

# PAYMENTS FOR ECOSYSTEM SERVICES IN INDONESIA

## 1 Introduction

Indonesia has the third largest expanse of tropical forest in the world, with globally important biodiversity and carbon stores, and locally important ecosystem service delivery. The country has experienced high rates of deforestation since the 1990s (Hansen et al. 2009); with approximately 6.02 million hectares of primary forest lost between 2000 and 2012 (Margono et al. 2014). It is the world's third largest emitter of greenhouse gasses (Sloan et al. 2012). Several activities have been implemented to reduce high deforestation rates, with considerable attention being given to the potential for reducing emissions from forest degradation and deforestation (REDD+) activities (Maryani et al. 2012, WWF 2013, Luttrell et al. 2014, Moeliono et al. 2014, Sills et al. 2014), and a moratorium on new agriculture and logging licences/concessions announced by the President in 2011 (Murdiyarso et al. 2011, Sloan 2014).

The central principle of payments for ecosystem service (PES) schemes is that the providers of ecosystem services should be compensated for their efforts, and those who benefit from those services should pay for their provision (Pagiola and Platais 2002); as is the case with most non-environmental goods and services. PES schemes have therefore been identified as having the potential to contribute to the supply of ecosystem services, including carbon and other services, and have spread rapidly – globally 205 active PES programmes were identified for watershed services alone in 2013, with a further 76 projects in development (Bennett et al. 2013).

Available literature suggests that Indonesian PES schemes have been operating for more than a decade (Landell-Mills and Porras 2002), are reported to have spread relatively quickly (Suyanto et al. 2005) and be relatively widely accepted across the country (Fauzi and Anna 2013). Most of this literature (both published and grey) analyses either aspects of PES project design or implementation (Suyanto et al. 2007, Wunder et al. 2008,

29 Leimona et al. 2010, Pirard and Billé 2010, Ajayi et al. 2012), or some aspect of  
 30 institutional arrangements (Arifin 2005, Collins et al. 2011, Fauzi and Anna 2013).

31

32 Two gaps in the available analyses are quickly identified. The first is that a majority of the  
 33 analyses of Indonesian PES schemes have focused on a few pilot projects which means  
 34 that it is not clear how widely PES schemes have actually spread across the country. The  
 35 second is the rarity of cross project analysis; with such synthesis a useful means of  
 36 drawing lessons from project experience, as has recently been occurring elsewhere in  
 37 south east Asia (Pham et al. 2013, Milne and Chervier 2014, Nabangchang 2014, VFPDF  
 38 2014), and for the design of similar or more recent incentive-based programmes such as  
 39 REDD+ (Wunder 2009, Tacconi et al. 2010a, Caplow et al. 2011, Corbera 2012, Mahanty  
 40 et al. 2013, Karsenty et al. 2014, Loft et al. 2014).

41

42 The research described in this paper attempts to address both of these gaps. The paper  
 43 investigates and describes current and historical schemes where payments (either in cash  
 44 or in kind) are made to ecosystem service suppliers in Indonesia; payments that are  
 45 conditional on the actual creation or maintenance of those ES. The study also aimed to  
 46 assess the experience of PES in Indonesia with respect to how differences in the design of  
 47 benefit sharing mechanisms affect the incentives for community participation in  
 48 ecosystem service supply schemes, and the impacts of such schemes on the livelihoods  
 49 of participants. In addition to addressing these two gaps, the paper adds further to the  
 50 literature by examining the stakeholders' views of the factors that support or constrain  
 51 the development of PES schemes in Indonesia.

52

## 53 **2 Methods**

54 The first step of assessing the experience of PES in Indonesia was to compile a  
 55 comprehensive list of all projects and programmes taking a direct payments approach to  
 56 the provision of ecosystem services – whether individually or in combination in Indonesia.

57 This list was compiled by searching both published and grey literature for projects  
 58 described as being (or having the potential to be) linked to an ecosystem service market.  
 59 In order to reduce the chance of excluding PES projects in the first instance, the search  
 60 and construction of a long-list was designed to be as inclusive as possible, and  
 61 incorporate a wide range of projects, including those described as being specifically PES,  
 62 as well as others, for example those described as REDD+, as clean development  
 63 mechanism or voluntary carbon standard projects.

64

65 Information was then sought about partners (individuals or organisations) involved in the  
 66 design, implementation or funding of the scheme, whether they were government or non-  
 67 government, Indonesian or international. In order to determine if the long-listed projects  
 68 could be classified as PES schemes, one or more partners representing each scheme were  
 69 then contacted by telephone or email and questioned about the projects to determine  
 70 whether they matched the specified PES scheme criteria (described below).

71

72 There is a growing literature dealing with the definition of PES (see for example, Wunder  
 73 2005, Tacconi 2012, Derissen and Latacz-Lohmann 2013, Sattler and Matzdorf 2013,  
 74 Wunder 2015), and for the purposes of this research, schemes were included in the  
 75 analysis if:

- 76 • the purpose of the scheme is/was to create or sustain the provision of ES by 'ES  
 77 sellers' who participate voluntarily;
- 78 • buyers pay for either: (i) activities thought to generate ES provision (i.e. payments for  
 79 inputs, where payments are based on some biological/ecological understanding of the  
 80 connection between the activity being paid for and ES provision) or (ii) ES provision  
 81 directly (i.e. payments for outputs);
- 82 • payments are made only if (agreed) criteria to provide ES are met (i.e. there is  
 83 conditionality);

- the scheme had made, or was currently making, payments for ES provision at one or more site in Indonesia.

86

87 Project contacts were interviewed about long-listed projects to determine whether they  
88 met these criteria, and were also questioned about their knowledge of other projects (i.e.  
89 snowball sampling) to ensure as complete coverage of actual and potential projects as  
90 possible. Information derived from this first round fact checking was used to confirm the  
91 existence of projects; to add, supplement or amend the information about projects; or to  
92 remove projects that did not meet the criteria from the long-list.

93

94 In order to elicit stakeholders' perspectives about the reasons for PES success and of  
95 constraints to the further spread of PES in Indonesia, a range of different stakeholders  
96 were consulted. In the first instance, stakeholders involved in the PES projects identified  
97 that did met the selection criteria were interviewed. Additionally, a number of other  
98 stakeholders were also interviewed about their perceptions of these issues – stakeholders  
99 that could be reasonably interpreted as playing (or potentially playing) a role in  
100 supporting, designing and/or implementing local-level PES schemes. In total, 39  
101 interviews were conducted with national government officials (seven), representatives of  
102 national and international conservation non-government organisations (15),  
103 representatives of international donor agencies (eight), stakeholders (including the  
104 private sector) who are actively involved in existing or developing PES or REDD+ activities  
105 (six), and PES researchers in Indonesia (three). These interviews took place during March,  
106 August and October 2014.

107

108 This paper therefore identifies and briefly describes PES schemes in Indonesia, to improve  
109 the understanding of those factors that facilitate and constrain the development of PES  
110 schemes in Indonesia; it is not the purpose to judge the merits – or otherwise – of the PES  
111 projects being implemented in Indonesia. Determining the spread of PES is important in

112 assessing whether the proponents have been successful in creating sustainable  
113 mechanisms for ES provision over time, or whether they have achieved their potential as a  
114 sustainable means of paying for conservation (Pagiola 2007). The study also sought to  
115 understand the factors supporting and/or constraining the spread of PES activities,  
116 because of the direct implications for REDD+ schemes planning to work with local  
117 communities to provide carbon sequestration services.

118

119 Interview notes for all 39 interviews (46 interviewees) were transcribed and then analysed  
120 using NVivo (version 10, QSR International Pty Ltd, 2012). All interviews were coded for a  
121 number of themes. One thematic group related to the motivation for project design,  
122 including views on the types of payments to communities and/or individuals typical of  
123 PES schemes. Another group related to the reasons for the lack of spread of PES across  
124 Indonesia, and what elements may facilitate such spread in the future. For those  
125 interviews discussing an active or defunct PES scheme, interviews were also coded for  
126 elements of the design of the PES scheme. The results presented below are drawn from  
127 these interviews, unless otherwise indicated.

128

129 Discussions about PES in this paper includes those local-level REDD+ schemes that make  
130 payments for carbon sequestration activities, but where the latter was referenced  
131 specifically (in quotes), the reference is included in the quoted material.

132

133 A number of interviewees represented organisations that were initially identified as  
134 supporting PES schemes in some way, but which, on further investigation was found not  
135 to be the case. The views of these interviewees are not included in any description of the  
136 development of any of the actually implemented PES schemes identified (section 3.2), but  
137 they are included in the presentation of stakeholders' views of PES, and in the subsequent  
138 discussion section, because they do assist in understanding of the development of PES in  
139 Indonesia.

140

141 **3 Results**142 *3.1 Payments for ecosystem service projects in Indonesia*

143 Once projects were identified (and duplicates removed), the long list included a total of  
 144 87 different projects. Having subsequently contacted key institutions about each of the  
 145 listed projects, and removing those that did not meet the above-mentioned criteria, just  
 146 nine projects remained that had been, or were actively making conditional payments for  
 147 the provision of ecosystem services. In the time since the short list was developed, one of  
 148 these, the Kalimantan Forests and Climate Partnership (KFCP) project ceased operations  
 149 (Howes 2013).

150

151 There were several reasons why projects were dropped from further consideration. The  
 152 first was that while a project description had been found in the literature, no project was  
 153 actually developed and implemented. In a number of cases, the projects described failed  
 154 to incorporate payments and conditionality as part of their implementation strategies.  
 155 There were also a small number of projects that were in the design or implementation  
 156 phase, but were not included in this analysis because they were yet to make any  
 157 conditional payments for ES provision.

158

159 The key features of the schemes that met all of the selection criteria are described in  
 160 Table 1. The schemes include communities in several districts across Indonesia, involve a  
 161 range of community and private sector ES sellers, non government and private sector  
 162 intermediary organisations and both private and public funders (ES purchasers). Schemes  
 163 could only be identified for water and carbon services, and the activities of all the  
 164 schemes were very similar – primarily forest conservation and tree planting. No bundling  
 165 of ecosystem services takes place within these schemes.

166

167 **Table 1 Key features of implemented Indonesian PES schemes**

168

169 Several features of these existing PES projects meant that further investigation in to the  
 170 impact of design elements on livelihoods and community and individual participation  
 171 would not yield meaningful results at this stage. Many of these operating schemes are  
 172 billed as pilot, or demonstration, schemes (see also Pirard and Billé 2010). This, a priori,  
 173 lead to the expectation that a variety of design mechanisms and activities would be being  
 174 tested by the various schemes. However, variation in design characteristics appears to be  
 175 closely correlated with the intermediary organisations, with each using very similar  
 176 scheme design for the projects they are involved in. The similarity of these design  
 177 elements may mean that opportunities to learn from implementation experience may be  
 178 reduced because of the relative lack of diversity in design, though not with respect to the  
 179 context of operation. However, the two most important features of these schemes that  
 180 made an impact analysis non-viable were the recent start date of payments in several  
 181 schemes (meaning impacts would not have had sufficient time to emerge) and, in most  
 182 cases, because of the relatively small amounts of money being paid to most ES sellers  
 183 (with the exception of the KFCP, which ended in 2014).

184

### 185 *3.2 Perceptions of PES*

186 Interviewees held a wide range of views about the appropriateness of PES schemes (and  
 187 REDD+ as a subset of PES) in ensuring the provision of ecosystem services in Indonesia.  
 188 Indeed one interviewee noted that ‘people seem to be quite polarized. They either think  
 189 it’s the answer to everything, or it’s evil. There’s very few people that sit in the middle.’  
 190 (Interviewee 23).

191

192 The greatest range of views of the potential, or otherwise, of PES to contribute to  
 193 conservation was found amongst the intermediary agencies (large and small, domestic  
 194 and foreign NGOs), which were split approximately equally between those actively  
 195 involved in the design and implementation of PES schemes and those that were not.

196

197 Amongst those intermediaries not involved in PES implementation, around half actively  
198 opposed PES, and expressed a dislike of direct payments to communities, highlighting  
199 their perceptions of the potential negative outcomes of payment mechanisms, 'it's almost  
200 a blackmail kind of thing. Where people will say they'll hold the chainsaw to the tree.  
201 [Communities say] "If you don't pay us, we'll cut it down".' (Interviewee 14). One  
202 interviewee suggested that frontloading payments for activities was akin to bribing the  
203 community (Interviewee 4). However, the other half of non-implementing intermediaries  
204 took a less oppositional stance, generally agreeing that 'monetary incentives are not  
205 always the answer to a lot of problems, particularly conservation problems.' (Interviewee  
206 16).

207

208 Intermediaries involved in PES projects supported cash payments, and particularly the  
209 agency of community members, 'We want transaction payments, which is cash money.  
210 Whether the money will be used for this or that, it's their [the communities'] business ...  
211 it's up to them.' (Interviewee 11). However, even within an organisation actively  
212 supporting PES, the view was held that 'PES will be exceptional ... REDD is included in  
213 this. The issue is, to do this you need a lot of money. But if there is a lot of money then,  
214 there are too many power issues, and powerful people put their interests' (Interviewee 7).

215

216 Within government, donor and other stakeholder groups, differences in opinion were less  
217 extreme. Even where these categories of stakeholders were not actively involved in  
218 designing, implementing or funding PES projects, all interviewees were broadly  
219 supportive of the principles of the use of conditional incentive payments to achieve  
220 outcomes. However, one donor made the distinction between projects for carbon and  
221 those for other ecosystem services; being generally unsupportive of project-level activities  
222 for carbon because 'they don't address the threats [at a large enough scale]' (Interviewee  
223 27).



224

225 Too few interviews were held with private sector personnel to gain an understanding of  
 226 how widespread support for PES mechanisms might be, but there was enthusiasm for the  
 227 principle amongst those interviewed. While it was beyond the scope of this research to  
 228 investigate the demand for ecosystem services amongst the private sector, this is an area  
 229 in which future research would be valuable, with attention not only to large enterprises  
 230 and multi-nationals, but also to small and medium sized businesses.

231

232 Despite the support for PES expressed by all national government interviewees, national  
 233 government, and specifically the Ministry of Forestry, was perceived by non-government  
 234 respondents as lacking the interest and/or political will to actively support the  
 235 implementation of projects. The awareness and understanding of PES amongst provincial  
 236 and district government departments and officials was also questioned.

237

### 238 **3.2.1 Factors constraining PES implementation**

239 Stakeholders' views on why PES approaches had not spread more widely in Indonesia  
 240 were categorised into macro- or micro-level concerns. The former related to the policy  
 241 and regulatory environment in which PES would be introduced, and the latter to the  
 242 operationalisation of PES schemes. A number of macro-level constraints were identified,  
 243 and despite the stated support by government for PES, many of the macro-level  
 244 constraints centred on government actions and the regulatory context in which projects  
 245 were implemented, as well as issues of trust.

246

247 The first constraint to be overcome for PES projects was recognised as 'how to get buyers  
 248 and sellers to recognise the problem?' (Interviewee 16) – that is, to recognise the  
 249 problems of land and forest degradation, and the increasing scarcity of certain ES, as  
 250 some of the private sector retained the belief that 'ES are a free good' (Interviewee 7).  
 251 Even where demand for ES had been exhibited, the commitment of private sector to

252 purchasing ES as a routine business operation was questioned, because payments are  
 253 often made using corporate social responsibility (CSR) funds and not from operating  
 254 costs: ‘it is still a philanthropic in many ways, it’s just companies that are trying to be  
 255 good corporate citizens really. The majority of it is CSR-related.’ (Interviewee 3).

256

257 Just under 50% of respondents expressed an opinion about the potential for increasing  
 258 demand for ES, with 41% of those identifying the private sector as potential ES buyers  
 259 (surprisingly positive views, given that few firms are currently involved in active PES  
 260 projects in Indonesia), though approximately half of these suggested that they would only  
 261 be willing to purchase ES if regulations required them to, while a single respondent stated  
 262 that the private sector would have no interest in financing PES schemes. The remaining  
 263 respondents identified the Indonesian government and foreign donors as the potential  
 264 financiers of PES schemes.

265

266 Of the respondents suggesting the private sector was potentially interested in paying for  
 267 ES, they believed that private sector participation was presently constrained by its  
 268 ‘unclear future. ... There is too much uncertainty in Indonesia, and the uncertainty is  
 269 regulation’ (Interviewee 26). For example, in the early days of REDD+: ‘at first, there was  
 270 interest, and all this buzz ... investors were lining up’ (Interviewee 5), but most projects  
 271 dropped off partly because of the global financial crisis, but also because of the delays  
 272 involved in negotiating project design and implementation amongst the partners, and the  
 273 uncertainty around rights and benefit sharing mechanisms.

274

275 The second constraint identified were the questionable levels of government commitment  
 276 to PES, as demonstrated the persistence of overlapping and conflicting regulations and  
 277 the apparently ineffective regulatory development processes. More than 90% of  
 278 interviewees drew attention to the issue of conflicting and overlapping regulations and  
 279 the shifting policy regime: ‘here there are so many regulations and the problem is that

280 they are sometimes overlapping' (Interviewee 15), exacerbated by the different levels at  
 281 which regulation can be enacted (district, provincial and national), and the multiple ways  
 282 in which regulations can be interpreted by different people. This results in uncertainty:  
 283 'uncertainty in regulation is probably the biggest thing. ... Every step along the way that  
 284 uncertainty can be cleared up, that demand can be fostered, can only be useful. I think  
 285 you've got to do that to get scale.' (Interviewee 19).

286

287 The uncertainty of the regulatory environment in Indonesia was contrasted with PES  
 288 regulation in other locations: 'In Costa Rica, there is a clear law, and it is very rigid. That  
 289 is why there is a very strong certainty related to the law. So people are willing to pay  
 290 because there is a certainty and clarity.' That [uncertainty] is the main problem that we  
 291 face [in Indonesia] and this is also the reason that people feel insecure to pay the  
 292 [ecosystem] service [here].' (Interviewee 11). In fact, the Costa Rican scheme is largely  
 293 funded by government, through the collection of taxes primarily on fuel, but more  
 294 recently also on water (Porrás et al. 2013).

295

296 The regulatory development process within government is also contributes to this  
 297 uncertainty. While PES-related regulation has been prepared within government and ready  
 298 for two years, 'some bureaucrats are not there to take risks', and so it has not been put  
 299 forward for official approval (Interviewee 20). Further, 'there needs to be clear guidance,  
 300 but I don't know whether the government is quite serious to consider this' (Interviewee  
 301 2).

302

303 One quarter of respondents felt that a lack of regulation was a stumbling block to the  
 304 wider spread of PES in Indonesia. However, when these interviewees were pressed about  
 305 the type of regulations that were lacking, they could rarely identify regulatory issues that,  
 306 if implemented, could support PES scheme establishments. The lack of available  
 307 mechanisms to deliver payments legally at the communities level was repeatedly

308 identified. However, operating schemes are already making payments using a variety of  
309 mechanisms, so this constraint appears to relate more to a lack of knowledge, than to a  
310 need for additional regulation.

311

312 A further constraint associated with the regulatory environment was the lack of  
313 'synchronisation and coordination' between ministries. This may in future be partially  
314 overcome because of the merger of the two into the Ministry of Environment and Forestry  
315 that began in late 2014, but will depend on how it is operationalised and led.  
316 Coordination with the finance ministry will remain critical because it holds the  
317 responsibility for making regulations regarding benefit sharing.

318

319 The lack of clarity over property rights is perceived as a critical constraint to the spread of  
320 PES, but is recognised as a factor affecting rural development generally, not only PES  
321 projects. 'Rights need to be clear first, in terms of communities. Without well defined  
322 rights, it is very difficult to develop a mechanism, and to address who is going to get  
323 benefit' (Interviewee 9), that is, to determine who the 'ES sellers' are. It will be necessary  
324 to 'support communities to have their tenure rights clarified. Once you've done that, then  
325 you can layer a project on top of that, but unless you've solved that you've got too much  
326 uncertainty. (Interviewee 19).

327

328 Interviewees from all stakeholder groups noted that the length of time required to  
329 operationalise a PES project was a factor reducing the incentive to participate. Some  
330 delays were attributable to the uncertain regulatory environment, and also to the need to  
331 build trust between the parties – in most cases between ES sellers (communities) and  
332 intermediaries: 'in our experience, it is a long process to ensure that we don't just come  
333 to the village and spend money, but that they understand. This needs a long run process,  
334 not an instant process.' (Interviewee 29). This process had taken more than three years in  
335 at least two of the operating projects.

336

337 Government processes could also delay aspects of projects. For example while the Rimba  
338 Raya project started in 2008 and generated credits from that time, their restoration  
339 licence was granted only in 2013. It was only after receiving the full licence that they were  
340 able to sell their carbon credits. Further, while it took the Cidanau scheme four years to  
341 finalise negotiations with their buyer, three of the intermediaries involved in PES projects  
342 stated that potential projects had been abandoned by ES buyers due to the length of time  
343 it took to reach agreements between all parties, an issue particularly for carbon services.

344

#### 345 **4 Discussion and conclusion**

346 A range of stakeholders were interviewed about their perceptions of PES in Indonesia and  
347 their views about the constraints to its further spread. The vast majority were supportive  
348 of the principle of using incentive based mechanisms, such as PES, though only  
349 approximately half were directly involved in the design, implementation or funding of PES  
350 schemes in the country. Three intermediary institutions expressed dissatisfaction with the  
351 idea of paying communities for the provision of ES. The identified constraints to the  
352 spread of PES projects in Indonesia can be broadly grouped into two categories: (i) a lack  
353 of recognition of ES degradation and scarcity as a problem; and (ii) the constraints  
354 imposed by the conflicting and uncertain regulatory environment.

355

356 The first bottleneck is the lack of recognition amongst buyers and sellers of the problems  
357 associated with environmental degradation, though this is not a problem confined to  
358 Indonesia (GCP et al. 2014). While the numbers of projects scoped, especially for carbon  
359 projects, suggested that initial interest was relatively strong, the subsequent lack of  
360 project implementation suggests that the transactions costs associated with the  
361 transition from design to implementation have been too high, particularly for potential  
362 buyers.

363

364 The dearth of programmes being driven by the private sector, and their use of corporate  
365 social responsibility funds for ES purchases seem to support the suggestion that the  
366 private sector does not yet recognise ecosystem services scarcity as a threat to continued  
367 operations, or that environmental degradation may be an externality that they are  
368 (partially) responsible for internalising.

369

370 Additionally, it has not been clear whether, or where, the benefits of ecosystem service  
371 delivery exceed the costs, though recent studies go some way to addressing the dearth of  
372 information regarding values and the distribution of ES benefits (Prasetyo et al. 2009,  
373 Yamamoto and Takeuchi 2012, Sumarga et al. 2015, Suwarno et al. 2015).

374

375 A lack of information about the operation of PES schemes is likely to impact negatively on  
376 the understanding and awareness of PES, particularly amongst provincial and district  
377 governments, which are critical, given their important role in natural resource  
378 management. Without such information, governments are unlikely to shift their focus  
379 from productive utilisation, where 'policy is driven by a timber mindset' (Interviewee 20).

380

381 The remaining constraints contributed to the uncertainty facing both potential purchasers  
382 and suppliers of ES, apparently adding significantly to the transactions costs of a scheme  
383 and increasing them beyond viability, where transactions costs are the costs of defining  
384 the ES to be traded, finding trading partners, and negotiating and closing contracts  
385 (Niehans 1971 cited in Coggan et al. 2015).

386

387 These constraints affecting PES in Indonesia overlap significantly with the reasons  
388 identified for the poor spread of watershed PES in sub-Saharan Africa, as described by  
389 (Ferraro 2009), and with constraints to PES identified elsewhere in the world (Vatn 2010,  
390 Alix-Garcia and Wolff 2014). Further, they align closely – in the reverse – with the  
391 economic, institutional and cultural preconditions for PES identified by Wunder (2013).

392 Economic preconditions are that the benefits exceed the costs of any intervention (as  
 393 discussed above), cultural preconditions describe the necessity for both users and  
 394 providers to have a motive for action, while the institutional preconditions relate to trust,  
 395 transactions costs and tenure (Wunder 2013).

396

397 Operating schemes in Indonesia have demonstrated that buyers can be organised to  
 398 make payments for ES, it is only possible in circumstances where intermediaries initiate  
 399 activities. This may be because intermediaries cut transaction costs by developing a  
 400 'formula' for the design and implementation of projects (Banerjee et al. 2013), for  
 401 example, each intermediary involved in multiple PES projects in Indonesia made similar  
 402 choices about mechanism design (see Table 1).

403

404 While factors supporting the establishment and continuation of the identified PES projects  
 405 were not discussed explicitly during the interviews, trust is demonstrably a feature of  
 406 those schemes that have successfully been implemented in Indonesia, and an example of  
 407 one the institutional preconditions for PES (Wunder 2013). In all cases of currently active  
 408 Indonesian PES schemes, intermediary agencies had been working with community ES  
 409 providers in each location prior to the introduction of PES schemes. The trust built during  
 410 this time seems to have been successful in reducing the transactions costs, thus  
 411 improving the viability of PES implementation (see also Sunderlin and Sills 2012). This  
 412 kind of trust-building has been described elsewhere as a contributor to the success of the  
 413 Cidanau scheme (Leimona et al. 2010), as well as to schemes elsewhere in the world  
 414 (Tacconi et al. 2010b, Mahanty et al. 2013, Namaalwa and Nabanoga 2013).

415

416 Tenure clarity and security are also institutional preconditions for PES, and are  
 417 problematic in Indonesia. The lack of tenure clarity and security was identified by virtually  
 418 all stakeholders as a constraint to PES, and has been examined extensively by researchers

419 in Indonesia (Collins et al. 2011, Indrarto et al. 2012, Murdiyarso et al. 2012,  
420 Resosudarmo et al. 2014, Sunderlin et al. 2014).

421

422 Ecosystem services have been noted as a way to escape the control of public authorities  
423 (Pirard 2012), as the absence of regulation enables more adaptive management of  
424 projects. The high demand amongst Indonesian stakeholders for a government role  
425 suggests that such opportunities may not be highly valued here; stakeholders' desire for  
426 government guidance and regulation is perceived as necessary to reduce some of the  
427 uncertainty of stakeholders regarding PES. Further, government guidelines and  
428 regulation may act to increase the visibility of PES, and thus encourage buyers to  
429 participate. The obvious caveat is that this would not be successful if any new regulation  
430 simply added to the existing conflictual and overlapping regulatory regime. It is the  
431 opinion of the authors that improving the clarity of the regulatory environment would be  
432 of greater benefit.

433

434 The necessity of government involvement is more straightforward in some cases, for  
435 example, in the Cidanau watershed PES, government regulation was necessary to enable  
436 implementation (Pirard et al. 2014). In future, government agencies not primarily  
437 concerned with environmental outcomes could be important in driving the wider spread  
438 of PES, if, for example, ministries other than the Ministry of Forestry encouraged the  
439 adoption of PES as a cash transfer conditional on the production of ES, in order to achieve  
440 poverty alleviation outcomes (Rosa da Conceição et al. 2015). The recent merger of the  
441 ministries of forestry and the environment also provides optimism that the development  
442 of PES may now accelerate.

443

444 This study confirms the conclusions of earlier researchers who note that while many  
445 potential schemes have been identified and projects announced, little information – other  
446 than the announcement – is available (Landell-Mills and Porras 2002, Heyde et al. 2012).



There has also been a lack of learning from activities and a lack of analysis of experiences, which appears to still be the case in Indonesia. Some projects have been ongoing for more than a decade and have hosted numerous study visits, yet many of the issues identified by interviewees in this study as reasons for the lack of spread of PES in Indonesia relate to issues that these projects have been, at least partially, addressed.

452

High transactions costs appear to be the most significant constraint to be overcome for the scaling-up of PES. It would thus be useful to understand the role, if any, of transactions costs in the relatively small proportion of operational schemes compared to the number that are proposed, and to analyse these operating schemes in greater detailed to elucidate opportunities to reduce the transactions costs of these schemes specifically, and PES schemes more generally.

459

The low rate of spread of PES in Indonesia after more than a decade of activity may imply that there has been an unwarranted emphasis on the ability of PES schemes to successfully and sustainably supply ecosystem services in reality. However, it may be premature to be disillusioned with PES as one means of achieving conservation and social goals (see Redford and Adams 2009) given the relatively limited experience of actual implementation and application in the country.

466

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Table 1 Key features of implemented Indonesian PES schemes

Name	Province	Started (PES activity)	Seller	Buyer	Payment	Intermediary	Activity
Water							
Cidanau	Banten	2001	+/- 30 farmer groups	state owned enterprise	Rp1.2 million /ha	stakeholder group	tree planting, agroforestry
Mt Rinjani Payments for Watershed Services	Lombok/ NTB	2009	25 groups in 12 villages	water assoc. members/users	Rp30-80 million /group	NGO	rehabilitation, reforestation
Aceh Payments for Watershed Services	Aceh	2009	10 farmer groups	companies	Rp 70-90 million /contract	NGO & stakeholder group	prevent tree cutting, tree planting, pollution prevention
Sumberjaya	Lampung	2007	3 villages	company	Rp1.5 -1.6 million/ha	NGOs	tree planting, river bank conservation, construction of terraces and sediment pits

Carbon							
Ketapang	W Kal.	2013*	villages	donors (incl. private foundations)	Rp100,000,000 /village p.a.	NGO	avoiding planned deforestation
Merangin	Jambi	2013*	villages	donors (incl. private foundations)	Rp100,000,000 /village p.a.	NGO	avoiding unplanned deforestation
Rimba Raya	C Kal.	2008* (but not sales)	private sector (ERC licence)	private sector	n/a (90 mill metric tons, 30 years; 2.2m VCUs)	-	avoiding planned deforestation
Berau Forest Carbon Program	E Kal.	2007	villages	donor (international)	\$25,000 /village p.a.	NGO	reduced deforestation, forest rehabilitation
Kalimantan Forests & Climate Partnership	C Kal.	2010-2014*	villages	donor (international)	\$A1.8 million total	KFCP	tree planting, intended canal blocking

\* These schemes are paying for inputs (i.e. compensating participants for their activities) rather than paying for outputs.