulongoy and Chape 2004, 13). As such, these loans could represent either the financial embodiment of regional norms informed by global norms (loans originating from the ABD) or alternatively global norms being embodied into finance and passed to the regional level to be administered at the national level (operating as an executing body). However, whichever of these two possibilities is true, the presence of the ADB loans is notable. Although funding by the ADB is mentioned within IBSAP, integrated protected areas are relatively poorly covered in the literature and interview data which would indicate they did not make a lasting impression. Furthermore, although the concept of regional norms is of great interest, the sheer scale of trying to measure norms across different ASEAN countries means that it is outside the scope of this thesis to cover in greater detail.

The Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs) represent an approach which is much more substantially covered. The aim of the projects is ‘linking biodiversity conservation in protected areas (PAs) with local social and economic development.’ (Wells et al, 1999, 1). This is certainly a laudable aim and very much falls into the narrative of ‘sustainable development’. Funding was provided to Indonesia from the World Bank in a number of guises in order to support such aims and programmes throughout the 1990s. It can be seen as more of a principle rather than a coherent set of policies and the World Bank provided funding to Indonesia with the aim of promoting ICDPs in mind (Wells et al, 1999, 2). This can be clearly identified as a norm in its attempts to marry development with conservation which was transferred from the global level down to national level through the mechanism of World Bank funding.

The success of the ICDPs in Indonesia is evaluated by Wells et al (1999) and was published by the World Bank and it is quite scathing in its criticism of the programme’s success in Indonesia. The authors believe that ‘Very few ICDPs in Indonesia can realistically claim that biodiversity conservation has been or is likely to be significantly enhanced as a result of current or planned project activities’ and that ‘most of the attempts to enhance biodiversity conservation in Indonesia through ICDPs are unconvincing and unlikely to be successful under current conditions’ (Wells et al, 1999, 3).

The projects overall, therefore, were hardly successful in the view of the World Bank and the report cites several structural issues within the country as explaining this lack of success. Overall, the report is notable in that it gives the impression that the funds from the World Bank and others were available- ‘Establishing ICDPs that actually work has proven to be rather more challenging than marketing the concept and raising funds.’ (Wells et al, 1999, 1)- so the real issue determining whether the projects were successful was rather in the internal structural issues in the country.

This example is notable as it demonstrates that Indonesia had not managed to embrace certain conservation norms in the 1990s despite the efforts of international bodies. It is further worth noting that the particular period which the World Bank report focussed on was the end of the New Order era. It may be unsurprising, therefore, that the projects were not particularly well implemented. However, it provides an interesting contrast to the issues facing the decentralised and democratic Indonesia of today, which is the focus of this thesis.

### Conclusion

This section has outlined some of the key pieces of national and international legislation which have shaped conservation policy at the national level in Indonesia. It has sought to show the interactions between national levels of policy and their interaction with domestic structures. Within these policies we can see that various ideas from the international community have been backed with funding from the international community. However, it has also been shown that despite the fact that there are often genuine attempts to instigate advancement in conservation, many of these policies were problematic in terms of being enacted into domestic policy.

## National Level of Government

### Introduction

Through recent decades a number of internationally-led initiatives have tried and largely failed to improve conservation practices in Indonesia. In order to explore the difficulties of translating international norms into national practices, the sections below explore the national-level institutional constellation.

The aim of this section is to outline the way in which the national levels of three government departments operate in relation to conservation within Indonesia. These departments are important in shaping how national policy is established; they should be acting as a link between the international community and lower levels of government. This section will detail the specific tasks of each of these departments and what their work entails. These departments are critical to the thesis as the two case studies are within different regions, so this is the lowest level of government which each of them shares. Below this level of government, they are subject to separate provincial and local levels of government. Consequently, it is important to fully understand their role so that the differences which can be identified at the provincial and local levels can be understood in this context.

### Department of the Environment (Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup)[[13]](#footnote-13)

The Department of the Environment occupies an interesting position with regard to conservation within Indonesia both vertically (i.e. interacting with various different levels both above and below) as well as horizontally (i.e. with different governmental departments).

#### Overall Functions

There are three principal functions of the Ministry of the Environment which will each be analysed in turn. The first is that the department acts as ‘the secretariat at functions’; that is to say that at the global level, the department represents Indonesia at meetings related to the environment, including those held by the UN on environmental topics such as climate change and biodiversity. The department therefore acts to bring Indonesia’s interests to conversations at the global level where norm shaping policies and conventions are agreed. This is shown by the fact that they have sent representatives to meetings such as the Rio convention. This role means that the department has the opportunity to be ‘plugged in’ to the global level of environmental norms and within that, the conservation norm.

Acting as Indonesia’s representative makes the department a key ‘gatekeeper’ of norm transmission. It establishes the department as being responsible for the transmission of norms from the global level; in reality, a key ‘download’ point. This should allow the department to be informed of norms and be able to help to shape the policies and practices of the national government in line with the prevailing international views. Furthermore, it allows the department to act as an ‘upward’ connection, conveying Indonesian ideals to the regional and global level. In relation to section 4.2, this would make the Department of the Environment critical in Indonesia’s self-perceived role as a ‘norm setter’ in the area of environmental, and specifically conservation, policy.

The second key function is that it is the designated department for acting as advocate for these policies and therefore, in turn, norms, at a national level. This element of the department’s role is to be the contact body regarding these policies within Indonesia. This role requires them to influence and shape policy at a national level so as to bring it in line with the international policies and norms laid out by various conventions to which Indonesia is a signatory. As it is closely linked with the previous function, this should aid in smooth norm transition in that the department is directly responsible for implementing various policies at a national level. However, there are a number of structural restrictions on the effectiveness of this function, which will be explored throughout this subsection.

The most relevant of the conventions and international agreements for which the Ministry of the Environment is responsible is the implementation of ‘Agenda 21’, a product of the Rio Convention. The Ministry of the Environment is responsible the development and updating of the IBSAP (see 4.3.3) with support from the Ministry of Forestry and LIPI (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia- Indonesian Institute of Sciences). In addition to its implementation, in line with the first responsibility of the Ministry of the Environment, it is also responsible for gathering data and reporting back to various international bodies.

The third main responsibility of the Ministry of the Environment is to co-ordinate other ministries at all levels on issues regarding the environment. In certain scenarios which affect the environment directly, such as the 2013 fires in Kalimantan that destroyed habitat and killed wildlife, the Ministry of the Environment is charged by the national government with taking the lead and co-ordinating the various departments’ reactions across the different levels of government. It was not clear from the interview data, however, what exact form this co-ordination took. The co-ordination was presented in a very vague manner despite attempts to seek clarification. This would appear to be an all-encompassing role which indicates significant involvement in the process but does not entail any particular responsibility. Although it is speculative, the mentioning of this role may be in order to inflate the department’s importance.

So, overall, the department’s policy functions can be characterised as being both ‘external’ in that it represents Indonesia at major conventions and decision making forums at a global level, and ‘internal’ in that it responsible for implementing those conventions and agreements within the country. As previously mentioned, this makes the Department of the Environment a key ‘gatekeeper’ of norms transmission. In addition to its policy functions, the department also has a reactionary role in co-ordinating responses to immediate crises. This is particularly important as, in theory, this allows it to indirectly promote environmental norms through its handling of disasters.

#### Biodiversity but not conservation

It is important to note what key function the Ministry of the Environment is not responsible for: conservation. The Ministry of the Environment is responsible for overall national policy on environmental issues and this includes a number of different areas including air quality/pollution, water quality/pollution and most relevantly for this thesis, biodiversity. However, although they are responsible for the overall concept of biodiversity and ensuring that Indonesia does not lose any of its biodiversity, they are expressly not responsible for conservation in Indonesia, because this function lies within the remit of the Ministry of Forestry (Kementerian Kehutanan).

As was shown in chapter 3 and will be further explored in chapter 6, this division is due to historical factors. In chapter 3 it was noted that the idea of conservation is a long standing one in Indonesia, albeit largely connected to ensuring that hunting stocks were maintained (see section 3.2.2.2). Over time this developed into the forestry service which became part of Department of Forestry (see sections 3.2.2.3 and 3.2.3.3.). All of this predated the Department of the Environment, which was formed much later (see section 6.2.1.3). As a result, the Department of Forestry remains responsible for conservation.

This horizontal division of responsibility for biodiversity and conservation between the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of Forestry raises a number of questions which will be addressed later. The Ministry of the Environment is responsible for the overarching principle of biodiversity and providing an overall situation to prevent biodiversity loss largely in terms of environmental protection policies. However, the actual ‘on the ground’ conservation work with specific protected species is the responsibility of the Ministry of Forestry. This division is somewhat confusing especially given the external and internal roles of the Ministry of the Environment described above.

The consequence of this division of responsibility is to create a situation in which the Ministry of the Environment is directly responsible for conservation, while the engagement of the Ministry of Forestry is more indirect. This nuance is presented in Figure G. This now reflects the fact that structural decisions are made between the global levels and the national ministries.

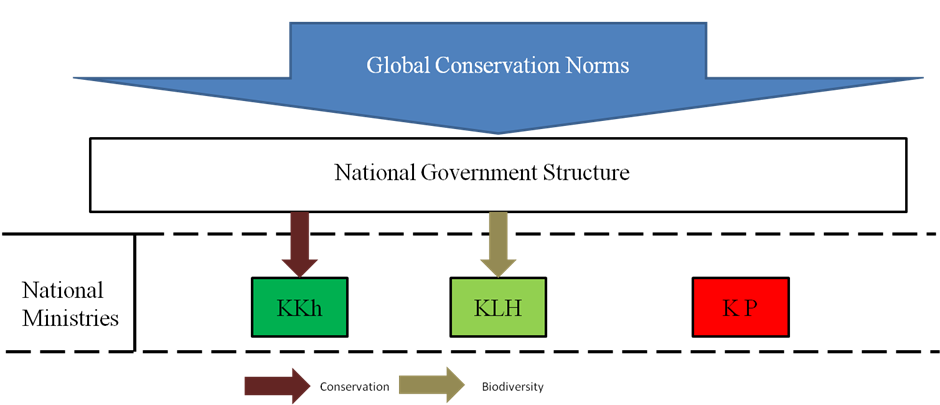


Figure G- National global norms division

This reflects the fact that the idea of a conservation norm is not a singular entity. Rather, the norm of conservation is in fact a number of different ideas working in conjunction. The national government, therefore, can be seen as being like a prism refracting light into its constituent parts of the spectrum. The prism of the national government organisation, therefore, splits the conservation norm/responsibility for this norm, into its constituent parts, two of which can be identified as ‘biodiversity’ and ‘conservation’. The complexities of this division will be returned to repeatedly throughout the chapter.

#### Policy Formation

The Department of the Environment is significant in its role of policy formation and shaping. Having received a policy direction in the form of international norms through a convention or similar body, the department is responsible for developing a way of implementing it within the country. This is part of the second function described above; however, the precise process will be outlined below.

When a convention such as the Rio convention is outlined, the national Ministry of the Environment undertakes to work with a range of groups. To do so, stakeholders from all levels- national, regional and local- are brought together in order to discuss its implementation and the possible outcomes and impacts. This is primarily done in order to ensure that there is universal ‘buy in’ and ownership from different groups. Through this consultation a national policy is developed at the national level in quite broad terms.

It is not clear within the process of consultation, however, what the definition of ‘stakeholders’ actually involves. Various groups such as governmental departments, NGOs and catch all terms such as ‘farmers’ are included within this category. However, there does not appear to be a systematic framework through which those consulted were selected; instead the general approach of ‘all the relevant parties’ is used. This is particularly important as the definition of ‘relevant parties’ is highly subjective. It can be particularly influential in shaping policy as the term ‘relevant’ can allow the government to shape which groups can be included and excluded according to the policy shapers’ needs. Furthermore, there is no specific guidance as to the level at which these groups operate or indeed which level the department is targeting. With regard to the challenge of trying to transmit ideas ‘all the way down’, the policy formation process is unclear as to whether the department is attempting to communicate with stakeholders at a local level, which would be difficult in terms of scale or at a higher level which also presents problems in such a widely diverse country.

Once this national policy is developed, the Ministry of the Environment creates ‘technical guidance’, which is the practical implementation guidelines in order to achieve the specifics of the national policy. Within these technical guidelines it includes detailed instructions as to the division of labour and ‘who does what’. In such a decentralised country, it is especially relevant for understanding at which level responsibility lies for various elements of environmental policy. In addition, regarding the horizontal attribution of responsibility, this also accounts for the vertical delegation of responsibility.

There are two different approaches which can be used for how this national policy and the technical guidance are then disseminated down from the national level. The first technique is to work through the Ministry of Environment’s six eco-regional offices. The exact role of these eco-regional offices will be described in greater depth in chapters 5 and 6, however, they are essentially nationally funded and controlled offices responsible for an eco-region. The relevant office for the Komodo region is based within Bali and is responsible for the regions of Nusa Tenggara Timor (NTT- East Nusa Tenggara region which is part of the lesser Sunda Islands, this stretches from Flores in the West to Sumba in the south and West Timor in the East), Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB- West Nusa Tenggara region which is also part of the lesser Sunda Islands and is principally made up of Mataram and Lombok) and Bali. For the area of East Kalimantan, this is part of the Kalimantan Eco-regional office based in Balikpapan.

Working through these eco-regional offices, the national office co-ordinates meetings with the relevant provincial and local offices to brief them on the new national policy and the technical guidance. These meetings take place once the policy and technical guidance have already been developed and are aimed at ensuring that the levels below the national office are fully aware of their obligations and responsibilities regarding any policy change.

Alternatively, the national office will occasionally bypass its own eco regional office and work directly with the provincial level. Sometimes it will bypass both its own eco regional office and the provincial office and work directly with local administration. Either working directly with provincial offices or the local offices, the method seems relatively similar in visiting the offices and gathering various stakeholders together and briefing them on the specific aims, roles and responsibilities of the new policy and technical guidance.

The significance of this approach is that for the transmission of ideas, the national Department of the Environment is able to connect directly with those ‘on the ground’; in theory at least, they can communicate the principles and ideas which they are involved with at the international directly to the local level. Consequently, it could mean that ideas are not diluted or subject to the pressures of local and regional government policies, at least in their delivery.

Despite these two varying methods of either using the Department of Environment’s own nationally funded office or indeed bypassing it to go direct to bodies at a different level, there did not appear to be a specific procedure of policy as to when each method would be used. Instead it was described by an interviewee from the Ministry of the Environment as being simply decided on a ‘case by case basis’ through selecting ‘whichever seems appropriate’. The difference in technique is interesting as if the central office dealt directly with the local office it could show a more coherent transmission of the ideals of the global norm as the ideas and principles are not being filtered through as many bodies. However, by directly interacting with the local level, the department misses opportunities to co-ordinate with other provincial policies which increases the risk of policy conflict. What can be taken from this finding is that there is no particularly coherent or fixed way of transferring legislation down from the national level, which may result in varying levels of success.

#### Departmental Co-ordination and co-operation

The Ministry of the Environment does not have any direct dealings or responsibility for the conservation of either the Komodo dragon or orangutan. However, to return to the theme of division of responsibility with the Ministry of Forestry, the Department of the Environment plays a very significant role within the legislative structure, which is in place for Komodo conservation. Horizontal co-ordination, which is one of the key roles of the Ministry of Environment, again is generally handled on a case by case basis. Should other national ministries need to be involved in policy making decisions they are brought in and their opinions sought at the consultation phase of legislation. Once again there is no clear framework for this and it can be problematic at times; although the interviewee did not want to divulge much he did say ‘Co-ordination is easy to stop, but difficult to get going’ and that there are often many issues within the drafting process.

Overall, however, it would appear that the existence of conflicting goals is generally not an issue. The reason, according to the interviewee, is due to the inclusive, consultative nature of policy formation within the department other stakeholders do not tend to act in a counterproductive manner. When developing policies to promote the biodiversity agenda, many different parties are involved so as to encourage wider ownership. This could involve difficult and extensive discussions with other departments, yet, it results in policies that, in theory, are less likely to be viewed as simply being imposed by the Ministry of the Environment but instead were more widely accepted amongst departments.

#### Four Key threats to policy implementation

Co-ordination is, therefore, not the principal problem for the Department of the Environment. The main problem appears to lie at the levels below the national level. Although getting agreement on policies can be difficult with many different factors at play, the principal problem was with the implementation of the policies. The interviewee outlined four heavily interconnected key areas which cause biodiversity to not be prioritised and therefore are a threat to the implementation of policies at both regional and local levels.

The first threat to successful implementation of biodiversity policies is that the regional and local governments are responsible for such a wide range of issues that biodiversity is rarely prioritised. Since decentralisation, these lower levels of government are responsible for having to administer policies which cover all areas of the population’s life (see section 3.4) and biodiversity is simply pushed down the agenda. Secondly, and connected to the first point, not only is biodiversity competing with other issues generally, this is especially true from a funding perspective. Provincial and local government offices receive only limited central funding with the majority of their finances being provided by the respective authorities (either the province or the local government). Without adequate backing and sufficient staff, it can be very difficult to successfully implement biodiversity policy.

The third issue is that according to the interviewee is that at a local and provincial level, there may be a lack of understanding of the value of biodiversity as well as not understanding the impacts which a reduction in biodiversity can have. This lack of understanding is often rooted in poor education and without this understanding of the negative impacts of a loss of biodiversity and its value, biodiversity is not prioritised. This lack of understanding facilitates the attitudes described in point one and two. However, this notion also comes with the caveat that it may be influenced by a bias from the national department in believing their colleagues at the local level are inferior related to the core-periphery dynamic.

The final point, which is facilitated by the first three, is that given the lack of understanding of the issues, economic interests are prioritised ahead of biodiversity policies and principles. Despite the frameworks put into place at a national level, it is these local issues whereby the pressures and demands for local prosperity put biodiversity in Indonesia at risk. Arguably this may not be as a result of a lack of understanding but instead due to the short term economic imperative.

These four interconnected points once again highlight the significance of this research. Although the global norm of conservation, and specifically in this case biodiversity, is believed to be well established, the situation is significantly more complex. These four key threats to policy implementation demonstrate the insufficiency of solely investigating whether the national government policy formulation is aligned with global norms. Accepting this superficial view does not give a full picture of the reality; it is only through conducting primary data collection within the country to understand what the ‘on the ground’ situation is which allows for a fuller and more comprehensive assessment of the situation.

#### Transferring policy ideas to the local level

The Ministry of the Environment does not work directly with, or indeed make legislation for, community level implementation within Indonesia; instead it makes legislation which is passed down to the provincial level, although this exact process will be returned to later in the thesis. This legislation sets basic principles and minimum standards for the provincial level to adhere to and report back on the success or otherwise of their efforts.

The result of this vertical transference of responsibility is that the national office is not the responsible level for the enforcement of the rules, but instead sets parameters. These parameters tend to be quite broad given the size and varied nature of Indonesia’s terrain. The eco-regional and regional offices are responsible for reporting any issues up to the national office in terms of contravention of any rules or regulations. However, it was not clear what the exact procedure for dealing with contraventions of the law was, although this did not appear to lie with the national level office. An annual review of the performance of each district takes place as part of the ‘Towards a Clean Indonesia’ programme with Presidential awards for those who perform well.

In addition to the conventions already mentioned, such as the Rio convention, much of the work is also based on the 2011-2020 targets for biodiversity as set out in the Aichi biodiversity convention with the reduction of forest degradation being a key target for Indonesia. There is a focus, in rhetoric at least, in the connection between the Indonesian strategy and the global influence with the interviewee stressing ‘We are globally driven because we are part of the global community’. This attitude would indicate that at least in terms of the language used, Indonesia wishes to align itself with global norms.

#### ‘Top down’/’Bottom Up’ flows

These global stipulations are supplemented with requests from the local level as well as other departments for policy. An example of this upwards flow of policy ideas can be demonstrated through the problem of invasive species. In this case, requests for a policy on the topic came from those departments on the ground that were having to deal with the effects of it, or by other national departments, in this case the Department of Agriculture, for a policy outlining how to deal with this problem.

The department acts as an advisory body for lower departments on issues of general policy. One example relating to conservation is that localised departments may come to them and ask their advice on which species’ protection they should prioritise. In such a biodiverse and varied country, species conservation priorities can be difficult to legislate. Given the country is an archipelago it makes it more likely that there may be wide variations in populations of certain species in different areas making a uniform policy difficult. Furthermore, there are a great number of species which do not appear on Indonesia’s official ‘protected list’ and therefore the Ministry of the Environment acts as a co-ordinating body on this matter. The implication of this therefore is that there are decisions around conservation to be made at a local level; however, they require advice from the national level government regarding data on these species. Whilst the legislation for the charismatic megafauna focussed upon in this study may be well established at the national level, there are a great number of decisions made over more seemingly mundane conservation priorities which are handled at a local level.

The sources of funding can provide significant ‘steering’ of policy and priorities and there are various sources of funding for the department. This is highly relevant to the study as the sources of funding can often dictate the direction policy will take. The majority of the Ministry of Environment’s funding comes from the central government, but not exclusively. It also receives various amounts of funding from international organisations including, but not limited to: the G8 (specifically for updated IBSAP); World Bank; UNDP and AusAid. However, it is worth noting the way in which this funding is obtained in that it can originate from either side.

Funding can either be requested by the department to solve a specific issue or sometimes donors come to them with a specific aim in mind which they would like to support financially. As an overall trend, the department is increasingly hesitant to accept money from these organisations, with the interviewee stating that ‘our policy is now; we don’t want to be donor driven’. This is interesting in that it is likely that these bodies’ aims in this area are likely to be in line with global norms. This is not to say that by rejecting such funding Indonesia is not in line with these norms; however, it is noteworthy in that Indonesia is keen to remain in control of such policy direction. As a result, according to the interviewee, very little of the funding now comes from external sources.

Indonesia does appear overall to be making progress in the field of biodiversity; however, there remain significant issues. These issues relate directly to the aim of this thesis; namely that it is important to understand how and why environmental norms do or do not transfer from the global to the local. Although the national department may conform to international standards, it recognises the challenge of implementing them at a local level. It would appear that, for the Department of the Environment at least, the decentralisation which has occurred since the turn of the century is having an increasingly negative impact upon the aims of preserving biodiversity. Allowing regions to take charge of such issues resulted in development being prioritised ahead of biodiversity. This prioritisation resulted in the over exploitation of natural resources which, although within the law, is beyond what is desirable as a result of a lack of understanding of the importance or value of biodiversity.

### Department of Forestry (Kementerian Kehutanan)[[14]](#footnote-14)

#### Introduction

As previously detailed within this chapter, the Department of Forestry is in many ways the key body responsible for conservation in Indonesia. Responsibility for the protection of species within Indonesia comes under the remit of the Department of Forestry as well as the wider remit of the protection of forests and various other designated ‘protected’ areas. Whereas the Department of Environment focuses mainly on policy formation and general preservation of biodiversity, the Department of Forestry, in very broad terms, is more focussed on the practical elements of protecting designated species. Although the Department of Forestry plays a significant internal role within Indonesia, it does not appear to have the same upwards significance as the Department of Environment.

#### Global Connections

There are several important influences on the department from the global level. There are several key conventions affecting its work; for some conventions forestry is the designated department, whereas other conventions influenced their work without the department holding direct responsibility. The key convention shaping its work and for which it is responsible for is CITES (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora). Given the unique nature of many species within Indonesia, it is unsurprising that this is such an influential policy for the department.

As shown in chapter 3, historically many species including both Komodo dragons and orangutans are threatened by capture, often for international trade. Although CITES is generally focussed on protecting species from trade, it is also used to inform general policy around conservation. Additionally, the department is also responsible for RAMSAR, which focuses on wetland protection and thus is outside the purview of this thesis. The CBD (the Convention on Biodiversity) is also of great importance in shaping the department’s work; however, as detailed in the previous section, due to the peculiarities of the Indonesian system, the responsibility for this sits, instead, with the Department of Environment.

The Department of Forestry is the focal point for CITES in Indonesia and is responsible for implementing the convention within Indonesia. As a result, the Department of Forestry has fourteen species which are prioritised for conservation; this list includes Bornean orangutans as well as Komodo dragons. These species are given special ‘protected’ status making it a criminal act to kill, capture, hunt or sell them.

#### National vertical connections

The vertical structure of the Department of Forestry varies from the other departments and does not follow the conventional decentralised model. Underneath the national Department of Forestry are, as might be expected, both regional and local departments of forestry, or Dinas Kehutanan as they are known. These bodies are funded by their relevant level of government (which will be investigated in later chapters). However, the national Department of Forestry’s powers actually extend beyond this conventional model.

Rather than the central department managing affairs through the Dinas Kehutanan at the Provincial level of government, there are actually two nationally funded bodies based at lower levels which have different roles from the provincial level office. For Komodo dragons this is the Balai Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam (BKSDA) based in Kupang and the Taman Nasional (National Park) based in Labuan Bajo/within the Komodo national park. For the orangutans in this thesis they are the BKSDA based in Samarinda and the Taman Nasional based in Sangatta. These two bodies are extraordinary in that every region of Indonesia has a provincial Dinas Kehutanan; however, it is only in specific areas where there are ‘protected species’ (addressed by the BKSDA) or national parks (addressed by the Taman Nasional staff), which have these two extra bodies.

National parks are established in areas of special conservation interest which normally have protected species within them. These areas are designated in conjunction with the Department of the Environment and the government body Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI), which is the Indonesian Institute of Sciences. However, generally the initiative for creating such an area would come from the province level itself which would ask for an area to be protected. This is an interesting contrast given some of the core-periphery issues which are detailed below.

Each national park has a national park office which includes park rangers who are direct employees of the national Department of Forestry. This department is responsible for the protection of the national park and maintaining it. In many cases this also includes acting as tour guides for those visiting the national park. To complement the national park office is the BKSDA, which is responsible for the protected species in the area. As with the rangers, this is a nationally funded department and runs offices whose jurisdiction is limited to those areas outside of the national park; therefore, the practical implications are that each BKSDA office is responsible for the protected species outside the national park. Although part of the national level of the Department of Forestry, these offices are based locally.

The national Department of Forestry, therefore, operates differently from what may be expected. Conservation remains largely the responsibility of the national Department of Forestry whereas the provincial offices hold a different role maintaining the forest and protecting non- national park areas. The national level department, as previously mentioned, in conjunction with LIPI, sets out the areas which will be designated national parks. In the same vein, they also set out what are protected forests. These decisions on designations of protected forests are then communicated to the provincial Dinas Kehutanan, which is then responsible for enforcing it.

#### Conservation Challenges

One of the main challenges of conservation for the national Department of Forestry is the relationship between the core and the periphery. One of the difficulties of promoting conservation and putting into place the norms which are established at the international level is the resentment and friction it causes with the local level. With guidelines and overarching policy decisions coming from the national Department of Forestry in Jakarta, the interviewee perceived that many of the regions feel a sense of jealousy and resentment. The regions, especially the poorer regions, feel that it is hypocritical of Jakarta, which appears rich, to be dictating the rules under which natural resources can be used in the provinces that aspire to become more developed. This raises interesting questions given that, as previously mentioned, the procedure to establish national parks normally originates from the regions themselves.

The interviewee gave the example of his own experience of his previous role as manager of a national park in one of the more remote areas of Indonesia. He described being in constant conflict with locals there to try to establish a conservation area as people wanted to be able to develop the area and did not see the value in conservation, as he put it ‘People are mostly...wanting something to eat’. People resented the national government being in charge of an area for conservation.

Overall, one of the particularly striking elements of the interview with the national Department of Forestry was the honesty and realism of the interviewee in assessing the challenges. He believed that even in the areas with national parks, they were generally unable to prevent people breaking the rules due simply to the sheer size of the areas they were expected to cover with limited resources. Furthermore, on a policy level, there was a realism as to the difficulty of having to balance the demands of the local population for development and the demands of conservation. Furthermore, there was realism about the challenges facing the department in possibly having to prioritise the conservation of certain species over others.

One of the issues raised by the Department of the Forestry is the possible disconnect in the prevailing views on conservation between the national government and the local population of areas. As a department, it would appear that it is in line with global norms, however, this would not appear to be adequately transferred to the lower levels. Through investigating the lower levels over the course of subsequent chapters, the nature of this schism will be shown. However, once again, as with the Department of Environment, this highlights the important nature of this study. By limiting analysis to the national policy direction and its rhetoric we would miss the important and relevant differences and conflicts which emerge when this is implemented at a local level.

### Department of Agriculture (Kementerian Pertanian)

During the course of the research for this thesis, it was not possible for an interview to be arranged with the national Department of Agriculture despite a number of attempts. However, the fact this was not possible is also, arguably, quite revealing.

In response to requests for interviews, the Department of Agriculture replied stating that it is not responsible for conservation, instead recommending contacting the Department of Forestry. In reply to follow up letters, similar responses were received despite explanations that it was understood the Department of Agriculture were not directly responsible but instead the proposed interviews were to understand how conservation influenced their policies despite the department not being directly responsible.

In light of the fact that the department is named within IBSAP as being an important policy making stakeholder then it is relevant that the department felt it was not responsible. Overall, it would have been beneficial to be able to discuss this with the department; however, it is also telling that the department does not see conservation as part of its responsibilities. This suggests that the lateral division of responsibility and the focusing of responsibility for biodiversity and conservation on the Department of the Environment and the Department of Forestry respectively, in some senses gives other departments an ‘out’ – it allows them to shift responsibility elsewhere and minimises their own sense of responsibility. If this is true, it calls into question at the highest level the principle of a ‘conservation norm’. Rather than conservation being universally accepted ideal it is instead an exclusive concern of specific departments.

One of the major influences that the Department of Agriculture has in Indonesia is in the regulation of palm oil and its certification process for palm oil producers. This issue will be covered in greater detail in chapter 6 where it is relevant to orangutan conservation - although it is a national policy, as it is implemented at a local level it seems more salient to address it in chapter 6.

### National departments conclusion

Overall, what has been shown in this section is the way in which the three departments selected for this study, those of Environment, Forestry and Agriculture, operate in relation to conservation within Indonesia. This has laid out the framework for understanding the specific regional and local situations for the case studies of Komodo dragons as well as Bornean orangutans in East Kalimantan.

One key aspect of the national departments that is especially noteworthy is that at a national level, and thus at all subsequent levels, there is a division between responsibility for biodiversity and conservation. This theme will be returned to repeatedly in discussing the two case studies. More generally, this section has demonstrated how the chosen departments interact with the global level and how they operate in relation to global norms.

## Chapter 4 Conclusion

Overall, this chapter has two main strands, exploring Indonesia’s overall relationship to the international community through various bodies, conventions and agreements as well as clarifying the roles of three key national departments and their responsibilities with regards to conservation. The chapter has demonstrated how various international agreements and bodies have begun to shape Indonesian policy. Furthermore, it has shown that the lateral splitting of responsibilities which takes place through the national organisation of departments has a significant impact on how policies of conservation are devised and implemented at a national level.

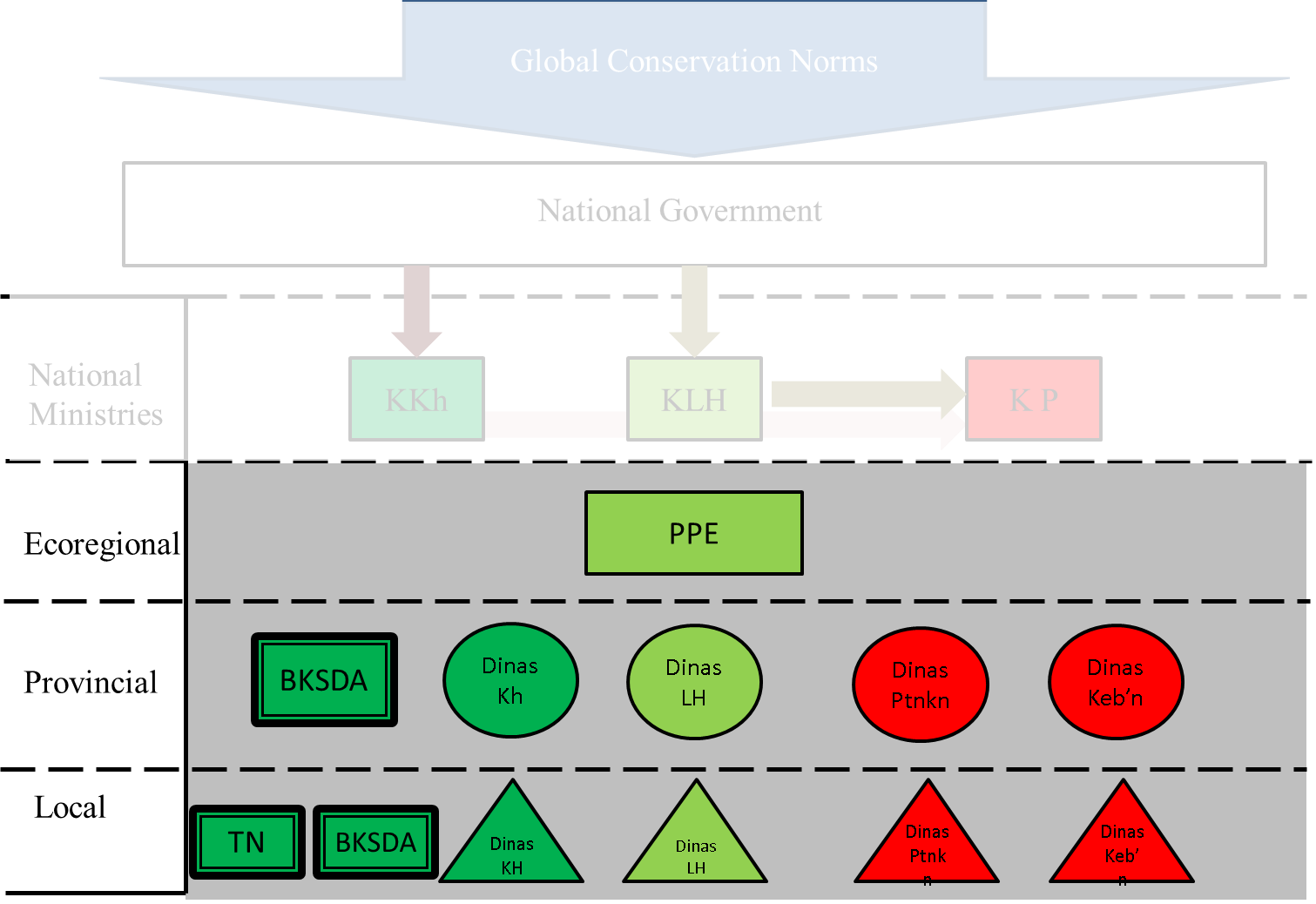
This overview of Indonesia’s international relations along with its structure of national governments provides a firm basis on which the subsequent chapters can begin to investigate the specifics of the two case studies on the Komodo dragons and on orangutans in East Kalimantan, and enhance understanding of the transmission of conservation norms in Indonesia.

# Chapter 5- The conservation of Komodo dragons

## Introduction

The Komodo dragon or *Varanus Komodoensis* to give it its scientific title is well known throughout the world and draws great interest for its ferocious and ‘prehistoric’ appearance. Generally, these lazy beasts live side by side with the human population who reside within the national park. [[15]](#footnote-15) The IUCN’s red list, an index rating species level of endangerment, ranks Komodo dragons as being ‘vulnerable’ (IUCN, 2015).

The key analytical message of this chapter is in line with the rest of the thesis; that internal structures within a state can affect the way in which conservation norms are transmitted. What is shown in this chapter is that the horizontal divisions of responsibility between various departments are important. However, arguably of greater significance are the divisions of responsibility which occur vertically. What will be shown is that the designation of areas as national parks or otherwise has a significant impact on how, and by whom, these areas are managed. In turn, this is key to understanding how the conservation constellation is shaped. The some of the major bodies which will be focussed upon in this chapter are shown in Figure H below.



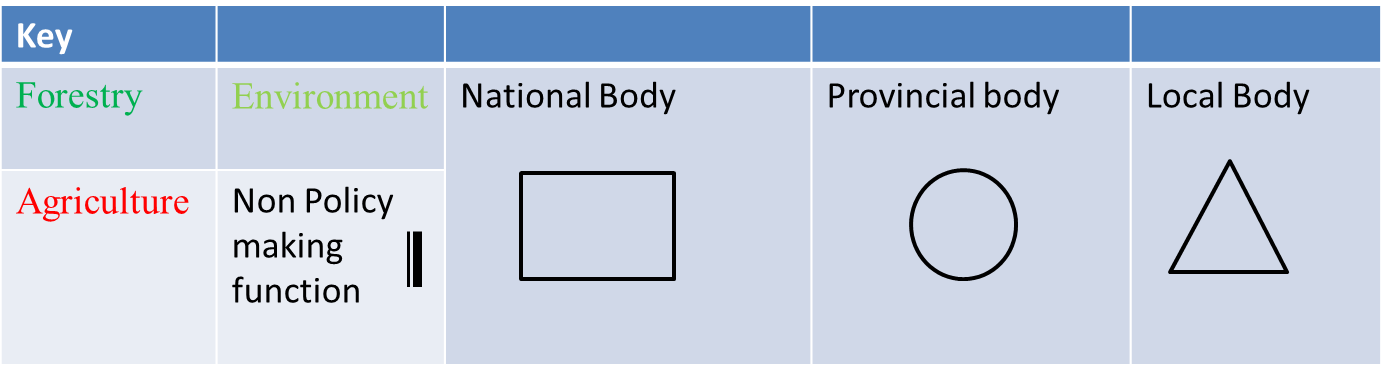


Figure H- Bodies involved in Komodo dragon conservation

In order to understand the relationship between global conservation norms and the conservation situation on the ground, it is important to understand the role played by different institutions at the provincial and local levels of government. By understanding the detail of these different bodies’ work, certain discrepancies, overlaps and gaps can be identified which allow us to understand how it is that the conservation of Komodo dragons is implemented. It is extremely important to not only understand the roles of these bodies but also how they related to one another both vertically and horizontally. It is only through closely examining these bodies that this level of detail can be picked up and analysed to allow for a greater overall understanding of conservation policy implementation.

The chapter is divided into six sections which provide a comprehensive analysis of the different actors present in the management of Komodo dragon conservation. This section details the structure of the chapter as a whole and provides further background information on Komodo dragons. Each of the next three sections, sections 5.2. to 5.4. examines the involvement of different levels of government; the previous chapter already outlined the national level of government’s remit regarding conservation. Section 5.2. looks at the role of the ‘Eco-regional’ level of government. This section will be quite short as this level of government only exists within the Department of the Environment.

Section 5.3 investigates the involvement of the provincial level of government based in the provincial capital of Nusa Tenggara Timor (NTT), Kupang. Within this section, the regional branches of the same three departments as in chapter four will be investigated, namely Environment, Agriculture and Forestry. In addition, the role of an additional branch of the Department of Forestry, the BKSDA will also be explored. This particular department occupies an unusual position of being part of the national government infrastructure yet based at the regional level.

Within section 5.4 the local branches of government for the West Manggarai regency are investigated. These local government departments are based within the coastal town of Labuan Bajo and are responsible for the whole regency of West Manggarai, the home of the Komodo dragon.

Section 5.5 focuses on the NGO the Komodo Survival Foundation. As one of the only NGOs that works in the area of Komodo dragon conservation, its work is of significant interest to this thesis. This is followed by section 5.6, which will offer a short conclusion for the chapter bringing together the key strands from the different elements of the case study.

The case study is principally focussed on those Komodo dragons which dwell within the national park. However, it will also be shown that there are a number of interesting - and generally underappreciated - issues with Komodo dragons outside the park. The overarching aim of the fieldwork for the case study was really to understand the multilevel and multiparty nature of the interactions taking place with regards to the conservation of the Komodo dragons.

As was explored in the review of the methodology in Chapter Two, through the sections below interview data provides the empirical foundation for the sections below. Given the lack of secondary material, this data provides the central means through which the transfer of national conservation policy becomes to on-the-ground practices can be assessed.

## Eco-regional Level

### Ministry of the Environment Eco-regional Office Bali[[16]](#footnote-16)

The eco-regional office of the Ministry of the Environment for the regions of NTT, NTB (Nusa Tenggara Barat) and Bali occupies an unusual position in relation to conservation. Sitting uniquely between the national and regional levels of government, it has the potential to be considered an important link between the national conservation polices, which have been informed by various global norms, and regional policy implementation.

Based in Renon, Bali, it is unusual for two reasons. First, the Ministry of the Environment is the only ministry within this study which operates at a level between the conventional levels of the national and the regional. Second, it is unusual because it covers several areas, which present quite differing challenges. This section will briefly outline the office’s role whilst explaining these two oddities.

The office essentially acts as a bridge between the national and the provincial levels of government for the Department of the Environment. Largely it is focussed on data collection and correlating data on biodiversity (amongst other indicators such as water and air pollution) from the ‘eco-region’. It is responsible for collecting this data and passing it upwards to the national level of government as well as passing on legislation downwards to the local level of government.

Generally, the office’s involvement in conservation is a little limited due to several factors. Firstly, as has been shown in the previous chapter, the responsibility for conservation lies with the Ministry of Forestry as does responsibility for conservation areas (which will be examined later in this chapter). This division therefore limits the involvement of this office. However, there is a further reason specific to this particular office, which is that it covers NTT, NTB and Bali (see Figure I below), which include quite different terrain, climate and biodiversity.

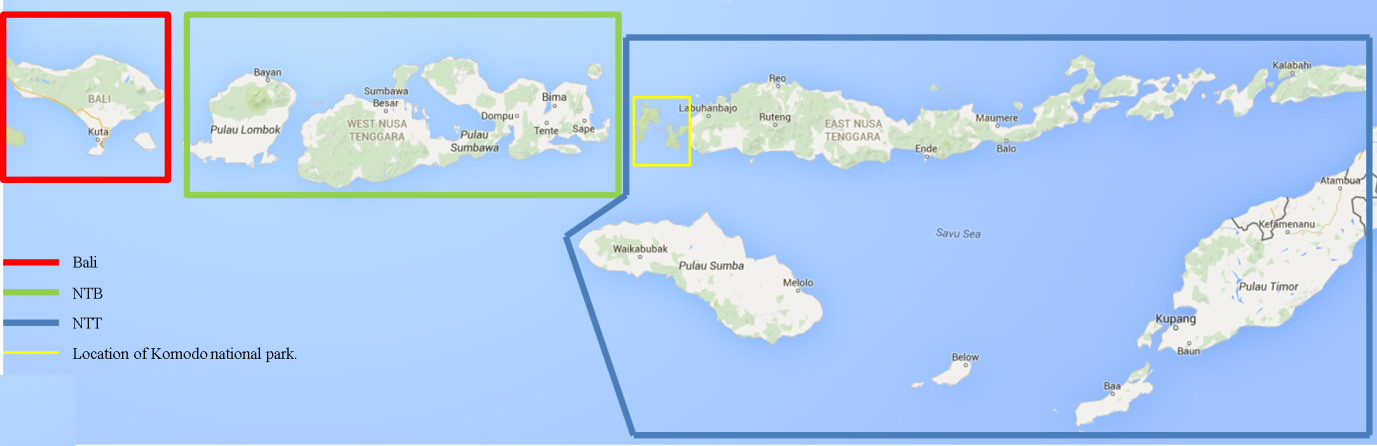


Figure I- Map showing the areas for which the Eco regional office in Bali is responsible- Bali, NTB and NTT

To contrast this with the Eco-regional office for Kalimantan (which will be described further in the next chapter), the office in Bali does not oversee an area which is especially homogenous in terms of conservation. Within Kalimantan, having an office which can co-ordinate biodiversity-related activities over the entirety of the Indonesian territory on the island has significant benefits. But the eco regional office in Bali has to cover a great multitude of islands (over ten major islands and countless smaller ones), which include different species and challenges. Whereas there are relative gains to be made in many areas of their work such as co-ordinating different levels of government for issues such as pollution, these are limited in terms of conservation actions and do not extend beyond reporting on biodiversity. As will be shown below, their role is also further limited by the extensive control by the national level of government in and around Komodo due to its status as a national park.

## Provincial Level

At the national level, actors are increasingly exposed to conservation norms through a range of sources. These sources include pressure to reform from NGOs both inside and outside the country, and from participation in a range of inter-governmental organisations. Conservation norms are increasingly being incorporated into key strategy documents, including most significantly IBSAP as well as the implementation of various international agreements as shown in chapter 4.

The mechanisms through which these norms are being translated into on-the-ground practices, however, remain highly imperfect. Below, the patterns of engagement in conservation practices demonstrated by the Provincial Offices for Agriculture, Forestry, and Environment are reviewed. The provincial capital of Nusa Tenggara Timor (NTT) is Kupang in West Timor. Kupang acts as the regional hub for all administration as well as being the major transport hub. Interviews were undertaken with three provincial level government offices (Agriculture, Forestry and Environment) as well as the BKSDA (Endangered species) which, as will be shown, is a nationally funded and run office based at the provincial level.

### Provincial Office for Agriculture: Dinas Peternakan/Dinas Perkebunan NTT- Kupang[[17]](#footnote-17)

At the regional level, the Department of Agriculture is split into two separate offices, the Dinas Peternakan and the Dinas Perkebunan. Both are based in Kupang and fall under the title of Agriculture and answer to the national Ministry of Agriculture (Kementerian Pertanian). However, they represent a division of labour for different aspects of Agriculture. The Dinas Peternakan would best be translated as the ‘Regional Office for Livestock’ whereas the Dinas Perkebunan is the ‘Regional Office for Plantations’.

One interview was carried out with a member of staff from the Dinas Perkebunan. The Dinas Peternakan did not see the connection between their work and the conservation of Komodo dragons and therefore chose not to be interviewed. As will be shown later through the information provided through the interview with the Dinas Perkebunan, this is understandable.

The Dinas Perkebunan in Kupang is responsible for co-ordinating agriculture in terms of crop growing across the NTT region. It receives the majority of its funding from the regional government. As will be shown with all of the regional offices, it has a complex relationship with the Komodo national park and therefore the Komodo dragon. Overall, there was little direct contribution to the ideas of conservation and it did not feature heavily in their attitudes towards policy making; however, the impacts of it on their work are quite significant. The main habitat of the Komodo dragons is contained within the Komodo National park, which comes under the remit of the national park offices that are part of the Department of Forestry. Under the regulations set out for the management of the national park, farming in these areas is generally not permitted.

As mentioned above, the regional office for livestock declined to be interviewed. The interviewee in the Office for Plantations mentioned that generally the local population in the national park have a diet consisting of what they grow, locally caught fish and goods imported to the island. There is no significant farming of animals (partially due to the threat of losing livestock to Komodo dragons) and therefore there is unlikely to be any role for the Dinas Peternakan within the park.

Although as a general rule, farming is not permitted within the national park, there are exceptions and there is an area on the island which is outside the perimeters of the national park where farming takes place. This is shown through the UNESCO report which describes the park after 2000 as having;

7 zones covering both marine and terrestrial environments as follows: core zone; wilderness zone with limited tourism; tourism zone; traditional use zone; pelagic use zone; special research and training zone; and traditional settlement zone (2000).

According to the report, the new post 2000 zoning was proposed by Indonesia as part of its 25 year management plan for the park and can be seen in Figure J below:

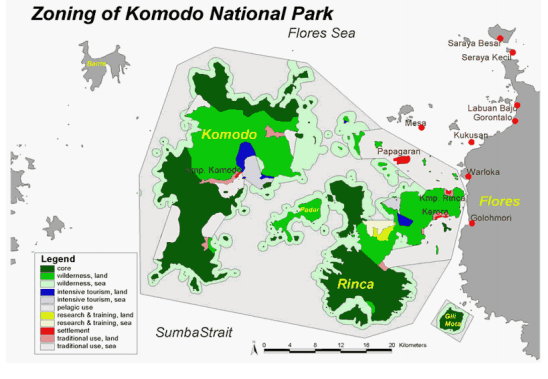


Figure J- Map of Zoning with the Komodo National Park (taken from Singleton and Sulaiman, 2002, 5)

The zoning means that the area where agriculture is permitted comes under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture. However, as the map above shows, these areas are very small in relation to the total area of the park (represented in pink on the map).The practical elements are handled at the local level rather than at the regional level, however, the regional plantation agriculture office in Kupang has a more general oversight of the issue. There are strict rules dictating the farming techniques that can be used in the national park and even within the exclusion zones the amount of land that can be farmed is quite limited; furthermore, pesticides and fertilizers cannot be used.

The use of chemicals is interesting as the local population would like to use them to increase their yields and therefore their wealth, especially as the terrain is not especially fertile. This desire places the Department of Agriculture under pressure from the local population, which is exerted upwards to the agricultural regional office despite the fact that they have no power over the issue as it is controlled by the Department of Forestry. Chemical use has become an increasingly significant issue as the population in the villages has increased and there have been additional pressures on the same agricultural resources.

The escalation of these requests up to the regional plantation office that have no authority over the issue is interesting because it would appear that the local population look to the department for help to counter the conservation measures imposed through the Department of Forestry. As will be explored further below, the Department of Forestry retains control of the national park and is a national body which is locally or regionally based and as such are not as closely accountable to the local people. Therefore, should farmers have a problem with the regulations, they may look to the Department of Agriculture to act as more of a representative body and as a result their concerns are escalated to the regional level even though they do not have any power to act.

The significance of the regional Department of Agriculture may appear to be limited; however, this in itself is relevant. Clearly, while the department does not have any significant policy making powers in the affected areas, it does still have relevance. The bulk of responsibility for conservation lies with the representatives of the national Ministry of Forestry, however, the Department of Agriculture remains a representative channel through which citizens can voice their concerns as to land use, despite having limited power to effect any change in policy in the area. In a policy sense at least, the narrative/norm of conservation is deeply rooted. However, these complaints also demonstrate that within the local community then the belief in conservation may be tempered somewhat by their desire to prosper further.

### Provincial Office for the Environment: Dinas Lingkungan Hidup NTT- Kupang[[18]](#footnote-18)

#### Background and structure

The Dinas Lingkungan Hidup (the provincial office for the environment) for NTT is based in the provincial capital of Kupang. It is worth noting just how significant the mere existence of a regional Department of the Environment is in such a poor region. To some extent, having a regional Department of the Environment in a developing country is important. Until the turn of the century, Indonesia was a highly centralised dictatorship and having a regional Department for the Environment is indicative of the significance of the environmental narrative. The importance of the environment is such that even the regional government of one of the poorest regions in a developing country has a Department of the Environment, which is not funded solely by the central government (the exact details of their funding will be covered later in this section).

The Dinas Lingkungan Hidup (Kupang) has four different divisions;

1. Division of environmental research
2. Division of monitoring and control of environment
3. Division of conservation
4. Division for environmental enforcement and communication

However, there are a great number of overlaps between these four departments. Once again, as with the national level of office, the presence of the ‘division of conservation’ is noteworthy because conservation does not directly, in a practical sense, fall under the authority of the Department of the Environment but rather the Department of Forestry. This is important because it represents a blurring of lines of responsibility for conservation. It raises the question as to who is actually responsible for conservation, which is unlikely to encourage coordinated and connected action.

The activities of the office operate in four directions: vertically both upwards to the national department as well as receiving downwards from the national office, horizontally to different departments and downwards to the local offices.

#### ‘Upwards’ Activities

Before discussing these four ‘regular’ activities, it is interesting to note an irregular activity with which the department was involved. Although the office was not directly involved in the conservation of Komodo dragons - which technically was the remit of the Department of Forestry - it had represented Indonesia at an international conference in Japan to discuss the Komodo dragon.

Representing Indonesia at this conference very much fits with the role of the department in general as described by the national Department of the Environment as described in the previous chapter. The Department of the Environment was acting as the focal point for international ideas of conservation rather than the Ministry of Forestry even though Forestry would be a more obvious choice to represent Indonesia at the conference given its control of the areas which are inhabited by the Komodo dragons.

Furthermore, a representative from the regional level, rather than the national level, attended this conference. A representative from the national level of government may be better able to offer a more pan-Indonesian perspective. Alternatively, a representative of the local level would be able to a more practical ‘on the ground’ insight into the conservation efforts.

What is notable about sending a conference delegate is that once again, as with the Department of Agriculture, there is a blurring of lines around the level of the government structure in which conservation policy lies. It represents a regional level of government being drawn into conservation and to some extent being held responsible for it, when it is not primarily their responsibility. In the case of the Department of Agriculture, this arose from trying to represent local people who were subject to conservation pressures; in this case it was the Department of the Environment representing Indonesia to the rest of the world and in some respects answering to the wider global community about Indonesia’s conservation actions.

What is constant between the two departments is that as regional bodies they have very little say and authority in the practical workings of conservation. These affairs are not only handled by a different department, but perhaps more pertinently the framework for conservation areas is a national level set of regulations implemented by a national body at a local level.

To return to the department’s ‘regular’ upwards activities, the regional office is able to apply for grants from the national government for specific projects. The majority of the funding for the department generally comes from the Gubernur’s (regional executive) office, however, additional funding can be granted centrally. These projects which rely on additional funding originate with ideas generated by the regional office and then put forward to the national Department for the Environment.

These additional funding awards are only granted if they are in line with the national department’s priorities, which shows a potentially very strong avenue for additional norms transmission. The national department is able to shape the nature of the regional office’s work without having to instruct it directly to do so. Instead of relying on structural power and instruction, it is able to exercise influence through controlling how funding is allocated using ‘soft power’. However, in some sense this power is limited as this example only pertains to extraordinary project funding rather than regular funding.

The issue of direction from above is a key issue as it emerged as being problematic in the view of the interviewee. The national department gives direction and key foci to the regional office, however, the interviewee felt this direction from above did not allow for the regional differences implicit in such a large and diverse country. The interviewee gave the example of a national office direction for extensive work and activities, collection of data, ongoing monitoring and set actions on the issue of ground water and air pollution. He felt that this policy had been developed due to the issues faced in industrialised urban areas largely in the west of Indonesia in cities such as Jakarta. However, the NTT region is significantly less developed with a greater focus on agriculture and as a result faced far fewer challenges in this regard.

Central initiatives such as the one mentioned above on pollution data have implications for the regional office. The office is required to undertake extensive environmental monitoring on an issue which does not affect this particular region. These additional activities have a knock on impact on the department’s ability to fulfil other roles; they face reduced capacity to focus on the issues which are more relevant to their area such as loss of biodiversity and general environmental degradation. Through having to report on issues which do not affect the area due to national targets and programmes, they are unable to work on issues which are more pertinent to the region.

It is noteworthy, if not unsurprising, that certain norms around the environment which happen to be more relevant to the seat of power appear to be prioritised over the needs of other local communities. This raises interesting questions in terms of a core-periphery debate within the country which may also relate to the issue of relative wealth with the needs of the more prosperous island of Java, and especially Jakarta, being prioritised over the rest of the country. Within the context of the country which experienced a high level of centralised power until late in the 20th century, it may not be surprising that these tensions may either exist or at least, be seen to still exist. This argument is to some extent the other side of the same debate which was raised both at the national level in both the Department of Environment and the Department of Forestry as described in chapter 4 around tensions between regional/local and the central offices.

With regard to the upwards relationships of the regional Environmental office, the Eco-regional office is conspicuous by its absence within the remit of the regional office. Generally, it does not appear to play a significant role in the operations of the regional Department of the Environment. As described in section 5.2.1. the Eco-regional office has a complex remit for this area. Therefore, it may not take as active role as might be expected. Furthermore, in relation to reporting and direction, it may be seen as being simply part of the national department by the regional office; however, this is merely conjecture.

#### ‘Downwards’/Horizontal Activities

Away from the department’s upwards vertical relationship, one of the key functions of the department is both vertically downwards and horizontal in nature and concerns the Division of Environmental research. This division is charged with overseeing the preparation of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) for activities within the region. The regional office oversees the assessments prepared at the district level as well as preparing the EIAs for any issues affecting more than one area. Examples of these issues that affect multiple areas would be a large scale cross boundary development or anything that might affect a river which flows through more than one district.

These EIAs are prepared in line with national guidelines set out by the national Department for the Environment. As has already been seen, this is likely to be in line with wider global norms around environmental protection. Such issues within the national park are unlikely to be directly handled at the provincial level because the national park, at least, is contained within a single locality. However, generally the EIAs have the potential to be extremely powerful as they hold the power to veto developments and affect the relationships between the provincial Department of the Environment and other departments.

Many of the activities under the authority of the other departments, for example Agriculture, Transport, Industry etc., are subject to successfully gaining approval from the Department of the Environment through the EIA mechanism. It is important to note that in technical procedural terms, the outcome of an EIA ‘trumps’ other concerns within the area. This can cause horizontal friction with other departments at a provincial level as it may impede their work; in particular, as the process can be drawn out, other departments believe the delays have driven away investors who are unwilling to wait.

In theory the EIA process gives veto power to the Department of the Environment to exercise considerable control of activities within the region. However, as there is little industry and few large scale developments in the area, which is largely engaged in more informal forms of employment (subsistence farming, individual fishermen), many of the activities do not file EIAs. Although this does not necessarily have a significant impact upon the population of Komodo dragons within the national park, as will be shown in section 5.3.4. this is still relevant to the conservation of Komodo dragons.

The ‘downwards’ actions of the provincial office of the environment are handled by the ‘Division for Environmental Enforcement and Communication’. Despite the name, it is largely concerned with attempting to shape behaviour rather than being engaged with ‘enforcement’ activities. This work is very much in line with global environmental norms and the majority of its work is based around its ‘community based green movement’ project. This project includes distributing free seedlings and plants for locals to plant on their property as well as awards for cities that meet environmental targets and for ‘those who show themselves to be on the side of the environment’.

In addition to the environmental protection promotional work mentioned above, one of its main tasks is to spread information about environmental laws to help to prevent low level infractions by individuals. Although these measures are not generally directly related to the conservation norm, they do serve as an example of the provincial government attempting to implement measures to encourage success in establishing wider environmental norms.

#### Summary

Overall, the Dinas Lingkungan Hidup NTT does not hold a high level of authority for the conservation of Komodo dragons primarily because it is largely located within the National Park over which it has little jurisdictional power. However, there are some elements which may become increasingly relevant and this will emerge within the discussion of the role of the BKSDA later in this chapter. Although it is not generally responsible for the transmission of the conservation norm, it is important in establishing wider environmental norms across the province, which is important as it gives a stronger context to establishing a conservation norm.

### Provincial Office for Forestry; Dinas Kehutanan NTT- Kupang[[19]](#footnote-19)

#### Background

The provincial forestry office occupies an interesting position within the overall structure of conservation in the NTT region. It is based underneath the national Department of Forestry at a national level; however, it is also separate from the Kupang Based BKSDA, which is national rather than provincially funded. To further complicate matters, although it does sit above the local forestry office based within Labuan Bajo, it does not sit above the Labuan Bajo based national park office. Its particular role with its complex relations will be explored within this section. There are two particularly interesting elements to the work of this department.

#### Forest Classification

One important factor in the department’s work is the way in which different forests are classified within Indonesia and the jurisdictional implications which result. Based on 2008 legislation, there are three different designations of forests in addition to a national park. A national park can be seen as being an extraordinary measure in order to protect a specific commodity such as the Komodo dragon or unique marine life, whereas the three classifications can be seen as more ‘every day’ measures.

The three categories are Productsi, Protectsi and Conservasi which can be translated as Production, Protection and Conservation forests. However, there is some difficulty in terminology in the context of this thesis, which will be explored below. Unlike the national park, these three types of forest are under the auspices of the provincial level of government and therefore within NTT are the principal focus of the Dinas Kehutanan in Kupang.

The national legislation (regulation 431) states that 30% of the forest area of each region must remain in its original form. This means that very little activity is permitted within it and that it must not decrease in size. This is what is termed as being a ‘conservation forest’, but this term is slightly problematic in the context of this thesis. In many ways, it could actually be seen more as a preservation measure rather than a conservation measure given that the forest is to be protected in its own right rather than to facilitate further exploitation by humans in the future. Although, therefore, this in reality makes them ‘preservation forests’ in order to avoid confusion, they will be referred to as ‘conservation forests’.

Within the conservation forest, there are not supposed to be any settlements or human activity, however, some communities/settlements exist that predate the establishment of the conservation area. This situation is rare; however, there is a process of negotiation in such circumstances. Generally, activities within the conservation forests are prohibited and the Dinas Kehutanan has a two pronged responsibility to educate the population as well as patrolling the forest to attempt to protect it. The situation is confused further by the fact that national parks are normally situated within conservation forests. This potential issue is, however, somewhat easier with regards the Komodo national park given its nature as a group of islands off the coast of Flores which therefore means that there is a clear division and very few jurisdictional issues.

The second category of forests under the jurisdiction of the provincial government is the ‘protection forests’. These forests could be seen as being ‘conservation forests’ in the truer sense of the term in that they are intended to safeguard the forest but are generally organised in such a way as to ensure that it is sustainable. As a result there are rules around how exactly the forest can be used and this also includes the stipulation that although people are allowed to live within the forest, new development is generally prohibited. Although the aims of this may appear laudable, one of the activities which can be permitted within a protection forest is closed cast mining.

The remaining classification is that of production forest. This area is permitted to be used in what could be considered to be a non-sustainable manner. It is worth noting that in legal terms, this is not simply a ‘free for all’ usage. Legal use of the forest is still administered through the Dinas Kehutanan, however, there is a much greater range of activities which can be permitted within the forest.

Overall, no activity is actually strictly forbidden without exception within any of the three types of forest; rather the Dinas Kehutanan is given a set of guidelines and goals from the national Department of Forestry which it must then use to make provincial level decisions as to how to implement and achieve them. Their decisions are regularly informed by the EIAs which are prepared in conjunction with the Regional Environment office (See section 5.3.2.).In some ways these guidelines could be seen to be in line with global conservation norms, however, they do leave a great deal of flexibility and discretion to the regional forestry office, which could be exploited. Furthermore, 30% is not a particularly high threshold to set and arguably it is not saying that 30% must be safeguarded but rather that 70% does not have to be. As with the regional Environment office, this is especially relevant in the discussion of the role of the BKSDA.

#### The movement of Komodo dragons

The second relevant element of the role of the Dinas Kehutanan is a specific historical event. In February 2009 the Forestry Minister, Malam Sambat Kaban, issued a decree that permitted ten (a very small percentage of the total population) Komodo dragons to be transferred from the national park to the Bali Safari Park (Fointuna, 2009). Given the dragons’ protected status within law, a special exception needed to be made otherwise moving them would be illegal. There were a number of different actors and interests at play within this situation.

The Dinas Kehutanan was a key opponent of the move and lobbied the government, successfully, to prevent it. The interviewee identified the department’s position at the provincial level as being a key factor. It was the Dinas Kehutanan which was the highest body outside of the chain of command that was able to oppose this move. Although in many ways it is extremely interesting to see the provincial level of government directly challenge national policy decisions, it is also very difficult to evaluate this decision. Local and provincial authorities may have been concerned that should the dragons be moved to Bali then it may discourage tourists from visiting NTT as they would be able to see the dragons (albeit in captivity) whilst in Bali rather than travel on to NTT. So the resistance may have had a financial rather than purely ethical element to it.

Bodies such as the BKSDA and the National park were in difficult positions. They were unable to oppose the move; both the BKSDA and the National Park are directly under the control of the national Department of Forestry, which had made the decision to allow the move. Therefore, even if they were not in favour of such a move, they would not be able to publically and actively oppose the move as they are within the structure which is allowing it.

The motivations of the Bali Safari park are open to more and less favourable interpretations. As a private entity, the Bali Safari park has a financial stake in trying to maximise its attractions and income. Moving Komodo Dragons to the Safari park would allow them to presumably attract more visitors, however, there also could be a more laudable and conservation focussed motivation. It debatable whether keeping the dragons within their natural habitat is in the best interests of conservation. The Bali Safari Park is part of various breeding programmes and it is arguable that in fact the most efficient way to ensure the survival of the species is to take some into captivity and start a breeding programme.

There are many different motivations and concerns at play within this scenario. In some ways, it may be considered that the actions of the regional authorities may have been out of a desire for conservation of the dragons within their habitat as well as possible financial interests. Likewise, arguably, the Bali Safari Park may have been trying to promote conservation whilst at the same time having financial concerns. The BKSDA and the National Park authorities may have a financial stake in the matter should park revenue decrease, however, they are in a position whereby they are unable to actively oppose the situation as it has been approved by the higher authorities within their own departmental structure.

It is, therefore, difficult to understand beyond the fact that the regional government did oppose the central government in its attempts to move the dragons whether in fact this was supporting, or contradicting the conservation norm. Without knowing the specific motivation, which it is impossible to find out and may well not be a clear cut issue, it is difficult to judge the virtues of this.

Overall, given that the Komodo dragons enjoy relatively few threats and a great deal of protection within the national park, it seems likely that this move by the national government was not solely focussed on a need for conservation. If this is accepted then it raises significant questions, therefore, on the motivation of the national government and as such calls into question how deeply embedded into the national governments policies is the notion of conservation for the Komodo dragon.

#### Summary

Overall, the Dinas Kehutanan for NTT in Kupang does not have a direct influence over the conservation of Komodo dragons within the national park, although it may have a role which will be explored further for those outside the national park. It is, however, extremely important in the wider context of conservation in the region. Furthermore, the various different classifications of forests that have been described are especially relevant when considering the work of the BKSDA which is the topic of the next section. It has played a significant role in the objections to the removal of some Komodo dragons from the national park to Bali.

### Provincial office for the National Natural Resources Conservation Agency; Balai Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam (BKSDA) Kupang [[20]](#footnote-20)

#### Background

The Balai Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam or the National Natural Resources Conservation Agency is part of the National Department of Forestry but is based at a provincial level, for NTT this is in Kupang. The role of the BKSDA is the conservation of endangered species, however, in reality this work is mainly focussed on the areas outside of the national park as a result of the fact that the national park staff (who are also part of the national Department of Forestry) deal with endangered species within the park. With regards of Komodo dragons, this is a particularly unusual role given that the common belief is that the giant lizards only live within the Komodo national park, however, as this section will show, there are actually populations on the mainland of Flores and these present a different challenge.

The department is a nationally funded body as part of the Department of Forestry, however, it is based at the provincial level in Kupang with two field offices below it based in Soe (Eastern West Timor, close to the border with East Timor) and Ruteng (Central Flores). The provincially based office takes a leadership and co-ordination role and is well placed to co-ordinate with the other departments.

Although the Komodo dragon is listed as a protected species and the BKSDA is mandated to protect it from threats, the department does not have a great deal of power over geographic areas in the same way that the national park staff do. The current activities of the department, since approximately 2012, have been the monitoring of the Komodo dragons on the mainland in conjunction with the Komodo Survival Foundation using camera traps. This has allowed them to build up evidence of the dragons on the mainland which is important given, as previously stated, their presence outside of the national park is not well known. Furthermore, it allows the department to monitor the species and know if there is any drop in numbers.

#### Wae Wuul

BKSDA focuses its work on two key areas on mainland Flores which are inhabited by Komodo dragons; Wae Wuul and Pota. Neither area is part of the national park, but their exact status is somewhat unclear. For example, Wae Wuul has been referred to in literature as being a ‘Nature Reserve’ (Ciofi and de Boer, 2004, 99), but this is not the same as a national park and does not fit into any of the categories previously described by interviewees.

Currently the conservation issues within Wae Wuul are limited; however, this is likely to change in the coming years. The rapid growth of Labuan Bajo in recent years has led to an increased interest in West Flores for investors. The Wae Wuul area has very scenic beaches; this has led to a desire from developers to expand the local tourism industry. The main aim of any development would be the building of large hotels in the area as well as improving the transport infrastructure.

The local government, keen for the area to benefit from the potential financial benefits from tourism, wanted to encourage development by building new roads in the area. Unfortunately, from a conservation perspective, this prospect is highly threatening. The improved road infrastructure would not only lead to a greater volume of traffic but also would facilitate faster speeds by those using the roads where currently poor quality surfaces act as an inhibitor to fast driving. Furthermore, as Komodo dragons are, like all lizards, cold blooded then they would be drawn to the heat retaining asphalt roads especially in the early mornings as they look to raise their body temperatures. As a result, extensive road development is likely to bring the Komodo dragons into direct conflict with locals. Not only are local people at risk from death or injury either through hitting the Komodo dragons (especially in a country where motorbikes are the main form of transport) or being attacked by virtue of closer proximity, but the Komodo dragons are likely to be injured by vehicles as well.

Overall, development potentially transforms the status of Komodo dragons in the area from something which is largely ignored or unknown to being a ‘pest’ or ‘vermin’; they are likely to cause accidents and in taking measures to protect them, they potentially become a threat to the prosperity of the area. This would be a very significant shift in perception. The mainland would struggle to base its tourist industry on the presence of the dragons as they are not geographically contained and concentrated as they are within the national park; this fact is shown by the need to employ camera traps in order to calculate the number of dragons in the area. Rather, the potential tourism industry would therefore need to be based on the beauty of their scenery.

These potential tourism and infrastructure developments are unsurprisingly proving popular with the local population as with them comes the allure of prosperity. This is especially true for land owners in the surrounding areas. Generally, despite the popularity of Labuan Bajo, the rest of the western Flores is relatively underdeveloped for tourism. The interviewee said that he would welcome the national park being extended to include the Wae Wuul area as it would then afford it greater protection as currently their options to conserve the Komodo dragons in the area are based more around convincing those in the area to reject investors’ offers. Currently, due to limited resources, Wae Wuul is not the main focus for the BKSDA, however, they are trying to work through the local government to persuade local land owners of the intrinsic value of preserving the local dragons.

Bringing Wae Wuul under the authority of the national park would be extremely positive for conservation; however, it would cause issues for the local population and place many restrictions on them. The park could only be extended after a period of local consultation and through an official request from the local Bupati (local executive). From a global norms perspective it is interesting that the government is not able to simply take a top-down approach and require an area to become part of a national park, instead there needs to be local permission. This process may be in line with democratic principles and participatory methods of sustainable development, however, it may not have ideal outcomes in terms of conservation.

The role of the BKSDA in some ways intersects with that of the Department of the Environment. As previously described (in section 5.3.2), one of the roles of the regional Department of the Environment is in the preparation of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs). Development that is potentially threatening the Komodo dragons in the manner described above would be subject to EIAs. However, this would be dependent the on BKSDA’s ability to prove the existence and scale of the Komodo dragon population.

Although the Komodo dragon is protected under national law, the question of development is likely to be an ongoing issue. Although at this point it is purely speculative, question marks over the size of the Komodo dragon population could lead to conservation issues. Without sufficient evidence of a likely threat to the local population of Komodo dragons, the EIA which would be needed for development may not be able to sufficiently temper any plans; under pressure from local actors and with insufficient evidence about the potential impacts on the local Komodo dragons, developments which are detrimental to conservation may be approved.

The local human population in the area does not pose a direct threat to the Komodo dragons and there has not been an issue with people trapping or killing the dragons; to do so would not only be illegal but also highly dangerous for the individual. But these are not the only reasons why humans do not routinely seek to kill Komodo dragons in the area. There is also a strong mysticism which surrounds the Komodo dragon and it has a prominent place in local myth and tradition. According to the interviewee, rather than wishing to deliberately kill the Komodo dragons, the local population are simply unaware of the possible consequences for the lizards of selling off their land for tourism.

The general preferred approach of the BKSDA is to work through the local government rather than through the provincial level of government. They believe that this is preferable as it allows them to work directly with those on the ground who have a stake in the matter. This is interesting from a norms perspective as it sees a national body based at the provincial level bypassing provincial departments and working directly with local stakeholders. This is done through and in conjunction with their own ‘local’ office, although, as noted it is actually based within Ruteng so is not ‘local’ in the strictest sense as it is in a different Kabupatan (locality).

#### Pota

Within the area of Pota, the situation is slightly different. The presence of humans within the area, according to the BKSDA, has led to a significant rise in the numbers of dogs in the area. Although not a threat to the Komodo dragons in their own right, the dogs in the forest disrupt the hunting and eating habits of the dragons by scaring away deer and other food sources.

It is unclear if the Pota Komodo dragon is exactly the same as the regular Komodo dragon but is certainly very similar. According to the head of the Tourism Product and Resources Development Affairs of the East Manggarai Tourism and Culture Agency, Damasus Ndama, in this area there have been issues with locals killing dragons because ‘local residents had hunted and killed the Komodo in Pota because they were unaware the animal was related to the rare Komodo dragon.’ (Makur, 2013). This raises interesting questions as to conservation in the area; has conservation really taken hold as a general idea or has it become focussed solely on this one species of the Komodo dragon? This question will be discussed further in the conclusion (section 5.6)

Pota is currently the main focus of the BKSDA’s efforts in mainland Flores. They have used what they referred to as a three pillars approach to conservation. The aim is to involve churches, traditional communities and villages to establish buy in from the local community. Given the large geographical areas which were involved, it would be impossible for the BKSDA, according to one interviewee, to ‘police conservation in any sort of effective manner’. Working with the community to gain their help and support will result in a greater number of people able to enforce ideas of conservation as well as helping to reduce infringements within that group. The interviewee pointed out that building up trust with the local community has been a long process; however, the overall aim is to encourage the local economy to develop without relying on the forest.

The BKSDA provides an interesting element to the study overall; it provides an insight into the way in which conservation is dealt with outside of the national parks. This additional insight allows consideration of whether conservation exists solely within the designated area of the national park or more widely.

## Local Level

The small coastal town of Labuan Bajo is, in many ways, similar to other towns spread across the region of Nusa Tenggara Timor (NTT- East Indonesia). Low lying hills covered in brown, dusty, rain-starved trees surround the port and look out onto a collection of smaller uninhabited islands. However, blended with this sleepy feeling outpost town is the principal economy in the country’s fastest growing regency. The presence of tourists is impossible to miss and with it comes a range of businesses to absorb their foreign wealth; tour operators promising the experience of a lifetime, diving shops and cafes serving Western food and plenty of cold beer. With direct flights to the tourist Mecca of Bali as well as other cities across the archipelago, Labuan Bajo acts as the gateway to the islands of Komodo and Rinca which make up the Komodo national park, the principal home of the world’s largest living lizard, the iconic Komodo dragon, as well as world class diving spots.

Labuan Bajo is the capital of the regency of Kabupatan Manggarai Barat or the Regency of West Manggarai in western Flores, which includes the Komodo national park. Interviews were undertaken with various local departments based in Labuan Bajo covering the three different departments of Forestry, Environment and Agriculture. The aim of this section is to understand what, if any, involvement local government structures have in putting into place conservation for the Komodo dragons, and look at if global conservation norms have a role in shaping local policy making

### West Manggarai Office for the Environment: Dinas Lingkungan Hidup Manggarai Barat- Labuan Bajo[[21]](#footnote-21)

The local Department of the Environment which covers the Komodo national park is the Dinas Lingkungan Hidup Manggarai Barat based in Labuan Bajo. It covers all of West Flores which includes the national park and the surrounding areas. Largely funded by the local executive (the Bupati) it is responsible for the environmental regulation of the locality.

As with the other departments mentioned previously, the Dinas Lingkungan Hidup has limited jurisdiction within the national park as it comes under the direct auspices of the forestry department, under the guidelines on national park management. However, it does still have some interesting responsibilities in relation to the environmental responsibility for the national park and surrounding areas.

The department undertakes two key functions concerned with the management of the park’s environment: data collection and environmental maintenance, which primarily involves refuse collection related to the local population. The role of data collection falls into line with the data collection needs set out by the national Department of the Environment described in chapter four. Given the lack of industry in the area and the strict controls put in place by the Department of Forestry within the national park, this is relatively straightforward. The Department of the Environment is responsible for collecting the refuse of the local population within the outer zones of the national park, but it also retains responsibility for the refuse collection within the national park as a whole.

There are four significant influences on the department’s policies. First, is the need to report and follow data collection directions from the national level of government. The second is for the PPE office for the eco region which is based in Bali. The PPE office has certain reporting requirements of the local departments which mirror those of the national department as well as requiring additional datasets.

The third influence is that of the Department of Forestry located within the national park. The functions previously described are relatively straightforward; however, the local Department of the Environment is often faced with the challenge of issues being displaced from the protected areas into the outer zones. As such, an extensive collaborative process with the Department of Forestry within the national park is required. Even within these relatively straightforward practical activities, the Department of Forestry’s practical conservation concerns influence policy.

The fourth influence on the local department is that of the local executive (Bupati). He/she is responsible for the priorities and direction of the department. The department must fall within the broad national guidelines, however, within this the Bupati is free to set their own foci. Although it was not stated during interviews, this executive power does raise questions around the department and the national park which are explained below.

These influences help to set the policy direction of the Department of the Environment. This is important as the department’s priority could be to prioritise the needs of the national park to the detriment of the wider population of the locality. This could be done in order to preserve the beauty of the area and protect the Komodo dragons. Conversely, the priority could also be focused away from the park to more densely populated areas in order to preserve the Bupati’s popularity with the electorate; this would put the onus onto the Department of Forestry to either complete the work or to lobby for further support. Although it was difficult to ascertain whether either of these policy directions was implemented, an important fact for this thesis is that at a local level, the executive is able to set policy direction and therefore may be able to act in line with global norms and go beyond the bare minimum standard set by national government policy. To the local staff it was not clear from where the Bupati would be influenced on such matters, instead ‘the strategies and direction just come from there [the Bupati]’.

### West Manggarai Office for Agriculture: Dinas Perkebunan Manggarai Barat- Labuan Bajo[[22]](#footnote-22)

The local Department of Agriculture for Manggarai Barat in West Flores is divided into two separate departments in the same manner as at the regional level of government. Following the same pattern as in section 5.3.1 only the department which focuses on plantation farming was interviewed as the livestock farming department was not seen as being relevant.

The Dinas Perkebunan has a difficult task in relation to the locals who reside within the national park. Although generally the interviewees characterised the locals as being more focussed on fishing, there is still some small scale farming which occurs within the park, however, this is restricted to individual plots within the designated areas. The difficulty for the Dinas Perkebunan is that it has relatively few powers to help the locals who want to undertake farming.

As has already been shown, strict limitations are placed on both the areas for farming as well as the farming techniques which can be used. The locals who wish to farm do contact the Dinas Perkebunan for advice as to how to improve their techniques. However, Dinas Perkebunan is generally unable to help the individuals. Most of the improved techniques which it would recommend such as using certain chemicals are not permitted within the park, as has already been shown.

What is interesting about the department, however, is that it does not seem to either advocate or criticise the conservation measures which are put into place; rather, the measures are more seen as being ‘the way things are’. The department does not feel a particular need to advocate conservation as the rules exist which put into place these restrictions; likewise it does not seem to criticise it because it simply accepts that the rules are in place and they are outside of its control.

There is a strong understanding that the department is to some extent powerless in assisting the farmers to dispute the rules as it is felt to be something which has to be addressed at a higher level given that these are national rules. As a result, the department escalates the issue to the provincial government, as has already been shown, to see if any resolution can be found there.

Although the Dinas Perkebunan does not play any significant role in conservation for the Komodo dragon, it does offer an interesting insight. Specifically, the attitude that these rules are simply not the responsibility of the local Department of Agriculture to challenge; not because it is a passionate advocates of conservation but rather because of the regulations’ status as a national law. This issue will be revisited within the discussion chapter; however, it would appear that the ‘conservation area’ norm has been strongly grafted on to a centralised power norm.

### West Manggarai Office for Forestry; Dinas Kehutanan Manggarai Barat- Labuan Bajo[[23]](#footnote-23)

The local forestry department for the area around Labuan Bajo (Dinas Kehutanan Manggarai Barat) occupies an interesting position regarding conservation and environmental norms. There are three particular elements of its role which will be examined here as they provide an interesting point of comparison for both the case study of Komodo dragons and the thesis as a whole.

The first interesting element of the local forestry department’s work is connected with the local geography of the region and how it affects the Dinas’ relation to the central office. The region does not face large scale industrial threats to its forests in the form of mining or large scale farming and as a result, the local forestry office retains a significant amount of power. As has already been shown, the issuing of permits for this sort of industry is often done at the national or regional level. This is notable as in some ways this allows overall conservation and environmental norms to be properly implemented at a local level. Kalimantan was specifically mentioned as a point of comparison by an interviewee who pointed out that unlike Kalimantan, Flores did not have many extractable resources or high quality farmland which meant that there was relatively little interest outside of the locality (i.e. national or international) in using the land. As a result neither the central nor regional governments had granted any permits for the forests to be used for farming or extraction, possibly because very few had been requested.

This situation is relevant to the power dynamics between the locality and the national level of government. Potentially the discovery of valuable resources in the area could lead to a shift in power away from the local government to the national government. Yet contrary to this theme was an example which was given of a Chinese company. This company had expressed an interest in gold extraction in the area, which apparently proved unpopular locally. As a result of the local opposition to the idea, the local department was able to make recommendations to the national department and as such ended up being rejected by the national government.

The second element is the utilisation by the local office of the Hutan Kemasyarakatan (HKm) or the Society/Community forest programme. This is a national policy initiative which has been running in one form or another across Indonesia for the last two decades (Kaskoyo, Mohammed and Inoue, 2014, 15). It was highlighted by the office as being one of their key projects. Its aim, as in other countries such as Nepal (see Timsina, 2003), is to empower local communities to become actively involved in the management of the forest and to take ownership of the area. The policy was designed and handed down through the various levels of government by the national forestry department and the local office is charged with co-ordinating and encouraging these efforts.

On a national level, there appears to be awareness that this principle of getting local communities to ‘buy into’ conservation in this way has been problematic (Prasetyo, 2014) - however, the local office sees it as an important tool to promote conservation. The precise stipulations of the policy are less significant than the overall principle of community involvement in managing the forest which lies in fairly strong contrast to that of the national parks. HKm has at its core a strongly decentralised and grassroots message of promoting local population involvement and addressing issues of conservation and sound environmental practice through a locally led initiative. This stands in stark contrast to the principles of the national park which are centrally administered and overseen by nationally commissioned and paid professional staff with a mandate to control the area in the interest of conservation.

Applied specifically to the case study at hand, therefore, what emerges is that for the national park area, this is designated to be controlled by central government staff. This situation is in contrast to all the other areas of the region where power is devolved to the local body to try and support local communities to take responsibility for conservation. What is not clear, however, is whether these policies are complementary in nature or contradictory; the message overall could be interpreted as being that some areas of conservation are too important and/or complex for the community to deal with. Furthermore, if this is the distinction being made, the discrepancy may be exacerbated by the notion that certain areas/habitats are more important and by inference, therefore, others less so. Although having this community led management approach which, once again, fits in with sustainable development principles is laudable, its existence alongside the national park structure seems to raise questions or possibly undermine it. The division between ‘community controlled’ and ‘government controlled’ areas gives out mixed messages.

The third issue concerns the level of staffing within the local forestry department compared to that of the national park. One of the key areas which the department is responsible for is the enforcement of the protection of the local forests. The main areas of concern in this respect are that of illegal inhabitation within the forests by locals and illegal logging. The department is charged with monitoring the forest and identifying infringements which are then passed onto the forestry police section of the department.

The forestry police are required to investigate any possible infringements and enforce these rules through a variety of means which may include eviction from any illegal residences as well as arresting individuals and prosecuting them. The area for which they are responsible is sizable as a great deal of the Kabupatan is forested, however; generally their work force is less than twenty officers to cover the entire area. Understaffing was identified as a key impediment to the proper implementation and enforcement of forestry regulations in the area. This is in stark contrast to the National Forestry department who are responsible for the enforcement of regulations within the national park and have approximately two hundred park rangers. The national park’s total area is around a quarter of the size of the whole Kabupatan of West Manggarai and has a much smaller population (and therefore fewer potential offenders) as well as being geographically isolated by virtue of being a set of islands (making large-scale illegal logging much less likely), all of which mean that it could be judged to be a much easier area in which to enforce regulations with a much larger workforce.

Overall, these resource questions for the two departments arguably show that the national park is better equipped than the local forestry department. This issue will be revisited later as it raises questions as to the role which the charismatic nature of the Komodo dragon plays as well as the park’s status as a world heritage site and what relationship this may have overall in relation to a coherent overarching conservation norm.

## NGO presence

Unlike a great many environmental and conservation issues around the world, the Komodo dragon conservation effort does not boast a significant NGO presence. This is in itself somewhat noteworthy and may reflect the fact that the largest concentration of the giant lizard resides in a national park which is recognised as a UN world heritage site. However, there is one NGO which is principally concerned with Komodo dragons. The Komodo Survival Programme works directly on the topic alongside the BKSDA.

### Komodo Survival Programme[[24]](#footnote-24)

The Komodo Survival Programme (KSP) is a relatively small NGO which works alongside the BKSDA. Since 2007 its focus has been away from the national park area as it felt that the lack of boundary issues meant that there were few important conservation problems within the national park. Historically there were problems around the relatively small human population poaching animals which threatened the food sources of the Komodo dragon, however, increased enforcement which began around ten years ago means that this is no longer such a significant issue. Therefore, the focus of KSP has been outside the national park and this section will investigate the position held within the conservation arena by KSP and how it works within global norms.

The principal problem that the KSP faces with the local population is the practice of ‘slash and burn’ agricultural techniques. Local farmers who wish to develop land for agricultural reasons take this highly destructive approach to the environment and therefore damage the habitat of the Komodo dragons. The population of dragons is highly fragmented and this is exacerbated by the destruction of their habitat. There are a number of conservation areas within the locality, however, the BKSDA, as previously mentioned, is responsible for twenty nine conservation areas across the province and as such is not able to enforce against infringements sufficiently. The KSP’s role is to supplement the BKSDA in protecting the Komodo dragons outside of the park as the latter is under resourced with too much focus and too many resources, in the view of the KSP, being placed on the national park.

Overall, its aim is to raise awareness amongst the local population through ‘soft power’ techniques rather than formal local government structures as well as trying to gather data on the Komodo dragons. The KSP deploys camera traps (as previously mentioned in section 5.3.4) in order to monitor the Komodo dragons to help them build up a greater understanding of their behaviour as well as population numbers and distribution.

Significantly, the main sources of funding for the KSP are the American ‘Association of Zoos & Aquariums’ (AZA) and the ‘European Association of Zoos and Aquaria’ (EAZA). Both organisations are collections of zoos operating at the national or continental level. They also have direct partnerships with Chester Zoo (Chester Zoo, 2014). They all fund the KSP as part of their international conservation projects.[[25]](#footnote-25)

Previously, these organisations had, like the KSP, been interested in the national park and its conservation efforts, however, this has shifted and the focus in now on the wider conservation issues for the Komodo dragon. According to the interviewee, these organisations target their funding at the KSP rather than the giving it to the government as they apparently know the KSP ‘will use the money the right way’. Furthermore, the organisations put a strong emphasis on employing Indonesian nationals and require them to publish the results rather than simply handing over the data or just accounting for spending in order to promote national expertise.

The KSP’s work with local communities is difficult as there has been a struggle to monetise the dragons on the mainland. KSP has identified two key reasons for this difficulty. The first is that the national park has effectively cornered the market on ‘dragon tourism’; the geographical nature of the national park being an island with a high concentration of Komodo dragons on it not to mention the nominative association mean that tourists instantly gravitate towards visiting the national park. Secondly, the KSP felt that few tourists hold a high enough interest in the Komodo dragons to make a specific trip. The viewing of the lizards is seen as being an additional extra whilst tourists are visiting for the world class diving opportunities offered off the coasts of Komodo; it was felt that tourists may make return visits for the diving, however, they are generally only interested in seeing the Komodo dragons once. As a result, the mainland areas are simply not that attractive for tourists to visit to see Komodo dragons.

As a result of this inability to monetise the dragons on the mainland, the KSP has tried to take a different approach with the local population. There is apparently some bitterness and resentment amongst mainland locals that the national park is such a significant generator of income. In order to combat this, the KSP has tried to instead to build a local pride of the mainland dragons rather than to show their economic value. Working through local community structures with a variety of stakeholders, they have tried to increase awareness as well as the public image of the mainland dragons in order to try to promote conservation.

The KSP largely works with the BKSDA and the national park. They feel that although the local levels of government are supportive of the ideals, they are simply not equipped to help and are badly let down by their systems and structures. As such, KSP ends up needing to bypass them to work directly with local people.

The KSP offer a very interesting global norms perspective on the conservation of Komodo dragons. Not being part of the formal governmental structure and instead funded by international organisations, it can be seen as being a ‘direct line’ from global conservation norms to the local level. Therefore the power diagram displayed at the beginning of the chapter can be updated as seen below in Figure K;

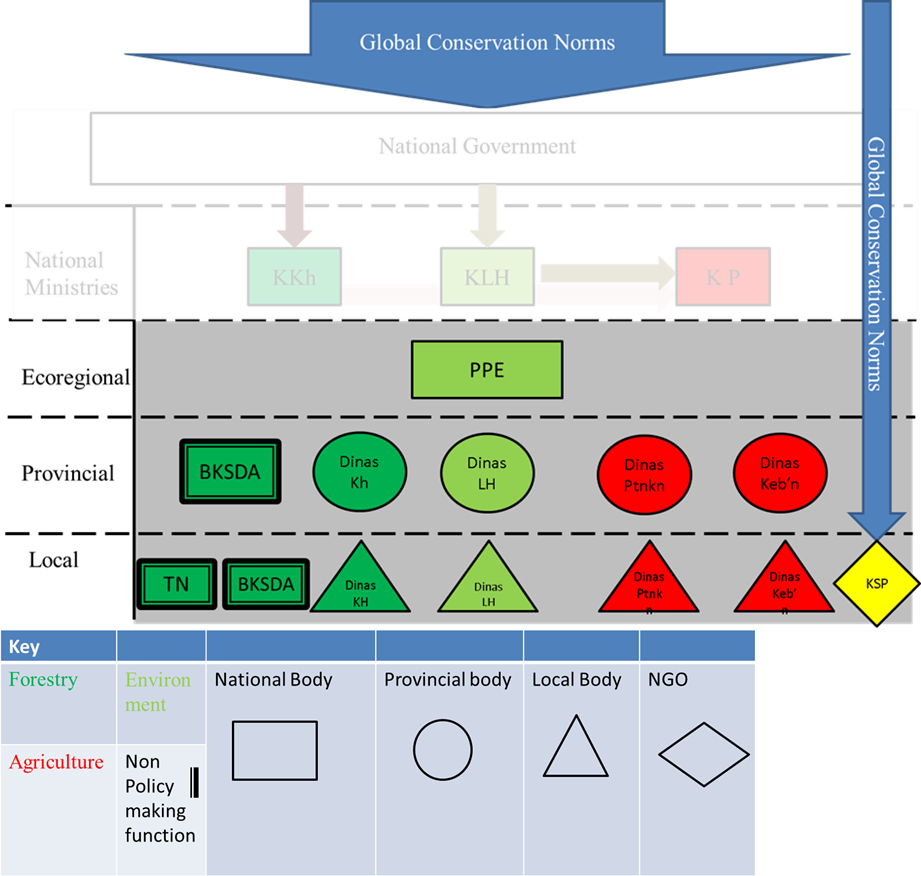
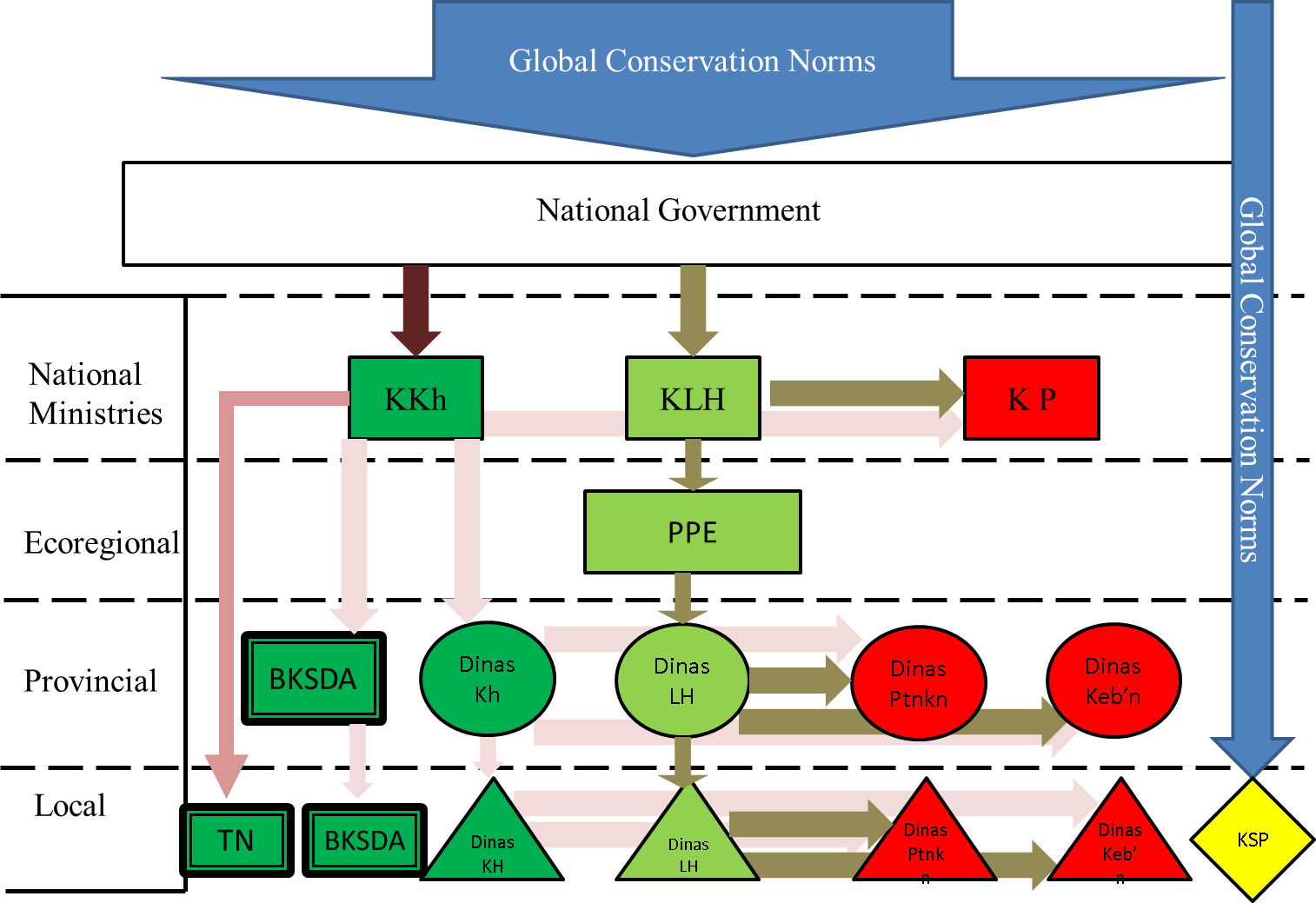


Figure K- Komodo power diagram including KSP

This is especially true when one considers that the KSP is doing ‘on the ground’ work with locals through education and awareness building rather than just implementing and enforcing a protected area.

## Conclusion

Overall, having completed the Komodo dragon case study, a number of themes emerge. This section will bring together some of these themes which will then be explored further in Chapter 7. The most significant contribution of this chapter is in understanding the various different functions which are undertaken by different bodies within the conservation arena for Komodo dragons. The completed picture of the conservation constellation can be seen below in Figure L (with key). The main addition to this diagram is the stratification of different norms.



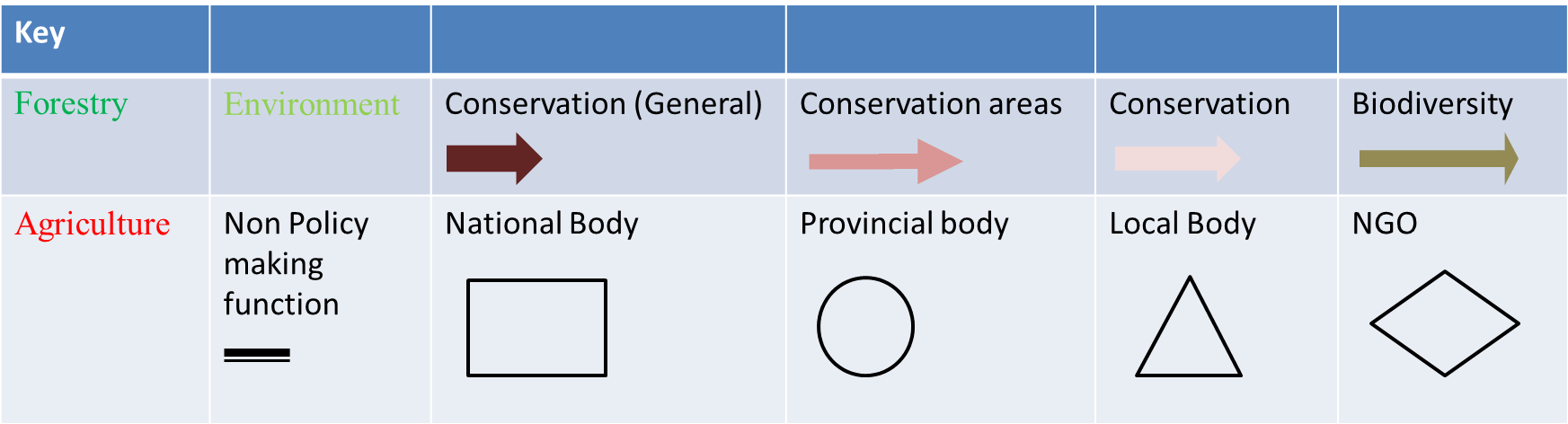


Figure Completed Komodo Dragon Global norms diagram

As already discussed, it is important to understand that a norm, in this case the conservation norm, cannot be seen simply as a single entity. Instead, norms should be seen as a collection of ideas which can become stratified, as with a light shone through a prism, and refracted into their constituent parts.

Therefore, this case study shows that this stratification occurs in two areas, through the separation of biodiversity from conservation at the level of national government as well as then within the Kementerian Kehutanan into norms around conservation *areas* and those of conservation. This is a highly important distinction. These themes will be picked up in much greater depth in chapter 7; however, it is important to understand here the relevance to the Komodo dragon case study

The main theme of this case study is that there is a very clear distinction between the establishment of the Komodo national park, a conservation area, and the actual ideas of conservation. Within the national park, conservation of the Komodo dragon is well executed. This is facilitated by two key factors. Firstly, the biological nature of the Komodo dragon as a large apex predator with no particular nature predators and general ‘hardy’ physique, it is relatively unchallenging to conserve. Secondly, the geographical nature of the area of the national park gives a further advantage to its preservation. The land is relatively poor and undesirable for farming, which means that the pressures for farming come from the small population rather than any form of industrial farming. More significantly perhaps is the fact that the national park is a small range of islands which allows it to be policed and protected relatively easily.

The national park stands in stark contrast to the situation on the mainland whereby those attempting conservation have to compete with larger geographical areas and more challenging human behaviour. This difference is further exacerbated by the legal framework in place.

The national park is distinct and separate as a protected area, not only legally but also geographically. The national law is very clear about it and its enforcement is well resourced. Significantly, it is managed by national law so that those individuals who make such decisions (as well as those who enforce them) have a certain distance from those who may be affected by these decisions by virtue of being a national park; they enjoy insulation from local consequences of this designation. In contrast, provincial and local governments are directly responsible to the populations who are affected by the area’s status as a national park. The mainland dragons that exist outside this national park, in contrast, are protected by a provincially-based national body; as such, responsibility for these mainland dragons sits with authorities that are geographically connected to their spaces of residence.

The outcome from these differential structures is that as the way in which conservation norms flow ‘all the way down’ vary substantially. The idea of conservation cannot be seen to be rooted at a local level, bar the work that the KSP and BKSDA are undertaking to educate local people. What we can instead see is that the norm of a conservation area has been successfully implemented at a local level, with the population by and large adhering to related regulations. However, the issues surrounding the mainland dragons show that as a general principle, the ideas of conservation have not fully achieved traction. Although the idea of the conservation area is acknowledged, it is only done so through being imposed on the area by the national government; it is accepted rather than supported.

# Chapter 6- The conservation of the Bornean orangutan in East Kalimantan



## Introduction

The Indonesian territory of Kalimantan on the island of Borneo boasts dense rainforests and rich biodiversity. This huge island is the home of one of two species of orangutans in Indonesia, the Bornean orangutan. These ‘forest people’ (‘orang-hutan’) have come under a variety of pressures over the last century. This case study is focused on one of the five provinces, East Kalimantan and on the locality of East Kutai.

This chapter will focus on analysing the structures in East Kalimantan which are involved in the challenges of orangutan conservation. As with the previous chapter, it will attempt to investigate the way in which these government structures act as transmission points for global conservation norms from the global level down to the local level. In line with the rest of thesis, the role of three departments, the departments of Agriculture, Environment and Forestry, will be investigated across the provincial and local levels. In addition, the eco-regional office of the Department of Environment in Balikpapan will be investigated as well as an NGO which works on orangutan conservation in the area. All of the interviews took place in August and September 2013. The basic structure remains the same as the previous case study and can be seen below in Figure M:

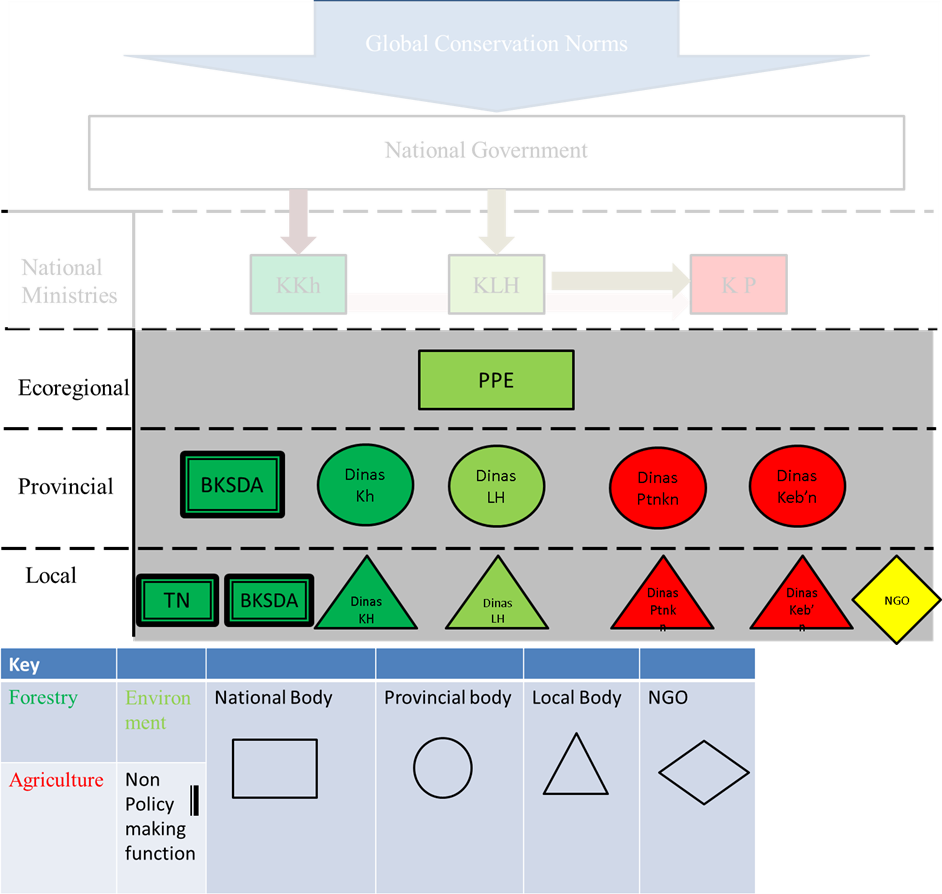


Figure M- Basic Outline of Orangutan Government structure

Overall, through the chapter it will be suggested that relatively weak institutional structures and heterogeneous actor preferences have led to shortcomings with the implementation of conservation plans. While global norms and best practices have been incorporated into policy frameworks and reproduced at the national level by officials and strategies, the transmission through sub-national networks has proved to be extremely challenging. The myriad interests and broad nature of the national conservation measures have left significant room for practical on the ground conservation actions to struggle to be effective.

As with the previous chapter, it is important to explain the detail of the inner workings of the various different institutional bodies which are involved with conservation in Indonesia. It is only through being able to understand the nuances of the responsibilities of the different bodies involved that we are able to understand how conservation is implemented within Indonesia. Through investigating the possible gaps and overlaps, this chapter will help to build understanding of the ‘on the ground’ reality of conservation policy towards orangutans and to understand any possible tensions or conflicts.

The structure of this chapter consists of six sections including this introduction. It will investigate the working practices of the three nominated departments at different levels of government. Section 6.2. examines the role which is played by the Eco-regional PPE office for Kalimantan. As was alluded to in chapter five, in Kalimantan the PPE office has a more significant role than in the Komodo case study and is based in East Kalimantan’s second largest city, Balikpapan.

Section 6.3. investigates the role played by the various departments which are part of the provincial level of government. As stated above, it is the way in which these sub national bodies implement national, global-norm-influenced policy that is at the centre of this thesis. As with the previous case study, this includes the provincial ministries for Agriculture, Environment and Forestry, but it also includes the national body the BKSDA, which is based at the provincial level.

Having investigated the provincial level of government, section 6.4 will focus on the local level of government. As described in chapter 2, the decision was made to focus on the Kabupatan (locality) of East Kutai and its capital, Sangatta, which includes the East Kutai national park. At the local level, the Departments of Agriculture, Environment and Forestry were once again interviewed.

Section 6.5 focuses on an NGO operating within the area and provides an interesting perspective of the situation from outside of the government structure. As is explained in greater depth within the section, a decision was made not to name them so as to not cause any potential issues with government structures. The NGO, which undertakes practical conservation work, provides a different perspective on the situation. The chapter will then close with a short conclusion in section 6.6, that will bring together some of the key themes which have been brought out through the chapter. This will provide a basis for the discussion in chapter 7.

## Eco-regional Level

### PPE Department of the Environment Eco-regional Office Balikpapan[[26]](#footnote-26)

The Eco-regional Management office, or [Pusat Pengelolaan Ekoregion](http://ppebalinusra.menlh.go.id/) (PPE), for Kalimantan is based in the second largest city in East Kalimantan, Balikpapan. The office is part of the Department of Environment (Lingkungan Hidup) and occupies a space between the national office of the environment and the provincial offices. This eco-regional level of government is unique to the Department of Environment and is not mirrored in any of the other departments within this study. Their position, therefore, is of great interest in understanding how global norms transmit down to the local level.

The office is not based within the regional capital of East Kalimantan, Samarinda, which reflects to some extent how it remains separate from the regional level of government. This office is part of the national Department of Environment and is essentially a satellite office responsible for co-ordinating the Department of Environment’s activities and policies for the entirety of the area of Kalimantan; it provides a key link between national policy and the hotbed of biodiversity which is the island of Borneo.

#### General role of the PPE office

The main role of this office is in providing a link between the national and the provincial departments; this is done through the tailoring and socialisation of national legislation to the different provinces of Kalimantan. The legislation produced by the national office is generally of a broad nature which is designed for the entirety of Indonesia. Due to the diverse nature of the archipelago, the national legislation is only able to set out minimum standards that are going to be able to be applied in the different specific situations of the varied regions within Indonesia. As a result, the PPE office is required to develop the legislation and shape it so that it is applicable to the needs of the specific eco-region.

The main focus of PPE Balikpapan therefore is in receiving the national legislation and then ‘translating’ it into a practical and specific plans and targets, which can then be used by the provincial level of government. Once this is done, this legislation then needs to go through a process of socialisation with the regional governments so that it becomes part of their own regulation.

As previously mentioned, this national legislation only sets out minimum targets which are very broad in nature and it is the role of the PPE office to act as a link. Having received the legislation, the PPE office is responsible for conveying this broad legislation so that it can be complied with at a provincial level. However, the office is also keen to impress upon the provincial level of government that these targets are simply a minimum and that the provincial governments can go beyond these and choose to implement more stringent environmental policy.

The PPE office is generally constrained to operating vertically within its own department. It receives legislation from the central office as well as also passing on information in line with various monitoring criteria back up to the central office. Likewise it passes on legislation to the provincial offices below as well as receiving data from them. The PPE office operates exclusively within the Department of Environment stream without interacting with any other departments. For example, should it become aware of an issue developing with the actions of another department at a provincial or local level, it will not address this directly but instead will go through its own provincial office and ask them to co-ordinate with the relevant corresponding department at the provincial level or to pass it on to the local office to address it with the appropriate local department.

In addition to its primary tasks, the PPE office is also able to take a more holistic approach to the island and understand issues which may occur across the provinces and attempt to encourage standardisation and co-ordination. Given that many of the environmental and biodiversity challenges can occur in such a manner which does not respect the provincial borders, such as forest fires or air pollution, the office plays a key role in being able to see a more complete picture and advise the provincial governments accordingly.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, because the eco-region is a single island, this is of great benefit; it provides a contrast to the challenges of the PPE office in Bali which has to deal with a plethora of different islands. By having this eco-regional office, issues can be addressed with a greater degree of regional expertise than would be afforded by the central national government Department of Environment.

Overall, however, the PPE office’s role does highlight key elements of the orangutan case study within this thesis. These reoccurring elements are the broad targets set by the national government and the reoccurring theme of the division of biodiversity and conservation being split between the departments of Forestry and Environment; an issue which is especially relevant within Kalimantan.

#### Broad targets

The PPE department highlights one of the logistical issues with environmental legislation and norm transmission within Indonesia, namely the practical implications of trying to legislate for such a large and geographically varied country. The legislation produced at the national level can only set out a very broad framework, which then needs to be interpreted and implemented at lower levels.

This is not a challenge unique to Indonesia; however, as will be shown within some of the subsequent sections, especially the NGO section of this chapter, it is a particular challenge within Indonesia. Remote areas – common within Kalimantan - may not have government offices that have sufficient education and awareness of environmental and conservation issues to set appropriate boundaries within the broad range set out by the national government.

The PPE department attempts to operationalise the nationally mandated legislation which does allow in some respects for a greater level of norm transmission than if they were not there to act as this ‘bridge’. However, they do not have enough legislative shaping powers and cannot change the nature of the legislation but instead only attempt to transmit it to the provincial bodies and ensure it is implemented. As a result a great deal of power and discretion still lies at the provincial level that can choose to implement more stringent measures if it wishes.

Overall, national legislation takes precedence over the provincial legislation and a possible upshot of this could be a deferment to a lower level. If the government legislation sets a lower standard in a particular area of policy than already exists in the province, there is no motivation to maintain that higher standard and as such there could be a form of ‘regression to the mean’ in provincial legislation. This outcome may be encouraged by the fact that looser environmental legislation often carries with it the promise of greater industrial gain especially if there is a general lack of awareness about sound environmental practice. The PPE office can advise provinces and encourage good practice by helping them to understand the requirements of the national governments laws, however, even though they realise that more stringent legislation is required for its particular region, they cannot act beyond the original stipulations of the law.

#### Biodiversity and Conservation

A reoccurring theme within both case studies is the separation of biodiversity and conservation between the Departments of Environment and Forestry. This division and the slightly paradoxical situation it produces is highlighted by the Kalimantan PPE office not only in its own position but also in the fact that its existence highlights to some extent the omission of a corresponding level of operation within the Department of Forestry.

According to the interviewees within Balikpapan PPE, the responsibility for conservation lies with the Department of Forestry as this responsibility predates the existence of the Department of Environment. However, the interviewees felt this would sit more comfortably within the office’s remit for two further reasons beyond the obvious one of the synergy of the conservation and biodiversity remits. First, this conservation responsibility is generally handled at the provincial and local level although, as will be shown later, the principal efforts are overseen by the nationally funded and controlled BKSDA, which is based at a provincial level.

What is lacking in this arrangement is an overall regional level of government and co-ordination, which would be able to co-ordinate activities and strategies over the whole of the territory of Kalimantan. Instead, there are only those bodies that operate at the provincial level, which receive direction from the national level of government. The impact of this structure rather than having an eco-regional office means that there is no bridge between the two in order to help balance the generality of the national office and the specificity of the lower offices.

The second reason is the potential conflicting elements of the Department of Forestry’s remit. In addition to their responsibility for conservation, provincial and local Departments of Forestry are also responsible for the issuing of permits for logging and deforestation. This responsibility sits at the provincial level if the permit is for an area which covers two or more Kabupatans or at the local level if it is contained within a single Kabupatan.

The latter of these two responsibilities was mentioned within the chapter on Komodo dragons; however, as described there, deforestation is a less significant factor within that case study due to the relatively poor quality of the land involved. Furthermore the general containment of the Komodo dragon within the protected national park and the fact that the Komodo dragon is less reliant on the forest habitat also reduce the impact. However, in the case of orangutans, this dual mission is highly relevant.

The interviewees felt that this dual mission was problematic in nature. They felt that by having this responsibility for issuing permits the Department of Forestry would not have as its sole and primary concern for the conservation issues. However, should conservation be included within the remit of the Department of Environment, then they felt that the principle of conservation could be better implemented as they would be able to pursue it without having the conflict of feeling that they needed to allow deforestation. Although there may be considerable weight to this argument, it should also be considered in the light of the fact that one department may always feel that they would have a clearer and superior vision of how they perform any given task.

#### PPE Balikpapan conclusion

Overall, the PPE department in Balikpapan not only occupies an interesting position in the space between the national and provincial levels of government but also provides an interesting contrast in role to the Department of Forestry. Further to this, they have provided a noteworthy perspective on the difficulty for the national government in drafting legislation which can be comprehensive enough to cover the whole country. This section has also highlighted the resulting risk of such national legislation in stifling the province’s motivation in developing more environmentally stringent legislation through having to conform to a basic minimum. However, it has also highlighted the important work done by the PPE department in attempting to socialise and encourage the implementation of certain environmental standards, as well as acting as a bridge for legislation and norms between the national and provincial levels.

## Provincial Level

The provincial level of government for East Kalimantan, the province which includes the East Kutai national park, is based in the city of Samarinda. This section will investigate how this provincial level of government operates, their aims and how they interact upwards with the national level of government as well as downwards with the local levels of government in Sangatta.

### Provincial Office for Agriculture: Dinas Peternakan/Dinas Perkebunan Kalimantan Timur - Samarinda[[27]](#footnote-27)

As with the previous case study, the provincial Department of Agriculture in Samarinda is divided into two separate offices; the office focussing on plantations (Dinas Perkebunan) and the office focussing on ranching/livestock (Dinas Peternakan). For this case study the main threat in relation to agriculture to orangutans is that of palm oil plantations and therefore a decision was taken to interview a representative within the office focussed on plantations.

The key narrative within the provincial Department of Agriculture is that of change and improvement. There appears to be an understanding of some of the problems of the past and that now it is putting into place measures to rectify these mistakes and make improvements. This narrative would see the departmental policies come more into line with global norms. However, the question which is central to this is not as to whether the ideas of conservation and environmental protection are recognised but instead whether they have been practically implemented.

#### General Remit

Overall, the provincial Department of Agriculture has a number of tasks, some of which are influenced by prevailing global norms. There is a specific sub department within the office which is responsible for protection and deals mainly with the largest forms of agriculture in the area which are palm oil, coconuts, coffee and pepper. Within this sub department, its main aim is in ensuring that farming is undertaken in such a manner as to provide adequate environmental protection. However, this is largely focussed on climate change prevention rather than towards conservation.

The main task of the department is in training trainers who can in turn pass on their knowledge to the local farmers. This is largely influenced by a 2013 national law that was passed and requires an approach to farming which is aimed at reducing climate change. This law was devised at the national level through a process of mass consultation and sets out certain practices which are discouraged. This is especially notable as the law appeared to be a ‘soft’ approach to the issues; it appeared to rely on information and training in order to discourage unsound practice. For example, it outlawed the practice of burning off vegetation in order to farm the land; however, it was not clear what the potential punishments were for breaking these rules. The onus was instead on educating society and the regional office was tasked with co-ordinating this awareness raising remit.

This task was generally undertaken in co-ordination with the Department of Environment along with Department of Forestry. The majority of the enforcement is done at the local level, however, for the bigger issues and when issues infringe on multiple localities then the provincial Department of Agriculture takes over and takes action.

The majority of large-scale farming operations in the area are of Malaysian origin, quite often operating behind Indonesian ‘fronts’. This makes it challenging for the department to really take significant action; however, it is taking action as best it can. The provincial department is actually responsible for deciding how many plants can be planted and in how big an area as well as where this will be and by whom. This gives the regional authority a high level of power with regards to controlling this issue. It will decide for each locality the level of planting which can be undertaken and then it is up to the locality to administer this locally. One of the key functions of the department therefore is in deciding which companies can operate and this is done through a process of ‘grading’ of various companies.

#### Grading of Farming

The process of ‘grading’ of companies is an important but also complex procedure. This is part of Indonesia’s national programme ‘Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil’ (ISPO). This programme is focussed on achieving two general aims: ensuring the competitiveness and success of Indonesia’s palm oil production and promoting an environmentally friendly approach through reducing greenhouse emissions as well as preserving Indonesia’s nature resources (ISPO 2015). The exact set of conditions which companies have to meet is somewhat unclear. However, it has had quite a significant impact on the sector since its introduction in 2012. The department claims (although this cannot be independently verified) that since the new rules were introduced, some 65% of companies that were operating in the area have not been invited to continue farming.

The law requires that all companies be graded and those gaining a bad grade are not allowed to continue farming in the area. There is a process of monitoring and the original grading does not simply give the company indefinite free rein. In some ways, this represents significant progress in environmental practice and conservation; however, this comes with a number of caveats. Although the grading system does include environmental elements (amongst others), it only decides which companies are able to farm the areas, it does not determine the volume of farming as a whole that can be undertaken.

Clearly, it is preferable that those companies which undertake farming are regulated and this may well help to improve the general level of environmental consideration in farming. However, it does not particularly address the underlying issues, especially with regards to conservation; even with regulation of the specific practices within an area, if the areas being farmed are significant this will cause issues for conservation just through loss of habitat.

With regards to orangutan conservation, to some extent no matter how well the farming is regulated, the issue is not just the practices but rather how much of the habitat is removed and the impact that this can have on conservation; essentially, rather than being a question of how farming is handled within an area, the more pertinent question concerns the size of the area farmed and the amount of habitat removed. Outside of the protected status of certain areas of forest and the overall aim of 30% of forest conservation set by the Indonesian government (as shown in section 5.3.3.2.), the rest of the area is at the discretion of the provincial government. This is especially important given the fact shown in the chapter on national level governments that the Department of Forestry estimates that the majority of orangutans live outside of the protected areas (see section 4.4.3)

The process of grading is complex; however, it is worth highlighting one aspect which might be possibly problematic. Generally, the grading is undertaken by a combination of the provincial levels of the Department of Environment, the Department of Forestry and the Department of Agriculture. In some senses, this shows a sound legislative basis for environmental and conservation practices. However, as will be shown later in the NGO section, this process is far from flawless and appears to leave enough space to possibly cause issues. The Department of Agriculture conceded that it is possible for these assessments and grading to be undertaken by private consultants although this is at great expense to the company. This opening up of regulation to private companies does leave scope for questionable decisions. This theme will be returned to in the NGO section of this chapter.

Finally, in this sub section, it is worth briefly considering the situation of the company PT. REA KALTIM. The example of this company was given during interviews with the provincial Department of Agriculture. The company farmed in the area and was highlighted in some ways as a success story. Whilst farming in the area, it invested in building a plant which was able to process the waste from the palm oil production and use it to generate free electricity for the local population. This clearly could be seen as a positive outcome for the local population and was even highlighted by the Department of Agriculture as being an example as to how these companies can improve the area and the lives of the locals.

The particularly interesting aspect of PT. REA KALTIM, is that they did not appear on the list of approved companies supplied by the Department of Agriculture. When this was raised with the interviewees from the department, they explained that despite the positive impacts in terms of infrastructure, the Department of Agriculture actually had to remove its permission for PT REA KALTIM to farm in the area due to the fact that the company was graded as being unsuitable. This case starkly highlights that it can be very difficult to balance the benefits to the local community whilst also implementing sound environmental practices.

#### Provincial Department of Agriculture Conclusion

This section around the work of the provincial Department of Agriculture has outlined its role in administering the practices of agriculture in East Kalimantan. What has been shown is that although there have been moves towards improving environmental practices, they have suffered from some blind-spots. It raises a debate as to the nature of these blind spots and as to whether they represent active resistance or more passive negligence and shortfalls in capacity. Although it is difficult to make a definitive judgement, it would appear that these problems arise from a combination of poorly worded guidance and a quite literal and narrow interpretation of this guidance. This is combined with pressures to utilise the land fully; a theme which will be explored further in comparison to the komodo dragon case study in the following chapter.

Notably, the focus on preventing practices that may contribute towards climate change and an acceptance of the protected areas has almost meant a tacit acceptance that conservation is the concern solely of conservation areas. Furthermore, there is potential within the process for private interests of companies to possibly find ways to at best bend and at worst circumvent regulations on grading through the use of private companies in the evaluation process.

### Provincial Office for the Environment: Dinas Lingkungan Hidup Kalimantan Timur Samarinda[[28]](#footnote-28)

Within the provincial Department of Environment in Samarinda is a section called Bidang Pengendalian Kerusakan or the Bureau for Environmental Damage Control. Within this are two sub units: those of the sub-bureau of land, forest, and water damage control and the sub-bureau of animal and coastal ecosystem damage control. Their principal function is as the interviewee put it “to perform coordination on problems related to environmental damage in Kalimantan Timur”. Their more practical/technical role lies in working with the different agencies within the local government, e.g. fishery, forestry etc. They generally operate on a coordination level whilst also, again as the interviewee put it, “helping the governor to form his/her policy regarding the environment control”. This section will have two subsections that will address the general role of the department and then the department’s view of the approach and, conversely, the perception of the department with regards to relationships between the local population, companies and the environment

#### General Role

As a department based at the provincial level, its budget and affairs are directly connected to the office of the Gubernur. It receives limited funding from the central government; however, the majority comes from the provincial level of government. Its principal role is in co-ordinating different departments in terms of ensuring that they follow the environmental agenda which is set out by the national government and in supporting the Gubernur in making policy decisions that are environmentally aware. The key challenge in terms of environmental protection for the region is that of natural resource extraction, which includes both deforestation and mineral extraction in the form of mining.

The most significant contribution that the regional Department of Environment has regarding extraction is through its co-ordination of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs). As mentioned elsewhere within this chapter, this is an important element of environmental policy in the region. The provincial Department of Environment takes a supervisory role in overseeing the completion of EIAs for new developments. The majority of the time this involves preparing the reports themselves and helping to evaluate the likely implications of any new developments before helping to advise the Gubernur on how to proceed with whether to allow developments. The interviewee explained that the EIA documentation “must include the objective analysis on the impact that may be caused by any exploitation activities, how long the exploitation will take, and any other related important information.” As is mentioned in the previous section and in the later NGO section, there is sometimes some external involvement in the preparation of EIAs.

The Department of Environment felt that external involvement in EIAs is not a problematic relationship given that it feels there is a high level of co-ordination with the external bodies preparing the reports. Through this co-ordination it feels that it shares a mutual aim with these external companies. While this may be true, it is worth considering that the Department of Environment is unlikely to say that such a system and process with which it is involved and oversees is flawed.

#### The relationship between government, companies and the local population, and the environment

The most important perspective of the provincial Department of Environment is its view of the relationship between with the local people, companies and the environment. This is extremely important as it gives an insight into the presumptions on which the department operates. These relationships and the provincial Department of Environment’s perception of these stakeholders’ attitudes are interesting in understanding overall trends or at least the Department of Environment’s impression of them.

The department makes a distinction between the local people and the companies which operate in the area, however, it feels that both groups are in favour of environmental protection whilst also conceding there are issues which remain with attitudes towards orangutan conservation. The department believes that for both groups, the environment is equally important. For outside companies and their employees, the department believes they have an intrinsic interest in the continued conservation of the area as this may impact upon their industry and their company in the longer term. Their work requires the continued richness of the environment in the area and therefore they would want to preserve it. The interviewee explained this by saying:

*“There are two kinds of people here. Outsiders who probably only come to conduct activities i.e. workers of the exploiting companies or people who transmigrated here and live successful live, and local people who tend to protect their land, their environment as they will always live here. For both groups, conservation seems to be equally important. For the first group, it is essential because it is their living or they base their living on the richness of Kalimantan Timur’s environment. For the second group, it is important as this is their land”*

However, this is based on the belief that stakeholders will consider the long term impact of their actions on their environment and the possible implications this may have. The local people are also apparently keen for sound environmental practices to be maintained as they have an affinity with the area and wish to ensure its long term prospects. Therefore, the department believes that both sides have an active interest in environmental protection.

This view that generally those in the area are concerned with environmental protection does stand somewhat at loggerheads with other views expressed by others within this thesis; most notably the national Department of Environment and the subsequent NGO section. The national Department of Environment especially talked about how there was a lack of understanding at the lower levels about the long term implications of environmental degradation. These perceptions of how the local population view the local environment are further propagated through the department’s views on the relationship between the Gubernur and the local population. It was felt that even though the Gubernur has some freedom to set policy direction in terms of the environment, it is not able to not make environment a priority due to popular will and that…

*Due to democracy, when people think that environmental problems are important, it must be prioritized. In Indonesia, environment is priority. It is also true in this province, whose people earn a living mostly from its natural resources (Provincial Department of Environment interview).*

Despite this view that many of the local population are very much in favour of environmental regulation, the provincial Department of Environment itself concedes that issues remain in terms of public perception and orangutan conservation. Two conservation areas were established in Sangatta which is notable for the additional reason that the demand for this apparently came from the local level and was endorsed by the regional level. Yet despite this, there are still members of the local population as well as companies who are still, as the interviewee from the provincial department of the environment phrased it; ‘willing to eradicate the orangutan disturbance’. Although a great deal of effort would appear to be made by the provincial department of the environment in altering this attitude and progress is apparently being made towards changing the views of those within the local population set on eradication through socialisation and education, it still highlights a slight inconsistency in the views of the department.

This inconsistency between claiming local concern for conservation and attempts to eradicate orangutans is highly relevant to this study. This inconsistency would appear to make a contribution to the question of global norms at different levels of government. It could be interpreted as being a question about the idea of norms being embedded within the language and attitudes of government structures, but, not always fully realised in practice. The idea of the importance of conservation and its accompanying language has become embedded within the department; that is to say that it has reached a hegemonic level that it is unacceptable for people be characterised as being anything other than being in support of conservation. However, deeper probing into the specifics reveals that there are specific practices which fall outside of this norm. Yet the ideals of conservation are so deeply implanted that this cannot overturn the overall characterisation people have of being pro-conservation.

#### Provincial Department of Environment Conclusion

Overall, this section has highlighted the main role and specific perceptions of the provincial Department of Environment for East Kalimantan in Samarinda. It has focussed on logistics of its role within the EIA process as well as discussing some of its specific perceptions of conservation issues in East Kalimantan and how this can be related to global norms. This included the portrayal of the locality and both outsiders and insiders being very supportive of environmental norms. Other sections of this thesis, however, provide a contrasting perception.

### Provincial Office for Forestry: Dinas Kehutanan Kalimantan Timur- Samarinda[[29]](#footnote-29)

The Dinas Kehutanan in Samarinda, as with the corresponding provincial forestry office in the Komodo dragon case study, occupies an unusual position within the conservation landscape in East Kalimantan. Although part of the Department of Forestry which is responsible for the conservation of endangered species either within or outside the national park, these responsibilities lie with the park rangers and the BKSDA respectively. This leaves the provincial Department of Forestry occupying a space in-between whilst also not having a direct say over either. That said, although the department does not have formal authority over these two bodies, it does occupy a co-ordinating role which involves them both.This co-ordination role means that on a practical level, the provincial Department of Forestry is able to direct the BKSDA even though it does not actually have formal authority over the BKSDA. The Dinas Kehutanan heads up the ecosystem co-ordination meetings which is unsurprising given it is responsible for gathering extensive data on the state of the forest as a whole as well as on the movement of orangutans. Through heading up this meeting and bringing the relevant data to the different stakeholders such as the BKSDA, it is in fact able to direct this national body to areas of concern and towards potential issues. This overall co-ordination role means that it is a key link between the provincial and the national as they report to both the national Department of Forestry, from whom it receive the majority of its direction, but also to the Gubernur. The Gubernur’s office provides the majority of its funding, however, its role generally is shaped by national legislation.

The levels of forestry are set centrally from Jakarta, however, this also represents a two way communication as it can be changed through requests from the local level. This is done through the local level of Forestry making a decision and then making a request to the provincial level that will in turn, if it supports it, make a request to the national government.

Although in some ways the provincial Department of Forestry appears to have quite a lot of power, this power is shrinking as the various industries grow. Once land has been designated for palm oil plantations and cleared, it is no longer classified as ‘forest’ and as such no longer comes under the auspices of the Department of Forestry; in a literal sense and perhaps not surprisingly, its power shrinks as the forest does. Given the dual role of the department in fauna conservation along with care for the forest, this may make it more difficult in the future for the transmission of conservation norms. The body which is in many ways chiefly responsible for implementing policies which would put into place an overall structure for conservation is slowly having its geographical sphere of influence removed. The department does have the authority to refuse requests for changes to the forest boundaries, so long as is continues within the rules which have been set out, and so it retains a large degree of discretion.

As previously discussed in section 6.2, the authority for issuing permits for deforestation lies with the Department of Forestry at both a local and provincial level. This provincial level of government was given this authority in 1999 under Ministerial Decree 310/1999 (Barr et. al, 2006, 89). As previously discussed, this is something of a problematic dual role; however, it can also be viewed as an advantage. Through having the oversight of the different trends and issues in the forest allows the department to make well informed decisions balancing the needs of economic development whilst also being able to consider the issues of conservation. In theory at least, the department is able to better apply the conservation norm in its decisions than if it was given to another department which did not have this dual role, for example if it lay within the Department of Agriculture or the Department of Mining. However, alternatively given the department’s proximity to the office of the Gubernur, it may be under pressure to make decisions which are weighted towards the development of the area rather than towards conservation.

Therefore, this positions the Department of Forestry as having to balance the demands for conservation which are mandated at a national level whilst also having to understand the provincial and local level demands for further development of the area. In particular, the long term prospects of the Gubernur’s own personal position are, to some degree, connected to the need to bring economic growth to the area to ensure continued electoral success. The previously mentioned dual remit of the department means that it is responsible for making these balancing decisions rather than a scenario of different departments with differing priorities competing against one another. This therefore, places a great deal of responsibility on the department; this positioning essentially places the department at the core of competing interests of the provincial and local against the national focus on conservation.

In summary, this section has demonstrated the complex position occupied by the provincial office for Forestry. It has been shown that it takes an important role in co-ordinating various different departments in conservation work as well as the planning of deforestation in the area. This dual role is problematic in some sense having to balance the needs of conservation with those of the drive for development.

### Provincial office for the National Natural Resources Conservation Agency; Balai Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam (BKSDA) Samarinda[[30]](#footnote-30)

As shown in the previous case study, the BKSDA are responsible for the protected species which reside outside of the national park areas. However, the significance of the role of the BKSDA Samarinda and its importance within Kalimantan contrasts quite starkly with that of BKSDA Kupang. This section will show how various differences related to the localised situations mean that the office takes on a difference position and significance.

Operating directly under the national Department of Forestry, the BKSDA has a number of satellite offices in East Kalimantan with its headquarters being based in the regional capital Samarinda. As with the previous case study, although it is based at the provincial level, it receives both its funding and direction from the national level of government; despite being provincially based, it should be considered a national body operating at the provincial level. As such, it does not receive funding from nor is accountable to the Gubernur. Instead it is tasked with the protection of fauna in the area which have protected status, most significant of which is the orangutan. The BKSDA in Samarinda has two key roles with regards to orangutan in East Kalimantan; a proactive/preventative and a reactionary/responsive role.

#### Preventative Role

The BKSDA is at the forefront of a difficult challenge; it wants to be able to improve conservation in the area but at the same time, it sees the increasing influence of palm oil production. The office is aware that the challenges are growing and that its job becomes increasingly difficult. It is challenging for the department because they are not able to significantly influence policy around the increase in palm oil production. Even if it were able to influence the policy decisions, it also understands not only the potential wealth and prosperity that the plantations can bring to the local people but significantly the wealth that it also brings to the local and provincial levels of government. It is challenging therefore to balance the need for conservation with the source of revenue for both the local population and the government.

The BKSDA has attempted to better integrate ideas of conservation into the practice of the palm oil companies. It has undertaken to encourage the palm oil companies to be more aware of the issues around conservation. The department has written to the companies in the area and has encouraged them to be more aware of conservation issues and to try to encourage better practice. Although the department were quite encouraged by the response from the companies in terms from its correspondence, the interviewee didn’t really talk about any discernible outcomes of these actions. It also raises the issue that the writing of letters is an extremely passive form of trying to inspire any change; it is difficult to envisage any sort of discernible or significant change which would result from this action given the significant pressures and high stakes which are involved within the scenario.

Despite the fact that the action of sending letters appears an inadequate response to conservation threats, the department is generally in a difficult position; should it find specific wrongdoing which contravenes the law then it would be able to take action, however, most of the problems actually exist within the law and are generally issues around the general growth of business. The increase in palm oil production and coal mining within Kalimantan have created additional pressure on Orangutan conservation and the environment more generally and therefore challenge conservation norms. As will be shown within chapter 7, this increased pressure due to land use is a key distinction between the Orangutan case study and that of the komodo dragon where there are far fewer land use pressures.

#### Responsive Role

The result of this intersection between human development and natural habitat is the increasing workload for the department as it is tasked with the rescue and re-location of endangered species, chiefly orangutans. The ever expanding programme of development in the area means that the orangutans and other species come into conflict with the human development. The department’s role is to respond when an orangutan is in distress and relocate it either to new forest areas or to an NGO-run sanctuary and rehabilitation centre in the south of the region. This work is extremely challenging especially given that area which the BKSDA covers is vast and it has to perform its tasks with around one hundred members of the department.

In terms of global norm transmission, it shows some degree of the ideas of conservation being put into place through having this rescue service. However, what it reflects to a greater degree is that overall systems and processes are not being put into place to sufficiently prevent problems in a wider sense. These acute conservation problems of stranded orangutans demonstrate that there is a wider structural issue related to the prioritisation of conservation on the ground.

#### BKSDA Conclusion

Overall, the BKSDA in East Kalimantan is in a difficult position. Its role is to protect orangutans in the area; however, overall it is not really equipped to take any action beyond responding to issues and individual cases. The cause of the issue is the ongoing conversion of forest habitat into palm oil plantations and as this is government mandated through the issuing of permits then it is difficult for them to prevent these issues in any formal manner. As a result, its work is generally in trying to encourage palm oil companies over which it has no formal power to take more environmentally sound measures whilst also trying to respond to the individual problems as they arise.

## Local Level

The local level of government which this thesis focuses upon is the East Kutai Kabupatan. The capital of this remote region is small town of Sangatta.

### East Kutai Department of Agriculture: Dinas Perkebunan Kutai Timur- Sangatta[[31]](#footnote-31)

The Dinas Perkebunan in Sangatta is primarily responsible for the ISPO grading of certification of local farming operations in line with the other processes laid out elsewhere. Additionally, it also deals with a number of areas around farming practice which are also relevant for conservation in the area.

The awarding of an ISPO certificate is based around assessment against forty one indicators. This has led to some companies in the region being no longer permitted to operate within the area. Generally, the department’s purpose is based around the practical logistics of implementing this programme and assessing the various companies. It is interesting from a global norms perspective as it represents a good transition of global norms through national legislation, which sets out guidelines for environmental protection at a local level. However, overall the role of the department is putting it into place and this is not especially noteworthy for this thesis.

The Dinas Perkebunan’s direction mainly comes from the provincial level of national level of government via the provincial level Department of Agriculture. Its work is mainly geared towards implementing the ISPO as well as supporting farmers and there does not appear to be a significant level of policy direction received from the local level of government. This may be because in general there is already a push towards increasing farming from the provincial department and the local executive is likely to be supportive of this move as it brings prosperity to the region.

Generally the department felt that the overriding issue between agriculture and orangutans was of the farmers fearing the orangutans. The interviewee believed that the farmers were fearful not only of the damage which the orangutans could do both to their crops and their person, but this was heightened given the protected status of the orangutan. The interviewee felt that farmers felt somewhat defenceless to protect themselves and their crops because they risked repercussions if they clashed with the orangutan. Managing this relationship between the farmers and the great apes is a significant problem for the department and it has to regularly co-ordinate with the BKSDA in order to help protect the farmers.

In conclusion, as regards global norms transmission, the local Department of Agriculture seems to fall into line with the national policy which is handed to them from the provincial level of government. The main focus appears to be on the practical implementation of policies rather than containing any significant policy direction. This may also be because many of the palm oil companies are quite large overseas operations and therefore, as will be shown in section 6.4.3., their sheer size means that a lot of their administration is handled at the provincial level.

### East Kutai Department of Environment: Dinas Lingkungan Hidup Kutai Timur- Sangatta[[32]](#footnote-32)

As with the local agriculture office, the Department of Environment generally seems to play a minor governing role in the Kabupatan. The department is not, as previously mentioned, responsible for conservation as this lies within the Department of Forestry. The department has two main functions- reporting on Biodiversity and other environmental standards and the preparation of EIAs. However, as will be shown, these are not generally hugely significant to this case study.

The preparation of biodiversity data is a key function of the office. It is required to send this data to the provincial level of government as well as directly to the PPE office. The department is also required to prepare data on other issues such as water quality and put into place various policies and standards which are passed from the provincial level of government. However, the majority of this work does not directly affect conservation in the area. The local Department of Environment generally works as a supplementary force in these areas rather than working particularly independently. If there is a problem with pollution from farming, it works with the Department of Agriculture and if there are issues with conservation either inside or outside the national park then it works with the Department of Forestry. Its role in implementing new policy appears to be somewhat limited and instead it is responsible for observing/reporting as well as supporting other departments.

One area where the provincial Department of Environment would appear to take on some importance in is the preparation of EIAs, however, this too comes with significant caveats. As has been shown in other sections, much of the EIA preparation is undertaken at the provincial level (section 6.3.2) and/or is undertaken by private companies. As a result, the department remain somewhat peripheral in terms of this case study.

### East Kutai Department of Forestry: Dinas Kehutanan Kutai Timur- Sangatta[[33]](#footnote-33)

The local Department of Forestry in Sangatta is in something of a strange position with regards to conservation norms in East Kutai. The locally funded department is situated within the Department of Forestry, which is responsible for both the national parks and the conservation of protected species outside of the national parks; however, it does not itself have responsibility for either area. As has been shown, this lies on the park rangers and the BKSDA respectively. The principal focus of this local department is therefore in the administration of forest management outside the national park but not conservation. There are two key elements to its work in the form of issuing permits for smaller scale deforestation and the prevention of illegal logging, both of these issues will be examined within this section.

#### Forestry Permits

One of the local forestry department’s key tasks is in the issuing of permits for deforestation and natural resource use in the locality. This responsibility allows it to sanction companies for the clearing of up to 2500m3 of trees. This is a limited power, however, as clearances of a greater volume of trees, up to 6000m3, lies with the provincial level of government and above this at the national ministry level. In some ways this appears to give it a pivotal role in deforestation and the overall conservation landscape, yet there are a number of caveats to this.

The issuing of smaller permits although handled by the local Department of Forestry, is done in conjunction with a number of other governmental bodies and in some senses it can be seen as only procedural that it is carried out by the Department of Forestry. As has already been shown, the permission to undertake deforestation and to establish plantations is also reliant on the grading of companies, which is undertaken by the various levels of the Department of Agriculture, as well as on the environmental impact assessments which involve the Department of Environment. The local Department of Forestry is mainly focussed on co-ordinating these various different elements and issuing the final permit.

The key element to consider here, however, is that the local Department of Forestry generally only operates under broad targets and rules which have been set out at higher levels of government. Although the department does hold control over the issuing of permits, the rules which limit how many it can issue as well as how much land can be deforested are quite broad. Below in Table 8 are the statistics given by the local forestry department for the areas of designation within the locality.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Designation | Area (ha) | % |
| Areas Designated for Forestry Uses | 1,717,630 | 54.76% |
| Areas Designated for Non-forestry Uses | 977,288 | 31.16% |
| **Total of production forest** | **2,694,918** | **85.92%** |
|  |  |  |
| Protected forest | 274,709 | 8.75% |
| Nature Reserve | 47,343 | 1.5% |
| National Park | 119,373 | 3.8% |
| **Total protected** | **441,425** | **14.07%** |
|  |  |  |
| Total of Protected and production | 3,136,343 |  |
| Given total area | 3,185,282 |  |
| Area unaccounted for | 48,939 |  |

Table 8- Designation of forest areas within the East Kutai locality

This classification as ‘production forest’ means that the areas designated for forestry use can be converted into areas for non-forestry use (such as palm oil plantations) although a minimum of 30% overall must remain. The decision as to how to classify areas as being for forestry use or non-forestry use is decided at the provincial level (Wells et al, 2012). These numbers show that even within the permitted rules, the local Department of Forestry and the provincial Department of Forestry can, in theory, issue permits, subject to Department of Agriculture grading and Department of Environment impact assessments for around 86% of the locality. As things stand, the provincial level has only permitted around 31% of the locality to be used for non-forestry uses.

This shows overall the high level of freedom given to the local levels, albeit under the auspices of the provincial level to permit deforestation. Although the national parks and conservation areas are protected, there appears to be an implication that outside these areas, it is acceptable to permit deforestation.

#### Illegal Logging

Illegal logging is a threat to the forests and orangutan conservation. It is a key function of the local forestry office to monitor and to try and prevent illegal logging; however, this is a very challenging task for the Dinas Kehutanan.

The forests which the local office are responsible for are vast as shown by the statistics in Table 8 and this area is to be protected from illegal logging by around one hundred and fifty staff. When the department discovers illegal loggers, its division of forestry police has to inform the regular police who will conduct an investigation and make arrests if necessary. One of the interesting tactics that is currently being employed is to work with palm oil companies and other developers to help protect against illegal logging. These companies are in fact responsible, according to the department, for also helping to protect the forests from illegal logging. The department actually felt that co-operation with the companies who own much of the land has helped in the fight against illegal logging.

#### Dinas Kehutanan Conclusion

Overall, the local forestry department does not have a direct influence or involvement in the conservation of orangutans. However, its indirect influence is very important in its role in the administration of forest exploitation permits and it operates within a system which in fact gives it, as well as the provincial level office for forestry, a great deal of power and relatively few limits on how much deforestation can take place. The system in place, which makes divisions between protected areas and production forests, appears to development a default position whereby any non-protected areas should be used for production. Although the creation of protected areas could be seen as a positive, what happens in reality is that it creates ‘non-protection areas’.

## NGO[[34]](#footnote-34)

An interview took place with an NGO which works in the area. In order to allow the interviewees’ full thoughts and views to be expressed and detailed, a decision was taken to allow them to remain anonymous. Given that NGOs in the area work alongside the government departments, it was decided that its identity should be withheld so that there did not have to be any concern about the organisations’ views on the government departments damaging their working relationships and making its work harder. The NGO offers an interesting perspective giving an ‘on the ground’ practical perspective as to how conservation is handled at a local level and insights into the provincial level.

### NGO Work

The NGO has a dual role of conservation promotion on both a local and global level as well as on the ground practical conservation work. These two elements will be investigated within this subsection.

The NGO works to promote orangutan conservation awareness in both the locality and to the wider global community. The NGO staff make regular visits into local schools and community centres in order to help raise awareness of the plight of the orangutan locally. In an area of low levels of education, its aim is to work with local people to help them understand the threats to conservation and explain about the potential risks. Their promotion work actually encompasses conservation as a whole using the charismatic nature of the orangutan in order to promote their message. The interviewees believed that through engaging with the local population, especially the younger generation, conservation awareness can be built and hopefully improve conditions long term for conservation in the area.

The NGO is globally supported and through its local conservation advocacy work it is bypassing government structures and acting as a transmission point for the building of global conservation norms within the local population. The aim is that local people will understand the wider themes of conservation outside of the formal government structure and attempt to grow grassroots support for their mission. The NGO also acts as an upwards conduit.

The NGO is very active in terms of global awareness of the conservation issues of orangutans. Through awareness and fundraising events around the world as well as trying to build a social media presence, the NGO aims to highlight the lack of conservation practices to a global audience. This serves a dual purpose of fundraising as well as trying to gain wider support. Part of this awareness building has been to highlight the links between the threats to conservation with western influence; this has included highlighting how much damage is done to the habitat in order to provide palm oil for processed food in the west. In addition to the general conservation message there has been specific content aimed at highlighting the behaviour of some western companies such as coal mining companies as well as showing the prevalence of palm oil in consumer products whilst also demonstrating the destructive practices used in its production. These efforts have fed into wider conservation messages of higher profile organisations such as Greenpeace[[35]](#footnote-35) about palm oil production; however, these messages have generally been of a higher, more generalised level.

This awareness building is coupled with the more practical on the ground conservation work which the NGO undertakes. This work is extremely difficult given the orangutan’s status as a protected species; as such, it is in fact technically illegal for the NGO to remove or relocate orangutans that are in distress or danger despite the fact that its staff do have veterinary training. As such, there are technical limitations to the action which it can take.

The NGOs practical work takes on a number of strands. Firstly, it works to locate and document problems. Often, this involves travelling to the site of reported issues and documenting problems such as illegal practices around logging and direct abuse against orangutans. It is also involves long term care of orangutans which are not in the wild and, on occasion, rescuing orangutans. The documenting of issues is mainly based around taking photos with incorporated GPS data so that this can then be passed onto the relevant authorities to attempt to push them to take action.

The long term care of orangutans not in the wild is also a significant part of the NGOs routine. This includes providing medical care, feeding and cleaning of orangutans that have either been rescued and are now held by the government, orangutans are kept in very poor conditions within some privately run zoos, which operate on the edge of legality. The rescuing of orangutans, as previously mentioned, is a difficult area given their protected status. This would normally involve making the relevant government departments aware of the problem and then providing the financial and practical resources to transport members of government departments to the location of the issue. Under the supervision of the government officials, the NGO would then provide medical support and relocate the orangutan to either a facility for their rehabilitation or to a more suitable area of forest. It is a very common occurrence that an orangutan has become trapped in an ‘island’ of forest when the surrounding area has been deforested and as such they are stranded and trapped in an unsuitably small habitat.

The NGO’s role therefore is firstly to act as a body to try and communicate conservation ideas and norms down from the global level to the local level, bypassing government structures, as well as to expose local problems to a global audience. Secondly, it focuses on trying to provide practical support for conservation within the field.

### NGO view of the situation in East Kalimantan

The NGO also gave their opinions on the specific situation within East Kalimantan and its observations as to the challenges which are faced and its views on the government. The principal challenges for orangutans in East Kalimantan are deforestation for palm oil plantations and coal mining. As will be shown in this section, the conservation issues and threats to orangutans do not just come through the degradation of their habitat but also on occasion through direct aggression and hunting caused by the development of industry in the area.

The problem of deforestation is facilitated and exacerbated by the formal governmental structures. As with the previous case study, the issue consists of two key strands: within the national park and outside of the national park. First, the situation within the national park will be considered and then the much larger issues of outside of the national park will be examined. As will be explored further within the discussion chapter, the contrast between the two situations is a key theme of this thesis.

#### Within the National Park

According to the NGO, the situation within the national park is actually of a lesser concern. The government resources which, as shown previously, are of a national level are well catered for within the national park. This area has a clear set of guidelines and rules which govern it and are well defined in national law and enforced by the national body of the national park. Despite this overall success or conservation in this area, there are two issues of management within the parks.

The first of these issues regards the borders of the national parks. Some companies have been allowed to use the land surrounding the national park and due to the fact that forests are quite difficult to demarcate clearly, there has been some infringement into the national park territories. It is not entirely clear if this is an innocent infringement or whether it is an attempt to further expand territory. The NGO felt that there is insufficient monitoring of the borders of the national parks, although given their size this is a very resource intensive activity. Furthermore, once the area has been deforested, it is unclear what action can be taken against them. Although there may be fines and other measures, it is not possible to re-instate the forest as the damage is already done.

The second issue is also about encroachment, but rather than being about big companies it involves traditional communities. The lifestyle and traditions of these communities is such that they move around and resettle in different parts of the forest. They will then farm the area for a time before moving onto another area. This raises interesting questions about global norms because to some extent these communities exist outside of the formal societal structures which govern the country. It is also a problematic issue as their own traditional lifestyle is under threat from the continued development and deforestation of the area and as such they are almost forced into the national parks in order to preserve their traditions.

Part of the issue for these traditional communities is that, according to the NGO, they are not particularly considered when decisions are made as to whether to allow companies to work in an area. As such, they are already often displaced by palm oil and coal mining companies who have been granted permission to use the land which they have inhabited. It was not clear just how destructive this traditional way of life is for the environment and conservation, however, given the increased concentration of wildlife in the remaining forested areas as a result of deforestation then it is likely that the impact would be greater than in a pre-deforestation environment.

Overall, although these issues do occur within the national park, they are less significant than the problems outside of the national park. As was shown in the previous case study, the embodiment of the conservation norm into national law creating conservation areas has led to a relatively strong level of norm integration for the conservation areas. According to the NGO, this is in contrast to the areas outside of the national parks.

#### Outside the National Park

The key actors in terms of the areas outside the national park according to the NGO are those the Departments of Forestry and Agriculture. The NGO has a differing perspective from those expressed during the interviews with these government bodies which have already been detailed. The interviewees felt that these two local government bodies were not willing to act sufficiently to support conservation for a number of reasons, but in particular inertia and corruption.

Although it is not to deny that these elements may be true, it is also worth adding a note of context that these are extremely prevalent views within Indonesia. During the Soeharto New Order period, as was shown to some extent in chapter 3 on the historical context of Indonesia and its environmental history, corruption within government structures was endemic. In the post New Order Indonesia, corruption is still an issue, however, the rhetoric and the general belief that all government officials are involved in some degree of corruption is extremely strong. This is not to say that there is not corruption, however, it is important to note that there is strong rhetoric within Indonesia of frequently believing there is corruption based on commonly-held assumptions and this is the context in which these comments may have been made.

One of the experiences of the NGO is that when reporting large scale issues of conservation involving orangutans, it experiences a greater degree of success if it reports directly to the national level of government. The NGO provides the national Department of Forestry with evidence in the hope of getting them to apply downward pressure rather than attempting to go to the local or provincial levels of government. It has generally found the national level of government to be far more responsive in such matters than the lower levels of government.

Two reasons were suggested for the fact that the national Department of Forestry were more responsive: the fear of bad publicity as well as better education and awareness. The NGO felt that as the majority of the local and regional government officials were drawn from the local population of Kalimantan, perhaps they did not have the same awareness of conservation issues as exists in the national office where staff are likely to be better educated and originate from the island of Java. The island of Java is much more cosmopolitan and the well-educated from there are more likely to be in tune with global norms of conservation. Second, the national government would have a greater fear of bad publicity; within the local area bad publicity in the regional and local press is less feared as a large proportion of the readership is likely to either benefit or at least believe they will benefit from the developments which are causing the conservation issues.

Although there may be some truth in these suggestions, this issue will be returned to in Chapter 7 with a focus on the proximity of power to populations who are concerned with conservation issues. What is worth noting here is the logistical implications in the discussion around global norms. What would appear to be the case, according to this NGO, is that the global norms of conservation do not necessarily appear to have been sufficiently transmitted from the national level to the levels below. However, enough of a system has been put into place that should the national government be made aware of an issue, they are able to prompt lower levels to take action and impress upon them further the importance of these issues.

There is a particular element of the NGOs work which very much represents an intersection between the problems of inertia and corruption. As previously described the NGO is unable to move, remove or treat orangutans in the wild without government permission because of the ape’s status as a protected species. This is why a great deal of the NGO’s work is focussed on a reconnaissance remit.

When it has been accepted by the government structure that action needs to be taken, which as is shown above is often a result of going directly to the national level of government, the NGO interviewees explained that it still needed to work to facilitate action being taken from the BKSDA. In order to take action the government officials need to be present so this facilitation of action would normally include providing transport and covering the costs of travel (such as petrol) as well as providing hotel accommodation if needed. Furthermore, there may be a need to pay government officials some additional expenses to supervise the removal.

As previously mentioned in the section outlining the NGOs work, the issues can generally fall into one of two categories, direct and indirect harm to orangutans. The indirect issues such as loss of habitat/food supplies and water are clear, however, there are also a number of direct threats against the orangutans. The NGO deals with three main forms of direct abuse of orangutans: the keeping of orangutans as pets; orangutans’ transformation into pests; and the incentivised killing of orangutans. Each one is technically illegal but they all continue in the face of the law.

The keeping of orangutans as pets is a practice which is not uncommon in Kalimantan and can also be a lucrative business. There are individuals who want to keep orangutans as pets as a sign of status as well as a number of people who will also go into the forests to capture orangutans to meet this demand. Further to this trade as pets, there are also a number of highly disturbing reports of shaved orangutans being used within the sex trade within Kalimantan (Fridman, 2013). Even those kept as pets are highly unlikely to be given the amount of space they require and to be kept in good conditions. The NGO explained that it is a lack of education and understanding amongst the local population as to the needs of orangutans in captivity as well as the legal status of the orangutan which has meant they continue to be captured and kept as pets.

The second form of abuse with which the NGO deals with is injuries to orangutans caused by local people; this abuse has been caused by deforestation and a subsequent framing of the Orangutan as a pest. As farming and agriculture has been expanded in the area including by local farmers, it has brought the farmers into conflict with orangutans. As their habitat disappears, the orangutans are forced to venture to farms in order to be able to eat. As a result of this encroachment into their habitat and the subsequent framing of orangutans as pests, this has led to farmers, who once again are not aware of the orangutan’s legal status, attacking them and/or setting traps. As Chapter 3 made clear, this framing was already established and in fact enshrined in early law after the 1910 ordinance (Cribb, 2007, 52).

The third issue of direct abuse against orangutans, which is related to the previous one as well as to wider questions about the role of big businesses in the area, is the incentivised killing of orangutans. In a similar manner to the problem above faced by farmers of small holdings, large palm oil companies also want to reduce the amount of their crops lost to orangutans. However, they instead do it in a more organised way.

The companies are aware of the legislation protecting orangutans and as such would not want to be directly involved in killing them. Instead, they allegedly make verbal offers (which importantly are not written down or provable) to their employees of large financial incentives if they were to kill orangutans. According to the NGO interviewees, they have seen this often but most notably in 2011 when they found a number of dead orangutans which had either been shot or poisoned. In this case, locals were allegedly offered around five hundred thousand rupiah or one million rupiah for an infant or adult orangutan respectively[[36]](#footnote-36). In this specific case, the company was able to sufficiently insulate itself so that it did not end up being prosecuted but rather it was just the individual workers. One of the advantages of this case was, however, that it did raise some awareness amongst the population and made people more aware of the illegality of killing an orangutan.

Essentially, it is perhaps not surprising that companies would look to maximise their profits if they can, regardless of global norms if their reputation is not under threat and they can sufficiently insulate themselves from controversy. However, what it is surprising is that the legal framework does exist which embodies these norms but is not being fully utilised. This raises questions about the intent and inertia by the authorities and the reasons for it. This is one of the wider issues which the NGO felt existed with some of the large businesses which operate in Kalimantan.

The NGO identified two further key issues with the role of big businesses in the area. The first of these was the large degree of support which they gain from the local population and the power which this subsequently wields in putting pressure on the government. The large companies are able to gain support through the prospect of employment and financial stability for the local population. East Kalimantan does not have the same levels of industrial development as areas such as Java and Sumatra in western Indonesia. Recent developments in technology and communications have meant that the population has a greater awareness of the consumer goods available and the differing lifestyles of those in more prosperous areas of Indonesia. As a result there is a greater demand to move away from the more traditional lifestyles and forms of employment and towards the opportunity for greater financial reward. This promise of employment means that the opportunities offered by the companies are extremely attractive.

The second issue is that in addition to this implicit promise of better employment opportunities there are also implicit and explicit promises of infrastructure improvements. The companies bring with them the opportunities for the road infrastructure to be improved as well as promises of the greater availability of reliable electricity and other basic infrastructure developments. This is especially appealing to a lot of the population who live in small, isolated and relatively simple villages. In an area where education is generally quite low along with the awareness of the importance of conservation then these promises of development prove to be very popular with the local population and garner a great deal of support.

One of the issues with this development is that currently, according to the NGO, there is no viable alternative option for developing the area. The NGO would really like to help tourism develop but currently there is insufficient interest from people to visit. Those that do visit come on trips mainly focussed on the national park. As with the Komodo dragons in the other case study, the national park actually offers the best opportunity to see the orangutans as it has a higher concentration. The result is that when the demands of the tourists can usually be satisfied within the national park then there are relatively few opportunities to monetise the existence of orangutans outside the national park. Furthermore, unlike the Komodo national park, East Kalimantan has few other attractions to draw tourists to it.

In the face of such popularity for these businesses there exists, as previously mentioned, sufficient mechanisms and responsibilities in line with global conservation norms to balance this drive for development and industrialisation in the form of EIAs. As has been previously shown, these are the result of co-operation between several government departments, however, the NGO felt that the process and safeguards were insufficiently utilised.

Although the EIAs have been highlighted by different departments as a way in which conservation was properly considered for the development of areas outside the national park, the NGO felt that there were issues around the process and especially in two areas. Firstly, the interviewees felt that a lot of these EIAs may be undertaken by private companies and agents and then submitted to the government departments. These companies, as private entities, may not be entirely impartial in their reports and also would have a high level of specialisation, knowing how to frame an application in order to make it successful.

The second area, which is an issue in itself but also helps to confound the role of private companies, is the lack of transparency in the EIA process as a whole. The EIA as well as associated documents should be available to the public as other documents are, however, they are simply not available. The NGO had been unable to discover a reason why these documents were not available, which adds to the impression that something may be amiss. Overall, this lack of transparency does not allow for a full scrutiny to be undertaken. Given the flexibility and discretionary powers which are afforded to lower levels of government to authorise some deforestation and development, the lack of transparency does raise questions as to whether this ability to restrain industry in line with the potential environmental impacts is being utilised.

### NGO Conclusion

This section has been able to reflect on some of the perspectives of an NGO working in the area. It has provided an interesting on the ground view point of the practicalities of orangutan conservation in East Kalimantan. Furthermore, it has provided an important counter balance to the views of the government departments and raised a number of issues as to the functioning of government departments. It has shown how the situation outside of the national park, in areas which come under the control of the local and provincial government, is the key area of interest for conservation issues: both through direct and indirect threats to orangutans. This distinction around which bodies are responsible for different territories and what shapes their decision making are themes which will be picked up in relation other localised factors within the discussion chapter.

## Chapter Conclusion

Overall, this chapter has sought to outline some of the complexities of the governmental structure in relation to the Bornean orangutan in east Kalimantan. What has emerged is that the governmental structures and legislation passed at different levels has had a significant impact upon the way in which the conservation of orangutans has been undertaken. Whilst many of the government departments have given an impression that the conservation norm has been well rooted within the area, the NGO which has been interviewed has offered a practical on the ground perspective.

Many of the issues raised in this chapter relating to the institutional structures that mediate the translation of global and national conservation norms through to the local level will be examined in greater depth within the discussion chapter. However, it is worth noting a general theme which has emerged within this case study. Whereas the Komodo dragon case study dealt with a species which was largely contained within a neat geographical area, the case of the orangutan stands in stark contrast to this. Overall, one of the key features of this case study is that the orangutan is a highly mobile species and does not respect governmental jurisdictional boundaries. Whereas effective Komodo conservation was operationalised through the creation of protected areas, this option has not existed for the orangutan population. In addition to this relationship between space and norm transmission, through the following chapter the issues of species biology, geographical factors, and species charisma are also explored

# Chapter 7- Discussion and Conclusion chapter; drawing comparisons between the conservation of Komodo dragons and Bornean orangutans



## Introduction

Throughout the two case studies a number of key themes have emerged. What has been shown is the way in which different actors operate, as how far their remits stretch and their overall internal structure. This has allowed for a comprehensive picture to be drawn of the way in which formal and informal structures within Indonesia have affected how conservation has been implemented for both Komodo dragons and Bornean orangutans. What has emerged has shown both a number of similarities and differences in their levels of protection.

In the introduction to this thesis, five research questions were laid out, they were as follows;

1. *Through what processes have global conservation norms been incorporated into Indonesian conservation practices?*
2. *How have national and local conditions shaped the ‘downloading’ of global conservation norms?*
3. *Who are the core actors involved in the conservation of charismatic megafauna in Indonesia, and what are the dominant understandings of the appropriate means and ends of conservation practices?*
4. *What lessons can be learnt from conservation in Indonesia which can help inform us of the workings of global norms at a local level?*

In addition, the following methodological question emerges:

1. *How can understandings of conservation across the global, national, and local levels be systematically analysed?*

In addressing these research questions throughout the thesis two key messages have emerged and these will run through this chapter. These two key messages are as follows:

1. That the current body of literature around global norms fails to account for the connection between the different levels of government and the transition of ideas and norms of the standards of conservation between them; the current literature fails to account for the nuanced norm-shaping internal structures and how they may affect the way in which and to what degree a norm is implemented.
2. That through this study, six factors, in addition to institutional structure, can be clearly identified which affect how conservation policy is enacted for a particular species.

This chapter will investigate these two themes in sections 7.2 and 7.3 respectively. These two sections will be followed by section 7.4, which will summarise the findings and arguments made in the thesis.

## Casual Analysis

As previously outlined within the introduction (section 1.5) having investigated the specific functions of the different departments for the two case studies, this thesis argues that a causal analysis is needed to understand to why there are differing conservation outcomes for orangutans and Komodo dragons within Indonesia. Through closely examining the roles of different departments within the conservation constellation within Chapters five and six, a comprehensive picture of the overall structure of Indonesian governing structures has been presented.

Having investigated these structures, this chapter will put forward the view that there are three features of the Indonesian government structure which have created regulatory confusion and therefore ‘space’ for specific situational factors to influence the success of conservation in Indonesia. The three features of this structure are:

1. the splitting of responsibility between the department of environment and forestry,
2. the creation of conservation areas and
3. the division of responsibilities between levels of government.

These three factors operate as the three interdependent points of a triangle; in isolation these three factors may not be significantly influential, however, in combination they create significant regulatory confusion which creates sufficient ‘space’ for the specific situational factors to play a role.

These situational factors are as follows;

* 1. Primary Factors
     1. Land use pressures
     2. Biology of the species
     3. Geographical factors
  2. Secondary/catalytic factors
     1. Species charisma/rarity
     2. Historical construction of identity
     3. Tourism

It is difficult to rank these specific situational factors as they do not exist independently of one another but instead all contribute to the overall situation. However, it can be seen that in broad strokes that the first three, which are more closely connected to the physical environment can be seen as of more primary factors. The latter three, which can be seen as made up as more as constructs of human behaviour, can generally be seen as being more catalytic in nature working to enhance the effects of the first three.

It is worth restressing within this analysis, that although the first three are more closely connected to the physical environment, their influence and only gain their pivotal role because of the constructs of the institutional structure outlined above.

## The structure of government within Indonesia.

The two case studies provide contrasting views on conservation in Indonesia. This section will lay out the overall comparison between the two of them and outline the structural findings of the two case studies. What is included within this chapter is a series of tentative conclusions about factors that have shaped the imperfect translation of the conservation norms to the local level. This section will argue that the structure of government in Indonesia is such that the transmission of norms into practice is varied. The result is that a space is created whereby ‘specific situational dependent factors’ become significant determinants of the success of conservation for the different species, which will then be detailed in section 7.3. This section will lay out the overall argument and will then categorise the main specific situational dependent factors. The overall conservational landscape for the two species differs significantly through a combination of the government structures, which allows the specific situational dependent factors to become relevant.

### Splitting of responsibility between Environment and Forestry

A fundamental factor in the structure of Indonesian conservation is the split that occurs at the highest level in the national government; the division of responsibility for conservation and biodiversity between the Department of Forestry and the Department of the Environment respectively, has been shown to be of key significance. This division is based on the historical position of the Department of Forestry and the policy area of conservation predating the Department of the Environment, which was shown in Chapter 6.

This division of responsibility establishes a bifurcated landscape. Whereas the structures and resources of the Department of the Environment have become more closely aligned with conservation and the protection of biodiversity, the Department of Forestry focuses on directing its operations primarily toward the sustainable management of natural capital. The existence of these contrasting frameworks of ideas is not immediately apparent from the limited number of primary documents that set out departmental responsibilities; this finding has been generated through the multi-level interview-based approach to case study exploration on which this study has been founded.

This differing mission is reflected in the wider tasks of the Department of Forestry. Its responsibility is to ensure the sustainable and correct exploitation of the forestry area. This is shown by the fact that it is also responsible for the issuing of permits for forestry exploitation. Its mission, in the broadest sense, is to ensure the sustainable nature of the exploitation rather than to protect against it. Its functions of protecting species can be viewed as being a secondary management function of ensuring the sustainable exploitation of Indonesia’s forestry resources.

The division between the Department of Forestry and the Department of the Environment makes an important difference to the transmission of environmental/conservational norms from the global level to the national level. The Department of Forestry would be the obvious choice of departments to take responsibility for a great many of the roles related to global conservation agreements and directives, although, as shown in chapter 4, this is not exclusively the case. However, this assignment of responsibility to the Department of Forestry lays out a clear conservation rather than preservation slant to the role. The role of the department is essentially in managing the exploitation of the forest areas and through that attempting to protect forestry areas; this contrasts sharply with one of the other functions of the department which is in protecting the environment.

The problems caused by this division of responsibility, which places the Department of Forestry at the centre of protecting fauna, is clearly reflected in the Orangutan case study. There are three branches of the Department of Forestry involved in areas outside the national park; the provincial level office, the local office and the BKSDA. What emerged in the case study is that two of these three branches, the provincial office and the local office, are primarily focussed on administering the exploitation of the natural capital. Although they are also responsible for protecting non-‘listed’ species, this is very much a secondary function.

The third branch of the Department of Forestry, the BKSDA, is focussed on conservation but rather than acting as a policy making body aiming to promote conservation and protect species as a whole through implementing controls, it is largely a more reactive body. This reactive role means its activities are focussed on rescuing orangutans and other ‘listed’ species rather than building a wider agenda of conservation. This remit indicates the underlying conservation (rather than preservation) policy perspective; to minimise the impact and thus protect the long term prospects of natural capital exploitation rather than attempt to shackle it and preserve the habitat.

This notion of protection of these species being a function of forestry exploitation is further enhanced when one considers the fact that it distils the conservation down to specific species. This division helps to show that there is not necessarily a wider concern for preserving these species or indeed biodiversity as a whole but instead the concern is focussed on minimising the impact of forestry exploitation on these species. As will be covered in subsequent sections, their selection as protected species, although it has some historical precedence as shown in chapter 3, is largely somewhat based on international pressure due to their unique nature. However, through assigning their conservation to the Department of Forestry, the message is not about protecting these species in their own right but instead in managing their conservation in order for forestry exploitation to continue.

### Creation of conservation areas

The challenges of conservation areas also raise some interesting questions about global conservation norms. The value of conservation areas is disputed within scientific journals and this is highlighted by two recently published articles: Brun et al (2015) claim protected areas are ineffective in combatting deforestation and biodiversity loss as a general global trend; whereas Bernard et al (2014) claim they are effective in protecting biodiversity within Indonesia. However, both studies are focussed on the success within the protected areas and not the wider implications they had on conservation policy as a whole.

The two conservation areas within this study are heavily influenced by the global community. The Komodo national park is recognised as a UNESCO World heritage site and the Kutai national park helps Indonesia to fulfil its obligations under various agreements on the preservation of forest land including CBD and RAMSAR. However, in some senses this norm of conservation areas can actually be seen to have a detrimental effect on the ideas of conservation as a whole. Although it may appear to be an extremely positive step for conservation to have designated areas, it can be seen to have some mixed results in embedding ideas.

What was shown in both case studies is that whilst conservation was effectively implemented within the conservation area, those outside the areas enjoyed a much lower level of protection. Some of this imbalance will be attributed to jurisdictional issues which will be explored in the following section; however, there is a wider trend which facilitates this discrepancy.

The orangutan case study illustrated that the orangutans which lived outside the protected area came under a great deal of pressure through deforestation and other threats to themselves. This was primarily through the change in land use for mining and palm oil production, which brought with it both direct and indirect threats in the form of hunting/extermination and loss of habitat respectively. Although the creation of conservation areas provided a ‘safe zone’ for orangutans, in reality it has had the effect of limiting the area in which they are protected; the creation of a ‘safe zone’ creates a de facto ‘unsafe zone’.

Through the creation of conservation areas, the inference is that lands outside the protected area are, by default, ‘non conservation’ areas; whilst protecting certain areas, it sets a precedent that outside these areas conservation is not a priority. This outcome is a failure of the idea of conservation being sufficiently embedded because instead of the government structures and local people seeking to conserve wildlife in general, they are focussed upon protecting species within the designated area. As a result there is a conditionality to the level of protection that the species enjoy. Whilst this situation is fairly obvious in the case of the orangutans in East Kutai, it is also reflected in a less obvious manner in the Komodo dragon case study.

Although at first glance the Komodo dragon population appears to be in stark contrast to that of the Bornean orangutan, the underlying theme actually remains the same. Although the common belief is that the Komodo dragon species is limited exclusively to the national park, as shown in chapter 5 this assumption is inaccurate, with populations existing outside of the national park. The Komodo dragon could be seen as being a conservation success; generally the population is well protected and enjoys relatively few threats. As has been shown, however, this conclusion is based on the false presumption that the species is limited solely to the islands of Komodo and Rinca within the national park. When we consider the wider picture of the Komodo dragons on the mainland in areas such as Wae Wuul and Pota, then this changes the construction of the issues significantly.

Overall, the conservation situation for the Komodo dragon can be adjudged to be highly protected by the fact that the primary habitat of the Komodo is contained within the national park. However, this is not actually evidence of the conservation norm being fully realised which is shown by the fact that those dragons outside the national park, which are in the minority, may enjoy significant legal protection but in practical terms are threatened. This can be contrasted with the orangutans within East Kalimantan where the minority which reside in the national park enjoy a high level of protection in practical terms whereas those which reside outside the national park have only low levels of practical protection. This can be formulated into the relatively simply matrix shown in Figure N below:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Practical level of protection | |
|  | High | Low |
| Komodo dragon | Majority | Minority |
| orangutan | Minority | Majority |

Figure N- Matrix of distribution and protection levels of orangutans and Komodo Dragons

What this matrix shows is that it is the artificially and, to some extent, arbitrarily created conservation areas which can be one of the most important determining factors. They enjoy a high level of central state mandated and funded protection. However, through creating these areas, it also by default creates de facto ‘non conservation areas’. These areas are controlled by the local and regional authorities and this division of labour is problematic, a theme which will be investigated further in the following section.

### Division of responsibilities between levels (provincial, national local)

As detailed above the creation of conservation areas has led to conservation being implemented to differing degrees within different geographical locations and this relates to the wider picture as to the division of responsibilities between different levels of government. This is a key factor in how the global conservation norm has been implemented within Indonesia. This section will look at the interactions and relationships between these various levels.

The national level, unsurprisingly, acts as the main access point for global norms to ‘enter’ the country through legislation. The most significant and influential agreement measured by tangible policy outcomes has been the Convention on Biodiversity (CBD), although as shown in Chapter 4, other policies have also had varying degrees of impact. The CBD prompted the formulation of IBSAP, which was funded through GEF. IBSAP is the cornerstone of Indonesian conservation policy and sets out a framework for the national government to make national policy. IBSAP is a perfect example of the way in which global norms and ideas of conservation can be transmitted and ‘downloaded’ to a national government. As previously shown the IBSAP is actually a requirement of the CBD and is significantly funded and embedded through the provision of funding.

Although the national government has these international agreements to draw upon, as has been shown, the division between biodiversity and conservation has not been especially beneficial for policy. However, the division of responsibility between different levels of government has further exacerbated these issues along with the issue of conservation areas.

The relationship between central government and the regional government has had a troubled history; as was shown in the discussion of decentralisation in Chapter 3, the centralisation of power especially under the New Order regime is historically a politically charged issue. Since the fall of Suharto in the late 1990s, there has generally been a concerted effort to increase the level of power held by the provincial governments, recent events notwithstanding. However, this push towards decentralisation arguably has negative effects for conservation implementation. This generally problematic relationship between decentralisation and conservation has been compounded by the incentivisation of forest exploitation for provincial governments through the terms of the decentralisation as laid out in chapter 3.

What the case studies have shown is that the national government appears to be much more closely aligned to the global conservation norm than the regional and local governments. There are five features of the division of responsibility between different levels of government which contribute to the central government’s stronger commitment to conservation. These will be explored below and are as follows:

* The central government is responsible for less challenging tasks than regional governments.
* There is a positive relationship between distance, both literal and figurative, from electorate and capacity to take difficult decisions
* The level of alignment between material interests and conservation practices
* The low capacity and funding of local agencies
* Conservation’s identity as a national issue.

The first feature relates back to the previous section about conservation areas; the central government is responsible for less challenging tasks than regional governments. Through the traditions laid out in chapter 3 combined with international precedence, such as the designation of the Komodo area as a UNESCO world heritage site, the idea of conservation areas is well established. This, combined with some of the situational factors which will be discussed later, means that their task is already easier.

Within the Komodo dragon context, the national government has control of a very set geographic area which is internationally recognised. Furthermore, as was shown in chapter 5, there are relatively few demands on the land usage there – in sharp contrast to the areas outside the national park which are in a greater state of conflict. The relative ease of conservation by having a geographically controlled area which is internationally recognised is further demonstrated by the contrast to the BKSDA for the province which faces significant challenges in performing its tasks and is reliant far more on the ‘soft’ power of having to convince community leaders and groups of the relative advantages of conservation. Once again, this all points to the notion of the conservation area norm being well established whereas the general conservation norm is less well established.

This idea of the national bodies having an easier task is further demonstrated by the orangutan case study. It is very easy to criticise the provincial and local government levels for not achieving the same levels of conservation as the national government; however, when one considers the size difference between the two different areas then it is quite clear that they face a much larger task. This is further enhanced by the fact that once again the areas controlled by the provincial and local government are the areas in which issues such as land use conflict are more likely to arise, as such it is understandable that this conservation scenario is more challenging.

Consequently, as a result of all these observations, it may be that the national bodies are not actually any more committed to conservation than the local bodies. Instead, they operate within a system and a framework that has been created through global initiatives and historical precedence, which essentially leaves the national government bodies to assume the easiest roles within conservation, leaving the ‘grey areas’ to the lesser resourced provincial governments. The differing levels of success between the nationally controlled areas and those controlled by the provincial and local levels can be framed therefore not as a question of will and intent but of magnitude of the task.

The second feature follows on quite closely from this idea; there is a positive relationship between distance from the electorate and capacity to take difficult decisions. The policy makers at the national government are free to make decisions which may be pro-conservation yet unpopular with the local community in the area due to the fact that they are more removed from those who are affected. This can be viewed in a positive sense in that they are able to make more impartial decisions that take into account the wider significance. Alternatively, the same issues can be seen in a negative sense of the national government being ‘out of touch’ with the needs and demands of the local population. By contrast, the provincial and local government officials are under a greater degree of scrutiny and have a much closer proximity to their electorate.

This idea of proximity is well illustrated by both case studies. In the Komodo dragon case study, it was shown that some of the residents within the national park were unhappy at the rules which prevented them from using certain fertilisers and insecticides. However, these rules were formulated by national politicians based in Jakarta; as a result it makes it very difficult for this relatively small group of farmers to exert any significant political pressure on those making the rules. This scenario and the rules which were laid down were also largely accepted by the local Department of Agriculture. Whereas those developers who wanted to build tourist resorts within Wae Wuul were able to apply pressure on local and provincial bodies much more effectively. This is also challenging for the BKSDA which does not hold the same level of control of the areas as its Department of Forestry colleagues within the national park. However, as previously discussed, the effects of this imbalance are less stark within the Komodo dragon case study on account of the majority of the species being contained within the national park. The situation is different for the Bornean orangutan.

What was demonstrated in chapter 6 was the significant difference between conservation within the Kutai national park and the areas outside it. Within the national park, with the exception of some issues of incursion by farmers and traditional communities, there is a high level of protection for the orangutans. As in the Komodo dragon case study, there is significant national legislation protecting the area. These regulations are relatively undisputed as there is an acceptance of this legislation and, once again, the national government enjoys a significant ‘distance’ from those affected by the decisions. However, the areas outside the national park come under much greater pressure.

It was shown in chapter 6 that the development of palm oil plantations has the potential to bring significant benefits to the local population. The promise of employment, the opportunity to sell land, infrastructure investment such as roads and the example of the power station which was built to provide free electricity, all prove to be extremely alluring for the local population. This response is quite understandable for a local population living in an area with relatively low levels of development.

This allure of development and wealth creation is likely to see local and provincial governments attempt to improve the area, but probably at the cost of pro-conservation policy making. This pressure can be effective because the legislative framework leaves quite a lot of flexibility in applying conservation principles outside conservation areas in order to transfer power to the lower levels of government as part of the decentralisation agenda. The BKSDA is present in order to protect the orangutans outside the conservation area; however, its role is more focussed on reacting to the problems which arise.

Overall, what this shows is that the decentralisation of power to the regions has opened up a space which can then lead to lower levels of conservation. The political proximity of the decision makers to the local population and those who have a stake in the area means that they come under implicit and explicit pressure to pursue policies which are not necessarily conservation focused. Thus global norms are not transferred from one level to another because of the broad scope given to lower levels of government which then creates space into which other interests can step.

The third feature is also connected to this idea of proximity but is instead focused on the level of alignment between material interests and conservation practices. There is an income dependency by local and provincial government on activities which are often not conservation focused. This particular argument is less relevant to the case study of the Komodo dragons.

As was shown in chapters 3 and 6, the majority of the revenue generated from the issuing of forestry permits is retained at both the provincial and local levels (depending on the scale of the area which is being exploited). This system was designed as a way of helping provinces generate their own income as part of the post-New Order decentralisation measures as described in chapter 3. However, these revenue regulations are not of primary concern to the Komodo dragon case study because these permits cannot generally be issued within national parks due to the rules which are in place for the national park. Furthermore, the areas of mainland Flores where the Komodo dragons live are not generally desirable for exploitation; the island has limited value as regards minerals, low quality soil for growing and limited rainfall. So, compared to East Kalimantan, there is less demand for large scale mineral extraction and commercial palm oil farming. As such, income generation from the issuing of permits is of a little significance.

In stark contrast to the Komodo dragon case study, the issuing of permits is a key factor within East Kalimantan; this is an area where, unlike mainland Flores, permits are in great demand. Kalimantan’s position on the other side of the ‘Wallace Line’ to Flores means than in addition to its vast coal reserves, it also has excellent growing conditions and fertile soil. Therefore, East Kalimantan is in demand from both coal mining companies as well as palm oil companies. This is highly significant given the fact that the decentralisation provisions actually incentivise natural resource exploitation for provincial and local governments. Whereas the national government has a relatively low stake in the exploitation of natural resources in the area, for the local and provincial governments the decentralisation provisions actively encourage them to pursue policies harmful to conservation.

What is clear overall is that the provincial and local governments have a financial incentive to permit natural resource exploitation in their jurisdiction which the national government does not. This legislation does not necessarily fall into line with global norms around conservation; however, it does not directly contradict it. Rather it merely shifts the focus and responsibility, as well as the pressures, onto the local and provincial governments. It could be said that although this is not a direct contradiction of the global norm by the national government, it is at least culpably negligent.

The fourth feature of central government’s stronger commitment to conservation is the low capacity and funding of local agencies. In both case studies, there is a difference in capacity for the national government activities compared to those of the provincial and local levels of government. This was reflected in both case studies with the size of the departments in relation to the areas which they were expected to cover.

The issue of capacity is starkly illustrated by the West Manggarai Ministry of Forestry whose forest police force are just a tenth of the size of park rangers within the national park and yet were expected to cover four times the area in a more complex conservation environment. Similar examples were found in the orangutan case study. Furthermore, the staff at the national level tend to be drawn from a wider pool and often include people who would have been able to access better education in areas such as Java. This is in contrast to those in the provincial and local levels of government who are much more likely to be drawn from the locality itself. The implication of this is that less affluent provinces and localities will have reduced access to high quality education.

To return to the idea of staffing levels, however, raises deeper questions about how the global norm has been implemented. As above, it is possible to argue that the greater levels of resources allow the national government to better implement ideas of conservation; however, it is also possible to argue that the higher staffing levels themselves are in fact an indication that the ideas of conservation are more seriously considered by the national government. As was shown in both case studies, the provincial and local governments are largely funded from the executives at those levels, namely the Gubernur and the Bupati respectively. To this end, this under resourcing, rather than preventing ideas of conservation being fully implemented, actually demonstrates that they haven’t - for if they were fully implemented then it would be expected that the departments dealing with these areas would be better resourced.

If the conservation norm was fully realised within these areas, there would be a higher level of staffing in the relevant departments as it would be generally seen as being unacceptable to not do so. The inferior level of staffing of those working on conservation within the provincial and local level actually acts as evidence that the norm has not been fully realised. Acting as a counterweight to this line of reasoning is the role of the BKSDA in both Kupang and Samarinda. Both of these agencies are part of the national government and yet are more similar in staffing levels to their local and regional counterparts than their colleagues within the national park. This situation, therefore, adds weight to the argument that it is the idea/norm of conservation areas which has been effectively implemented whilst leaving the idea of conservation in general still wanting.

The final feature of central government’s stronger commitment to conservation is conservation’s identity as a national issue, which is related to the point made in section 7.2.2. that the creation of conservation areas can be detrimental to the overall principles of conservation. Both case studies have suggested that the regional and local governments may not fully commit to the idea of conservation as they see conservation as being part of the job of central government rather than of provincial government. This is true to some extent given that the park authorities and the BKSDA deal with the protected species inside and outside the national park respectively and these are nationally funded and controlled bodies. However, this focusing of responsibility on these bodies does mean that other bodies do not see conservation as being their responsibility; it was mentioned numerous times with various different bodies that conservation was the responsibility of someone else (i.e. park authorities and BKSDA) and this gave the impression that in practice it was not considered in policy making as it was not their responsibility. Therefore, having the national government technically in charge of leading this area may have a detrimental overall effect on conservation.

Overall, the explanation why the national government is in many ways more efficient at conservation depends on a combination of the reasons given above. This section has therefore identified several ways which may account for the difference in implementation of global norms at the national and provincial/local levels.

## Specific situational dependent factors

The key argument put forward in this chapter is that the structure of the Indonesian government – specifically, the division of responsibilities between different departments and levels of government - has meant that the transmission of the conservation norm has become fragmented. Consequently, there is sufficient space within the system for what has been termed ‘situational dependent factors’ to play a significant role in determining the success of conservation. This section will detail the key situational dependent factors that have been observed within the two case studies, which may affect the successful implementation of the conservation norm. As outlined in section 7.2, these factors can be broadly divided between primary factors and secondary/catalytic factors.

### Primary Factors

### Land use pressures

Undoubtedly one of the key factors determining how effectively the conservation norm is implemented is the question of land use and the pressures which it places on the species; indeed, it is one of the clear differentiating factors between the two species within this study. Although it may appear an obvious point, it is worth deeper consideration.

The two case studies serve as examples of very different situations in this regard given that Komodo dragons and orangutans in East Kutai live in significantly differing habitats. Although as has been shown, Komodo dragons do not live exclusively within the national park and there are certain threats such as development outside of the park, overall, they live in habitats which can be characterised as being of much lower economic value than that of the orangutans in East Kutai.

The archipelago of islands making up the Komodo national park as well as the areas of mainland Flores are part of Nusa Tenggara Timor. This area is generally arid with low levels of rainfall and the areas in which the dragons reside have low quality soil. Additionally, there is a lack of natural minerals in the area. As a result, as previously mentioned in section 7.2.3., there are few strong pressures for extraction or farming in the area. East Kutai, conversely, has land which is not only rich and fertile making it attractive to farmers but it also has significant mineral resources.

This difference in exploitable resources is obviously likely to make a difference in conservation as it may create a conflict of interests with the conservation agenda. It raises the hypothetical issue of what the situation would have been with regards to the Komodo national park had the natural habitat of the giant lizards been primarily in an area which was of high value for other purposes. This is, of course, impossible to answer definitively, however, it does highlight clearly the possibility that the conservation of Komodo dragons is to a large extent facilitated by the absence of other pressing uses for the land in that area. This argument is reinforced by the difficulties, described by the BKSDA in Kupang, of the threat of tourism and development to those dragons which reside on the mainland. Perhaps the reason why Komodo dragons enjoy high levels of protection is to a great extent facilitated by a lack of significant local cash-generating possibilities.

### Biology of the species

The inherent biology and physiology of the two species and their ecosystem requirements also can be seen to shape the likelihood of successful conservation. The two species in this study exhibit significant different physiologies and behaviours; these natural behaviours affect significantly how successful they are in operating within the constraints of the constructed arenas in which they operate.

The Komodo dragon is an extremely robust apex predator with relatively few weaknesses. With its thick protective skin, powerful bite and lack of a natural higher predator, it is a formidable presence. Although a lack of prey can threaten populations, even then it is adapted to survive and can hunt and ingest just about any other animal as well being able to survive for long periods of time without feeding. These characteristics mean that without the existence of direct hunting from mankind (which would not be an entirely one sided venture), their only real threat is genetic problems associated with inbreeding. Research in recent years has even shown the species is able to survive in single sex environments through reproducing asexually (BBC, 2006)

All of these factors make the Komodo dragon almost designed to survive. With relatively few threats aside from direct hunting, which can be avoided through isolation and minimising everyday human interaction, the Komodo dragon needs relatively little protection. The need for conservation is mainly based around its unique nature and the fact that it cannot be found anywhere in the world outside of the national park and limited areas of mainland Flores. These factors mean that its conservation is extremely easy to manage and really is generally focused on preventing unsupervised human/Komodo dragon interactions and pollution control. Effective conservation is further facilitated by the languid and lazy nature of the Komodo dragon. Although when called upon for hunting they can move at the great pace, generally they spend their days lounging in the sun and only ever move short distances. This makes them even easier to control from a conservation perspective.

All of these features of the Komodo dragon stand in stark contrast to the orangutan; if we consider the Komodo dragon an apex predator which has all the physical attributes to survive, the orangutan can be considered almost the opposite. Orangutans are not carnivorous and are instead reliant on plant life for their food source as well as for their nesting environment. As a result, they are severely affected by deforestation or development of their environment and general loss of their ecosystem. Further to this general lack of physical survival skills their mobility also causes significant conservation issues; the average orangutan would generally move around 20km per day (according to the orangutan NGO) through the forest. This means that even in the establishment of conservation areas, orangutans’ roving nature means that they are relatively difficult to contain within the borders of areas in which they are protected. This also makes their monitoring and protection difficult because they don’t remain within a geographically contained area. This does bring into question some of the ideas about Environmental Impact Assessments as it is difficult to ensure that after the assessment is done that orangutans do not move into the area.

One of the further problems is that according to the orangutan NGO, because orangutans generally travel through the canopy, although they can travel shorter distances on the floor, they are prone to becoming trapped in ‘forestry islands’ whereby they become stranded in small areas of forests as the surrounding areas have been destroyed. This can lead to problems with food supply in the short term but also causes problems of genetic variation and inbreeding in the longer term.

In summary, therefore, the implementation of conservation policy in Indonesia has left significant space and the physical nature of the species can actually become a determining factor in conservation success. How well the species is adapted to survive can make a significant difference as to how well different policies are implemented. The physical nature of the Komodo dragon compared to the orangutan means that it is much easier to protect with a higher likelihood of a successful conservation outcome.

### Geographical factors

There are significant geographical factors that can also affect conservation outcomes in addition to land use. These factors relate to the isolation of the area combined with the concentration of the species in this area. Once again, these two factors help to explain the relative success of the Komodo dragon’s conservation in comparison to orangutans in East Kutai.

Firstly, Komodo conservation is assisted by the fact that the majority of the population is confined to a small set of islands. As described in section 7.3.2, the use of the land and its relative economic value is advantageous but in addition, its geographically isolated is further advantageous. It facilitates conservation as the authorities are able to deal with a controlled area; it is relatively easy to control those who are entering and exiting the area. Furthermore with only relatively small communities residing in areas that are accessible across land, rules and regulations are relatively easy to enforce. In addition, the majority of the Komodo dragons are concentrated in a single geographic area. This makes them an easy species to protect. Again these factors are easy to identify given the contrast with those Komodo dragons which reside outside the geographically isolated areas, which gives the BKSDA a much harder task protecting them.

Again, there is a stark contrast to the plight of the orangutans in East Kutai. Rather than being concentrated in a geographically remote area, the orangutans are spread across a large area, which has numerous different settlements. This is exacerbated by the mobility of the species which was highlighted in the previous section. This lack of ‘containment’ and the extremely large areas which need to be covered means that the orangutan is much harder to protect, both inside and outside the conservation area. This large area and the existing human populations mean that unlike the Komodo dragon, the government cannot simply designate the entire habitat as a tightly controlled conservation area.

This section has shown that it is the geographic nature and the logistical issues which can affect significantly how likely it is for the government to be able to effectively implement conservation norms in an area. As with all these factors, it undermines the notion of the global conservation norm given that it is so clearly subject to practical considerations.

### Secondary/ Catalytic Factors

### Species charisma/ rarity

One of the factors which has run thematically within this thesis is that of species charisma as well as their rarity. Both species are widely considered to be ‘charismatic megafauna’; however, they differ in their rarity. The Komodo dragon is unique as the largest lizard in the world. In contrast, the Bornean orangutan does not share quite the same rarity.

The Komodo national park is recognised as a UNESCO world heritage site primarily on the basis of the presence of the Komodo dragon and to a lesser extent the marine life which surrounds it. This international recognition is highly significant and it marks an important transmission of global norms down to a local and practical level. It is primarily based on the unique nature of the Komodo dragon as the world’s largest lizard, exclusively concentrated in a small geographic area. Even including the population on mainland Flores, the dragon is still highly concentrated and unique - noteworthy attributes that are worthy of international attention and recognition as a UNESCO world heritage site.

The situation for orangutans is slightly different despite the fact that they are still relatively rare whilst also, in a conventional view, more charismatic. The close resemblance to human beings and their general perception of being ‘cute’ in many ways suggests that the orangutan is more charismatic than the Komodo dragon; indeed, they are regularly used as the centre piece of conservation campaigns such as by Greenpeace and others. However, orangutans do not seem to receive the same international formal recognition. There are several reasons for this lower priority, including the practical considerations discussed in the previous section, but also because they lack the ‘uniqueness’ of the Komodo dragon.

Bornean orangutans are not unique to East Kutai and are widespread across the island of Borneo. The island includes both the Indonesian territory of Kalimantan (also known as Indonesian Borneo) as well as Malaysian territories[[37]](#footnote-37). So Bornean orangutans exist across two different politically constructed territories. Furthermore, even within Indonesia, Bornean orangutans are not unique due to the species of Sumatran orangutans in Western Indonesia as well as the species of West Bornean orangutans in West Borneo. Although they are physically slightly different - the Sumatran and West Bornean orangutans being slightly larger and difference in appearance - they are still other varieties of orangutans meaning that the Bornean orangutan is not unique. Furthermore, in relation to the wider family of apes, the orangutan is unremarkable and has few unique qualities; for example, it is not as big as the gorillas of Africa, which have received a considerable amount of attention in terms of conservation.

As a result of perhaps not being viewed as being ‘unique’ or remarkable in the same way as the Komodo dragon - as exclusive to that particular geographical region and exceptional in its place within the animal kingdom - the orangutan arguably does not draw the same level of attention from the international community. As such the ‘rarity’ of a species can also be seen to be a deciding factor in eliciting global support for conservation which, in turn, can affect the success or otherwise of conservation areas.

### Historical construction of identity

The penultimate factor is the historical construction of the two species. Although it is difficult to demonstrate the impact of this factor, it has been a recurring trend throughout the research and it would be remiss to not include it. The two species have a counter intuitive historical construction to that which might be expected. Given that the Komodo dragon is potentially dangerous to humans and from the reptile family, which has a troubled relationship with humans including references to the serpent in the story of Adam and Eve, it would be expected that they have a problematic historical construction. By contrast, given their physical and DNA similarity to humans, and even their name meaning ‘forest people’, orangutans might be expected to elicit a greater connection with the local population and a more favourable historical construction. However, both of these assumptions in fact turn out to be the polar opposite of the situation.

As was referenced in chapter 5, the Komodo dragon actually assumes a place of great significance in the local culture of West Manggarai and throughout the island of Flores as a whole. There is a reoccurring myth of brotherhood between humans and the Komodo dragon including a simultaneous birthing from the same mother. Even predating the knowledge of the unique nature in a global sense of the species, there was a significant connection with the giant lizards as a result of this myth and this has become mixed with pride as its unique nature emerged. There is a strong emotional tie between the people of the area and these creatures despite the fact that to outsiders they may not be the most endearing of species.

This powerful connection and reputation is shown to some extent by the case of the Pota dragon, which was described in section 5.3.4.3. The local population had been found to be killing the Pota dragon in their area, however, reportedly they stopped and showed remorse when they were told that it was virtually identical to the Komodo dragon (although a slightly different sub species, it was for all intents and purposes the same creature). The reasons given for this attitude shift and an end to killing, rather than the illegality of killing the Komodo dragon or a desire to practise conservation, were the strong historical connection with the Komodo dragon and its place within local culture. Changed perceptions demonstrate how powerful the local traditions are in controlling behaviour and conservational outcomes.

The evidence of the historical construction of the orangutan is not as deep or as long as the local myths of the Komodo dragon, however, what was shown in chapter 3 is that they have a long history of being typecast as vermin. The biologist Koningsberger in his guidelines proposed protection for various species but made exceptions for those which damaged farming interests or threatened human life (Cribb 2007, 55). Whilst this list excluded orangutans from protection, it was amended to protect Komodo dragons despite their threat to life. As such, orangutans have had over a century of being categorised and constructed as being a pest and a threat to human financial interests, whereas despite its potentially deadly nature the Komodo dragon has been regarded as something to be protected.

These two differing and possibly surprising constructions of the two species seem to be an influential factor in shaping the success of conservation. What we see is that the conservation norm has been successfully ‘framed’ within the local perceptions of Komodo dragons with this being related to the local ideas of the status of the Komodo dragon. This situation is in contrast to the case of the orangutan whereby the ‘non conservation’ norm has been framed in localised norms about orangutans being pests and a threat to local production. When considering this framing, it is interesting to note the historical ambiguity of the status of the orangutan which emerged from the early 20th century and to some extent this mirrors some of the ambiguity which can be seen today.

### Tourism

One specific economic/land use factor which warrants its own investigation is tourism. There is a significant literature on the success of Komodo dragons as a tourist attraction (Walpole 2001, Walpole and Goodwin 2000, Walpole and Leader-Williams 2002). However these studies tend to look at the Komodo dragon in isolation rather than drawing out wider factors in comparison to another species. This specific economic factor includes significant geographical considerations and emerged as a reoccurring theme during the course of both case studies.

The area of the Komodo national park and the small town of Labuan Bajo can be held up as a successful utilisation of tourism. Although generally there is significant public interest, East Kalimantan has not been able to harness tourism interest in the same way. There are five factors which have led to this differing success and this combination of factors have made the Komodo a more marketable tourist location and allowed tourism to play a significant role as a ‘situational factor’.

The first factor is the concentration and level of mobility of the two species; as was previously mentioned, these two factors make it easier to undertake conservation work; however, they also facilitate a more reliable and therefore attractive operationalisation of the tourism market. The clear advantage that the Komodo dragon tourism industry has over that of the orangutan is a near guaranteed hit rate of success. It is almost certain that tourists visiting the national park will be able to see at least one Komodo dragon during a relatively short day trip; it is in fact not uncommon to encounter one of the giant lizards within ten minutes of disembarking from the boat. Given that they do not move any great distance, have a high concentration within the national park and are contained in an island environment, tourists visiting the area are certain to be able see them and get surprisingly close to the potentially deadly predator. The attraction of this guaranteed sighting is also shown by the low demand to see Komodo dragons on the mainland where there is very little chance of being able to witness them in the wild because they are rarer and much more spread out.

It is very different from tourists wanting to see the orangutans in the wild. Generally this would involve a trek into the jungle which has no guarantee of any sightings at all. Even then, sightings are generally from a significant distance given the orangutan’s habitat being high in the canopy of the forest and not conveniently located for viewing at ground level. Consequently, for tourists wanting a guaranteed sighting of a rare species, a trip to the Komodo national park is a much more attractive option.

This point is emphasised by the second factor, which is the proximity of the Komodo national park to the tourism mecca that is Bali. The airport at Labuan Bajo offers short and quick direct flights to Bali, which opens the area up to a huge tourism market place. For visitors to Bali, a short trip to Komodo to view the dragons can easily be planned as a weekend trip. This is not the case for orangutans in East Kalimantan. Generally, there are no direct flights to Kalimantan from Bali and flights and Samarinda is only served by an extremely small airport with sporadic flights. So any tourists wanting to see orangutans would have to fly to Balikpapan via Sulawesi, and travel on from there. This makes visiting orangutans in East Kalimantan a more significant investment in terms of time and money.

The problem of distance from Bali is further exacerbated by the third factor which is the generally poor infrastructure in East Kalimantan. For any tourists wishing to go to see orangutans in the wild, once they arrive in Kalimantan, they are faced with long bus rides along unmade roads on services which are not geared towards tourists and are particularly inaccessible to those who do not have at least a basic understanding of the language. Within the areas of East Kalimantan where orangutan viewings are possible, hotels are often scarce and they do not offer the facilities which visitors may expect such as booking via websites or English speaking staff.

This is all compounded by the fourth factor which is the lack of other attractions in the area. The Komodo national park is able to be incredibly successful as a result of not relying solely on its offer of viewing Komodo dragons. The area also boasts world class diving locations so that for many visitors being able to see the Komodo dragons is simply a bonus. This was wonderfully summed up by a quote from one of the interviewees who said ‘people visit once to see the dragons but the reason they keep coming back is the diving’. The national park therefore is able to attract a great volume of visitors as simply a ‘side show’ to the main attraction. This is not a luxury afforded to East Kalimantan; aside from the viewing of orangutans and those visiting the area for working reasons related to the coal, oil and palm oil industries, there are very few westerners who visit the area. The orangutan’s status as being the sole attraction in East Kalimantan combined with the previous factors of its lack of accessibility and distance from Bali mean it has failed to establish itself as a tourist destination.

The final factor which has hamstrung East Kalimantan as a tourist destination is that unlike Komodo, it is not able to offer a unique selling point. Much in the way that section 7.3.5 looked at how ‘rarity’ affected conservation efforts generally, this is also relevant to tourism especially when one considers the difficulty in accessibility and lack of other attractions. As previously stated, in contrast to the Komodo dragons of the Komodo national park, orangutans are not unique to East Kalimantan. Instead, they are competing in a tourism market place with the rest of Kalimantan, Malaysian Borneo and the island of Sumatra. When it is factored in that it is not as accessible then it is unsurprising that tourists may choose to go elsewhere.

In conclusion, therefore, it has been shown that tourism plays a significant role within the Komodo national park but not within East Kalimantan. None of these issues is mutually exclusive; rather they appear to have a cumulative effect so that tourism can be seen to have a positive effect on the conservation efforts in the Komodo area but not in East Kalimantan.

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## Conclusion

This thesis has combined detailed investigation of the network of actors and processes involved in the conservation of charismatic megafauna in Indonesia with constructivist international relations literature to deliver a range of empirical and conceptual insights. Empirically, the thesis has mapped the relationships surrounding the conservation of the Komodo dragon and orangutan in Indonesia. A detailed review of secondary sources identified four key framework nodes at the heart of this policy sphere, and clarified the respective roles played by the Departments of the Environment, Forestry, and Agriculture in this area across the national, provincial, and local levels. These findings illustrate the importance of contextual factors in translating global norms through national and sub-national layers of governance. As such, a central conceptual message from the thesis is to add further support to the call from Epstein and others for constructivist scholarship to ensure that global norms are tracked ‘all the way down’ to their operational contexts.

The review of the social constructivist literature in Chapter two provided a solid theoretical underpinning outlining how social constructivism has grown and developed as a theoretical school of thought. In addition to outlining the origins of social constructivism through Alexander Wendt’s work and contributions made from sociology’s institutionalism, it detailed the different views of various different processes associated with norms including norm lifecycles, norm adoption and the processes of grafting and framing. The work of Charlotte Epstein on conservation norms was highlighted too. This chapter described the methodology used throughout the thesis and how it complemented the social constructivist theoretical outline as well as the process of case study selection.

Chapter three provided a comprehensive background to Indonesia’s history, focussing on the conservation challenges of the past two centuries. It identified two key factors which spanned different historical periods: Transmigration and Decentralisation. The rest of the thesis shows how decentralisation has been an important determining factor for conservation. This history provided the context for understanding the contemporary conservation constellation in Indonesia.

Chapter four examined how conservation norms have been transferred from the global arena to the national level of government in Indonesia. It focussed on studying the impacts of four key policy nodes, namely BAPI, IBSAP, Indonesia’s four Pillars of Development and IPAs/ICDPs and biosphere reservations. Through investigating these four policy nodes, the chapter established how conservation policy has been established at the national level of government in Indonesia.

Chapters five and six analysed the two case studies of Komodo dragons and Bornean orangutans and detailed the fieldwork findings. The fieldwork involved interviewing key actors within the conservation constellation for the two species. These chapters used interview data to outline how these different actors at different levels of government, the provincial and local, and different departments, were involved in the conservation constellation. Through using this primary data collection technique, the subtleties and nuances of the conservation of both species were laid out – and it demonstrated how global norms transmission is affected by a myriad of factors.

This final chapter has brought together the theoretical reflections about social constructivism and the empirical data. A central argument is that the divisions of responsibilities between different government departments and different levels of government have created a space which in turn has allowed situation dependent factors to influence how effectively conservation can be implemented. Beyond this ‘big picture’ message, additional tentative conclusions have been generated regarding the factors that, in these two cases, have shaped the observed outcomes.

This thesis has made a number of key contributions to knowledge: theoretically, methodologically and empirically. Theoretically, it has proposed a new approach to the conceptualisation of global norms. On the whole, the constructivist literature focuses on how norms have been constructed at the global level without looking at how these are then translated into tangible policy and action at the non-global level. As was laid out in section 2.3.2., this thesis has challenged this trend and proposed a three dimensional model as to how social constructivist scholars should regard the idea of norms transmission within policy. Rather than view global norms as being all encompassing, chapter two explained how it instead needs to be seen as involving interactions between different levels of government.

The methodological contribution is closely linked to this theoretical contribution because it has applied a systematic methodology to investigate internal global norm transmission. Through using this process of interviewing government officials at different levels of government as well as other actors, a complete picture of conservation norm transmission within Indonesia has been developed. This methodological process is innovative and contributes to the social constructivist scholarship.

Finally, the empirical contribution takes a number of forms. Firstly, this thesis is the first study to compare the conservation constellations of Komodo dragons and Bornean orangutans. In addition to investigating these two specific species, there is actually a broader gap in comparing the conservation of different species within a country. Investigating the political structures around specific species is quite rare within the literature, however, when it does occur it is usually focussed upon a single species. Through the comparison of the political conservation constellation of two different species and contrasting them, this thesis has further contributed to the literature. Furthermore, to the author’s knowledge there are no other studies which attempt to comprehensively map out the different actors involved in the conservation of any species within Indonesia.

The thesis opens a number of different avenues for further research. The methodology which has been developed within this thesis has potential to be expanded and used within other contexts. One example of where it could be expanded to is the regional level. With the increasing role of ASEAN in shaping norms, research into how this regional body may influence conservation and/or environmental norm transmission into its member states would be a potentially interesting expansion. Employing the methodology put forward within this thesis to include officials at this regional level would offer additional interesting insights developing a greater understanding of the role which regional norms play. This would complement and build upon the work of Acharya (2004, 2005, 2014) and Katsumata (2003); these works offer insights into the ASEAN construction of norms at the regional level but look at these in isolation and do not track them ‘all the way down’.

Other possible areas of research would be to apply the methodology and theoretical framework developed in the thesis within other states to investigate other charismatic megafauna. This would allow for a greater understanding of how different national internal structures can affect norm transmission. Alternatively, one of the other variables which could be adjusted would be to investigate how internal structures influence the conservation of species which would not be considered to be charismatic megafauna.

The central argument of this thesis is that the overall government structure of Indonesia is fractured in the way that conservation ideas are transferred from one level to the next. As such, this space leaves sufficient room for other situational factors to play a part. With more stringent legislation, a more uniform and ‘tighter’ approach could be followed which would then not leave the system vulnerable to these structural and situational factors and would ensure a more uniform implementation of the global conservation norm. However, this line of reasoning does raise questions regarding the collective ideas of global norms in terms of how they apply beyond the global arena when investigated in relation to tangible local policy outcomes.

# Table of abbreviations

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| ***Abbreviation/Terms*** | ***Full Meaning*** |
| ADB | Asian Development Bank |
| Angker | Spiritual Forest (Javanese) |
| ASEAN | Association of southeast Asian countries |
| AusAid | Australian Agency for International Development |
| AZA | Association of Zoos & Aquariums |
| BAPI | Biodiversity Action Plan for Indonesia |
| BAPPENAS | Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional-National Development Planning Agency |
| BKSDA | Balai Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam- National Natural Resources Conservation Agency |
| Bupati | Head/Executive branch of district level of government |
| CBD | Convention on Biodiversity |
| CITES | Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora |
| CPS | Country Partnership Strategy (world bank doc) |
| Decentralisasi | Indonesian term for decentralisation |
| Desa | Village (Level of Government) |
| Dinas Kehutanan | Provincial or local department of forestry |
| Dinas Perkebunan | Provincial or Local Department of Agriculture (Plantations) |
| Dinas Peternakan | Provincial or Local Department of Agriculture (Ranching/livestock) |
| EAZA | European Association of Zoos and Aquaria |
| EIA | Environmental Impact Assessments |
| G8 | Group of Seven (G7, formerly G8) |
| GEF | Global Environment Facility |
| GPS | Global positioning system |
| Gubernur | Head/Executive branch of provincial level of government |
| ha | Hectare- equal to 10,000m2 |
| Hutan Kemasyarakatan (HKm) | The Society/Community forest programme |
| IBSAP | Indonesian Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan |
| ICDP | Integrated Conservation and Development Program |
| IMF | International Monetary fund |
| IPA | Integrated Protected Area |
| IR | International relations |
| ISPO | Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil |
| IUCN | International Union for Conservation of Nature |
| Kabupatan | District Level of Government |
| Kacamatan | Sub District Level of Government |
| KKH | Kementerian Kehutanan- Department of Forestry |
| KKN | Korrupsi, Kulusi and Nepotisme- Common Indonesian term for Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism. |
| KLH | Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup- Department of the Environment |
| KP | Kementerian Pertanian- Department of Agriculture |
| KSP | Komodo Survival Program |
| LIPI | Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia- Indonesian Institute of Sciences |
| m3 | Metres cubed |
| NGO | None Governmental Organisation |
| NTB | Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB- West Nusa Tenggara |
| NTT | Nusa Tenggara Timor- area of East Indonesia |
| Pancasila | State ideology of the New Order period |
| Propinsi | Province (Level of Government) – literal translation; centre |
| Pusat | National Level of Government |
| [Pusat Pengelolaan Ekoregion](http://ppebalinusra.menlh.go.id/) (PPE) | Eco-regional Management Department of the environment |
| RAMSAR | Ramsar Convention on wetlands- named after the Iranian city where the convention was signed. |
| SKEPHI | Sekretariat Kerjasama Pelestarian Hutan Indonesia – The Secretariat for Forest Conservation in Indonesia |
| Sogo Shosha | Japanese general trading companies |
| Taman Nasional | National Park |
| Transmigrasi | Indonesian term for transmigration |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| USA | United States of America |
| USSR | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| VOC | Vereenigde-Oost-Indische Compagnie- the Dutch United East India Company |
| Volksraad | People’s Council in during Dutch colonial period |
| WALHI | [Wahana](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wahana) Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (Indonesian Forum for Environment )- Indonesian Environmental NGO |
| WWF | World Wide Fund For Nature |

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1. Although this is a little out of place within this particular work as whaling is not generally a North/South issue. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The Stevenson Rubber Restriction scheme was a British effort to reduce the production of rubber and thus increase the unit price in the wake of post First World War over production. However, this applied only to British colonies and the Netherland Indies declined to join (Lindblad, 2013, 149). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. For a detailed account of the Japanese occupation see (Anderson, 1972). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. For a detailed account of the 1945-50 period see (Reid, 1974) [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. There is a growing volume of material covering this topic and it has gained increased exposure in recent years due to a number of documentaries on the topic. The issue is too complex to be covered in depth within this thesis, however, Cribb (1991, 2001, 2002) are good starting points. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. The details of this conflict go beyond the remit of this thesis but for an overview of the conflict during the New Order period see Robinson (1998) and for an overview of the conflict as a whole see Schulze (2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Again, this conflict is beyond the remit of this thesis, for background see Anderson (2001), Robinson (2012) and Saul (2001). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. This section will cover decentralisation laws which were in place up to the period of fieldwork in the summer of 2013. Since then, controversial legislation has been passed which has seen a shift towards centralisation ([Mau](http://thejakartaglobe.beritasatu.com/news/house-passes-regional-elections-bill-scraps-direct-voting/)lia and Rayda, 2014) although these fall outside of the period examined in this thesis. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. This legislation was passed after Tikson (2008) was published and has been added in and does not appear in the original table, but instead is taken from Firman (2009, 144) and Buehler (2010, 271). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. All of this information is taken from the full transcript of the speech which is available at https://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/president-yudhoyonos-speech-at-our-annual-address/ [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. See list of abbreviations and terms for information about actors contained in Figure E [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. This is limited to occasional mentions of Climate Change. None of these explore the issue in any detail but rather refer to as a threat rather than in any preventative form. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. This section is based on the interview undertaken with the representative of the national Department of the Environment who was the Deputy Head of the Biodiversity unit on the 17th July 2013 unless stated otherwise. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. For this thesis, the head of the conservation unit in Jakarta was interviewed on the 22nd July 2013 with his assistant also making contributions to the discussion. Unless stated otherwise, the data within this chapter originates from this interview. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Although attacks on humans are rare they are not unheard of and in fact two National Park employees were seriously injured on the island of Komodo just months before the fieldwork for this thesis took place (The Guardian, 06/02/2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Unless stipulated otherwise, the data for this section comes from an interview with the deputy head of biodiversity conservation in the Eco-regional office in Bali on the 19th July, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Unless stated otherwise, the data within this section is based on an interview with the Head of Dinas Peternakan on the 29th July, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Unless specified otherwise, the data within this section comes from an interview with the deputy head of the Dinas Lingkungan Hidup in Kupang on the 30th of July, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Unless stated otherwise, data for this section comes from an interview with the head of the Dinas Kehutanan in Kupang on the 30th of July, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Data within this section, unless stated otherwise is based on an interview with the Head and Deputy Head of the BKSDA in Kupang on the 31st of July 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Unless stated otherwise, the data within this section is based on an interview with the deputy head of the Dinas Lingkungan Hidup in Labuan Bajo on the 12th August 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Unless stated otherwise, data within this section is taken from an interview with the Head and Deputy head of the Dinas Perkebunan in Labuan Bajo on the 13th of August, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. The primary source of data for this section is the interview which was undertaken with the Deputy Head of the Dinas Kehutanan in Labuan Bajo on the 13th of August, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Unless stated otherwise, data within this section is taken from an interview with KSP staff in Bali on 20th of August, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. The KSP is part of the conservation programmes of Zoos although their motivation and reasoning for this and in fact the wider issues and motivations of zoos is a controversial topic which lies outside of the scope of this thesis. However, it is well covered in Donahue and Trump’s 2006 book ‘The Politics of Zoos; Exotic Animals and their Protectors’. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Unless stated otherwise, this section is based on data collected through interviewing the two deputy heads of the PPE eco regional Department of the Environment in Balikpapan on the 9th September, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. This section is based on data collected through interviewing the deputy head of the Dinas Perkebunan in Samarinda on the 26th of August, 2013 unless stated otherwise. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Data within this chapter is taken from an interview with the Head of the Dinas Lingkungan Hidup in Samarinda on the 27th of August, 2013 unless stated otherwise. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Unless stated otherwise, the data for this chapter is taken from an interview with the Head of the Dinas Kehutanan Kalimantan Timur in Samarinda on the 28th of August, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. The data within this section is based on an interview with the Deputy head of the BKSDA in Samarinda on the 29th of August, 2013 unless stated otherwise. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. All the data in this section is taken from an interview with the Head of the Dinas Perkebunan in Sangatta on the 2nd of September 2013 unless stipulated otherwise. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. The information within this section is taken from an interview with the Deputy Head of the Dinas Lingkungan Hidup in Sangatta on the 4th of September 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. The information within this section is taken from an interview with the Head of the Dinas Kehutanan in Sangatta on 4th of September 2013 unless stated otherwise. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Unless detailed otherwise, information within this section is taken from an interview with members of the NGO on the 30th of August, 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Such as this powerful campaign https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1BCA8dQfGi0 [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Although this only equates to around £30 and £60 (on the 2011 exchange rate) in relation to the lower cost of Indonesia, this would probably equate to nearly two weeks to a month’s pay of the national average wage. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. As well as the Kingdom of Brunei although this is very small and does not contain wild orangutans. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)