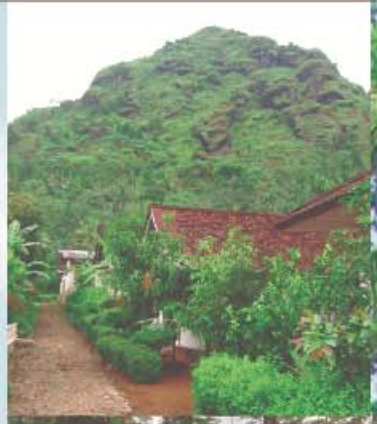


Communities Transforming Forestlands

Java, Indonesia

COMMUNITY FOREST MANAGEMENT TRENDS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Asia Forest Network supports the role of communities in protection and sustainable use of natural forests. AFN is comprised of a coalition of Asian planners, foresters, and scientists from government agencies, universities, and non-government organizations. Solidarity of AFN members is based on a common commitment to exploring alternative management strategies for Asia's natural forestlands. AFN's research emphasis includes the ecology of natural regeneration, the economics of non-timber forest product systems, and the community organizations and institutional arrangements that support participatory management. Lessons stemming from this research are used to inform field implementation procedures, reorient training, and guide policy reform.

For more information or comments about Asia Forest Network and its publications, please contact:

Asia Forest Network
2/F Gallares Main Bldg., Gallares Court
Graham Avenue cor Maria Clara Street
Tagbilaran City, 6300, Bohol, Philippines
Tel/Fax: (63-38) 235-5800
Email: afn@asiaforestnetwork.org
Website: www.asiaforestnetwork.org

This document has been produced with the assistance of the Asia Forest Network and Community Forestry International through funding provided by the European Community and the East-Asia and the Pacific Environmental Initiative funded through the United States Agency for International Development. The views expressed herein are those of Asia Forest Network and can therefore in no way be taken to reflect the official opinion of any of the funding agencies.

Edited by Dr. Mark Poffenberger and Dr. Kate Smith-Hanssen

Photos by Peter Walpole, Rowena Soriaga and ARuPA

Design by Dennis Maliwanag and Jerome Bonto

ISBN 971-93144-2-7

AFN

EAPEI
East Asia and Pacific Environmental Initiative

CFI

Communities Transforming Forestlands

JAVA, INDONESIA

A Collaborative Study by

Lembaga ARuPA

Yayasan Koling

and

Asia Forest Network

N. Juni Adi • Felicianus Arganata • M. Chehafudin

Faisal H. Fuad • Sandi C. A. Nugraheni • Rohni Sanyoto

Rowena Soriaga • Peter Walpole

Foreword to the Regional Series

In the face of rapid deforestation, and the resulting loss of upland biodiversity, torrential downstream floods, and disruptive urban brownouts, Southeast Asian governments, city dwellers, and rural communities have grown increasingly concerned over the deteriorating state of their forests and watersheds. National media are widely documenting and disseminating information through TV, newspapers, and radio regarding continuing forest destruction. Urban people and villagers across the region are increasingly aware of the need for forest conservation and more sustainable use. This concern is reflected in recent laws and policies to protect the environment and involve communities in management.

Throughout the 1990s, many Southeast Asian nations have been actively engaged in exploring innovative approaches to community-based resource management, attempting to integrate traditional resource stewardship practices into modern governance structures. This process of devolving management rights for public forest lands to local populations is being supported through a variety of policy initiatives and legal instruments including decentralization acts and local governance ordinances, as well as new forest and environmental laws. Further, a number of governments have formulated specific community forestry sub-decrees, government orders, and guidelines to facilitate the transfer of stewardship authority to local groups. Many international development agencies consider community-based natural resource management a priority component of their assistance strategies.

In 2001, with support from the European Commission's Tropical Forest Budget Line and the United States Agency for International Development's East Asia and the Pacific Environmental Initiative, the Asia Forest Network with Community Forestry International initiated the Community Forest Management Support Project (CFMSP) for Southeast Asia to facilitate forest sector transitions underway in the region. The program was designed to respond to needs at the community, national, and regional level through a variety of interventions. At the regional level, CFMSP organized a series of workshops and cross visits to stimulate exchange between countries engaged in developing community forest management policies and programs. At the national level, CFMSP provided financial and technical assistance to country working groups, NGO networks, and donor dialogues that were developing policy frameworks and national strategies to encourage forestry sector transitions that engaged communities as principle partners. At the field level, CFMSP worked with partner organizations implementing community forestry initiatives, by providing small grants, technical assistance, and support with documentation.

One component of CFMSP was to collaborate with field project partners to produce one case study from each of the five participating Southeast Asian countries, including Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam. The case studies were designed to capture the experiences of communities and project team members as they moved through a cycle of dialogue, diagnostic assessments, organizational development, negotiation with national government, resource mapping and decentralized management planning, and the formalization of management agreements. While the strategies reflected in each case study are unique, reflecting the socio-cultural context, policy and political environment, community history, and human ecology of the site, they all involve a similar set of activities oriented to building the capacity of rural communities to take on new management responsibilities and encouraging local governments to support their efforts.

The creation of resource management partnerships linking communities and local governments is a strong theme in each of the five case studies. So too is the process of building community abilities and confidence to protect and regulate access to their natural resources. The case studies primarily examine changes occurring in the past five years. For the most part, the progress made in stabilizing local resources, building community institutions, resolving conflict with local government and neighboring villages, and in establishing a sustainable system of management has been dramatic. These experiences from five corners of Asia indicate that the trust planners, NGOs, development agencies, and the larger civil society is gradually placing in region's rural villagers is not misplaced. At the same time, as is apparent from each of the cases, that the need for financial, technical, and political support are vast. A great deal of damage has been done to the region's forests in recent decades due to national policy, as well as field-level management failures. An equally extensive effort will be needed to restore these critical ecosystems and community relationships with them. The case studies suggest that a long term investment in building the capacity of communities and local governments to sustainably manage much of Southeast Asia's forests would be a strategic one.

The Asia Forest Network and Community Forestry International would like to thank the European Commission and United States Agency for International Development for their support. We would also like to express our appreciation to our partner organizations who are engaged in implementing a new generation of community forestry laws, policies, and programs. Finally, we would want to emphasize the tremendous effort being made by thousands of rural communities across Southeast Asia that contribute to forest protection, conservation, and the sustainable management of the planet's natural ecosystems. They require the support of national governments and the international community.

Dr. Mark Poffenberger
CFMSP Regional Director

Executive Summary

The world is focused on Indonesia's search for ways to curb the swift degradation of vast tropical forests under its care. Like other countries, most of Indonesia's forests have been under state control for over 50 years. In 1999, after a period of massive forest plunder, reformation policies ushered in decentralization of several administrative functions to district governments, including aspects of natural resource management. A number of district governments took this opportunity and enacted policies that reflect their perspective on priority concerns in forest management. Actions in some districts contributed to further degradation, negatively affecting processes in those districts where earnest efforts are being made to stabilize the environment.

In Java, the nation's most populated island and the longest to be subjected to scientific-based plantation management, communities took these reforms as a signal that a more socially-inclusive forest management system is on its way. They started transforming degraded or barren state enterprise plantations into agroforestry systems, hoping that they will benefit from timber harvest in the future.

Reformation opened up avenues for multi-stakeholder approaches to flourish in response to the release of central control and the need to manage the variety of interests over forestlands. The Indonesian Communication Forum on Community Forestry (FKKM) was instrumental in bringing stakeholders together and emphasizing the involvement of forest farmers in policy development and program implementation in Java.

This case study illustrates the challenges in getting decentralization to work for local people and the environment. The report describes the transformation that communities in Java have carried out on the land, the potentials of emerging social mechanisms and the challenges faced in negotiating agreements that will result in more equitable and ecologically sound forest management. The report describes the continuing search of stakeholders of forests in Wonosobo District despite differences in perspectives and understanding, for ways to continue discussions and move forward in forestland management.

Acknowledgements

This report is the output of rich and lively engagements among ARuPA, Koling and AFN staff who conversed and struggled together to document the transitions happening in Java's forestlands. The beginnings of this report came from a writeshop held in November 2002, when the AFN secretariat worked for four days with ARuPA and Koling staff to help them document their experiences (in Bahasa then translated to English) since 1999 when discussions on forest management started in Wonosobo. After the workshop, the drafts (in English) went back and forth among the authors.

Along the way, other people contributed to updating, validating and enhancing the quality of information and its analysis especially Sukoco, Nugroho, Totok Dwi Diantoro, C. Krustanto, and Muqorrobin.

The authors would like to thank the communities in Bogoran, Gunung Tugel, Selomanik and the nineteen other villages for sharing their aspirations and concerns as they strive to make best use of the land while stabilizing ecological services.

Table of Contents

Tables

Maps

Figures

Boxes

Annexes

Acronyms

ARuPA	Volunteers' Alliance for Saving Nature
BaPPeda	*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Desa;* District Planning Office
CBFM	Community Based Forest Management
DFID-MFP	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Development–Multistakeholder Forest Programme (United Kingdom)
DK	*Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan*; District Forest and Estate Crops Office
DPR	*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat;* National Legislative Assembly
DPRD	*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*; District Legislative Assembly
FHW	*Forum Hutan Wonosobo*; Wonosobo Forest Forum
FKKM	*Forum Komunikasi Kehutanan Masyarakat*; Communication Forum on Community Forestry (Indonesia)
FKPPPH	*Forum Koordinasi Penanganan Penjarahan dan Penataan Hutan*; Coordinating Forum for Issues on Forest Plunder, Land Use Conflict and Ways towards Rehabilitation
GNRHL	*Gerakan Nasional Rehabilitasi Hutan dan Lahan;* National Movement for Forest and Land Rehabilitation
HKM	*Hutan Kemasyarakatan*; government programme on community forestry in state forestland
HTI	*Hutan Tanaman Industri;* Industrial Tree Plantations
ICRAF	World Agroforestry Center
KPH	*Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan*; *Perun Perhutani* (Forest Management Unit)
Kpts	*Keputusan Menteri;* Ministerial Decree
LATIN	*Lembaga Alam Tropika Indonesia;* Indonesian Tropical Institute
LKMD	*Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa;* village council
LP3ES	*Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan, dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial*; Institution for Social and Economic Research, Education, and Information
masl	Meters above sea level
MPR	*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*; Peoples' Consultative Assembly
na	not available
nd	no data
NRMP–EPIQ	Natural Resource Management Program–Environmental Policy and Institutional Strengthening Indefinite Quantity Contract (United States Agency for International Development)
PEMDA	*Pemerintah Daerah*; executive arm of the district government
PERDA	*Peraturan Daerah;* district government regulation
PHBM	*Pengelolaan Hutan Sumberdaya Bersama Masyarakat;* Collaborative Forest Resource Management Programme 2001 (Perhutani) also the acronym used for *Pengelolaan Hutan Bersama Masyarakat* or Collaborative Forest Management Programme that Perhutani launched in 2000.
PKK	*Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*; Family Welfare Programme
PP	*Peraturan Pemerintah;* Government Act
PSDHBM	*Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Hutan Berbasis Masyarakat*; District Regulation on Community-based Forest Management (Wonosobo)
Rp	Rupiah
SEPKUBA	*Serikat Petani Kedu Banyumas;* Kedu Banyumas Farmers Union
UU	*Undang–Undang;* Law
WATALA	*Keluarga Pencinta Alam dan Lingkungan Hidup;* Friends of Nature
WWF	World Wildlife Fund for Nature

Glossary of Terms

blandong	woodcutters/laborers in the compulsary forest labor service of the *blandongdiensten*
blandongdiensten	compulsary forest labor service—granted to the East India Company (VOC) by the Javanese sovereign, giving it control not only of the forest and tree resource but also of labor.
Bupati	Head of District Government or *Kabupaten*
community forest management	forestlands that do not fall under industrial/HPH/BUMN management. In Bahasa, community forest could mean *perhutanan masyarakat, kehutanan masyarakat, hutan kerakyatan, or perhutanan komunitas*; used interchangeably with community forestry, community-based forest management or CBFM. *Hutan Kemasyarakatan (HKm)* was a government programme designed in the late 1990s to formally allow community forest management on state forestlands.
crops, annual	e.g. cassava, vanilla, corn, *kapulogo* (Amomum cardamomum)
crops, perennial	e.g. cloves, chili, *kemukus* (Piper cubeba), *suruh* (Piper betle), *salak* (Salacca edulis), *jenu* (Derris caudatilimba)
Desa	Village
Dienst van het Boshwezen	a quasi-modern government forest service, created by then Dutch colonial administration. It was established to effect a more organized exploitation of teak forests, *Boshwezen* ushered legislation and police control of land, trees, and labor to a highly structured, semiautonomous, and field-oriented bureaucracy.
domienverklaring	forestry law which declared all unclaimed and forest lands as the domain of the state
dusun	Hamlet; community unit smaller than a village
Forum Hutan Wonosobo	Wonosobo Forest Forum
hutan rakyat	people's forests; privately owned agroforests managed at a household level; type of community forest management practiced in villagers' private lands
Kabupaten	District; Regency
Kecamatan	sub-district; administrative unit smaller than the district
Kyai	religious leader in Javanese villages
Lembaga	Organization
Maro	practice of a local landowner and his workers equitably sharing the farm harvest based on inputs that both parties provided
Padu Serasi	District Land Use Plan integrating nationally or locally-initiated programs and technical or territorial projects
Panatia Pembangunan Wilayah Hutan dan Pertanian	the committee for the Development of Forest and Agricultural Region, was established in 1951 to handle the 'squatter problem." Created at a time when the government was loosing much control over forests and forestlands. It was tasked to convince people of the "meaning and functions of the forests as the state defines it."
Reformasi	reformation; term used to describe the initiatives of the government that replaced Soeharto's New Order government
Ringyo Tyuoo Zimusyoo (RTZ)	Japanese Forest Service of Java established in 1942, vast armies of forest laborers were put to work cutting timber under the Japanese forced labor system (*romusha*).
Social Forestry Program	term used to describe either the Perhutani's *Perhutanan Sosial* program in the 1980s or the Forestry Ministry's Social Forestry Program launched in 2002 intended for national implementation; the Bahasa translation for social forestry is *Perhutanan Kemasyarakatan* to describe forest management principles/strategies that incorporate social concerns
sawah	rice paddy
Statuta	statute; rules and regulations agreed upon by members of forest user groups wishing to apply for a CBFM permit under the Wonosobo District Regulation on CBFM
talon	forest (in Sundanese)
taung ya	a system where peasant planters could grow rice, corn, tobacco and other field crops for one or two years in between rows of state-owned teak seedlings
Tim Multipihak Wonosobo	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum
tumpang sari	Indonesian application of *taung ya*
wono	forest (in Javanese)
wono dusun	hamlet forest or community forest management (in Javanese)
Yayasan	Foundation

Glossary of Plant Names

Local Name	Scientific Term	English Name
aren	*Arenga pinata*	Arenga palm, Sugar palm
damar	*Agathis dammara*	Dammar, Kauri pine
duren, durian	*Durio zibethinus*	Durian
jati	*Tectona grandis*	Teak
jengkol	*Pithecellobium jiringa*	Apesearring
jenu	*Derris caudatilimba*	Jenu-woody vine
kaliandra	*Calliandra calothyrsus*	Calliandra
kapulogo, kapulaga	*Amomum compactum*	Cardamon
kelapa	*Cocus nucifera*	Coconut palm
kemiri	*Aleurites moluccana*	Kennel nut, Candlenut
kemukus	*Piper cubeba*	Java pepper, Javanese peppercorn, West African black pepper
lomtoro, lamtoro	*Leucaena glaucas*	Leucaena
mahoni	*Swietenia macrophylla*	Mahogany
nangka	*Arthocarpus indica*	Jackfruit
panili, vanili	*Vanilla planifolia*	Vanilla
petai	*Parkia speciosa*	Petai, Nitta tree
pinus	*Pinus merkusii*	Merkus pine
rambutan	*Nephelium lappaceum*	Rambutan
salak	*Salacca edulis*	Salak palm
sengon, besiah, kolbi	*Paraserianthes falcataria, Albizia f.*	Albizia tree
suren	*Toona sureni*	Suren-toon tree
suruh, sirih	*Piper betle*	Betel pepper, Betelvine

Communities Transforming Forestlands

Java, Indonesia

PART I

Introduction

Reformasi and Forest Management

Decentralization in Indonesia

Reform is very much needed in Indonesia's forest sector. Many environmentalists and professional foresters, both within and outside Indonesia, are concerned with the nation's rapid loss of forest cover. Indonesia represents one-fifth of Asia's forest cover and holds the fifth largest forest area worldwide, yet has the highest rate of forest cover loss (0.96%) among these top five countries in the world[1]. The country is estimated to be losing around 2 million hectares of forest every year[2], or 5,400 hectares daily. A forest area the size of one football field is lost per minute. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has brought regional haze to the center of environmental discussions after Indonesia's greatest forest fire of 1998 that sent a thick layer of smog to countries neighboring Kalimantan.

Reformasi (reformation) ushered in new hope for Indonesia's forests in 1998. Reformasi, the government's platform after the fall of Soeharto's 31-year rule of the country, was deemed an expression of commitment to a community-based economy. Many viewed it as a real opportunity to make fundamental changes in the way Indonesia's forests were managed, thereby slowing deforestation and recognizing long-slighted claims and interests of forest-dependent communities.[3] Various government committees, non-government organizations, donor agencies and academics put forward reform agendas to take advantage of this long-awaited opportunity.

Several statutory laws and government regulations were issued immediately after the new government made the promise of *reformasi* to the people. Two new laws directly affect management of Indonesia's forestlands. The Law on Regional Government (*UU* 22) enacted in May 1999 decentralizes many functions of government, including numerous aspects of forest regulation and management, to the provincial and district governments. The revised Forestry Law (*UU* 41), passed just four months after the enactment of the decentralization policy, replaces the 1967 Basic Forestry Law and mentions involvement of communities in forest management [4] while also reaffirming the right of central government to "determine the forest estate", and "plan the use of the forest" while "paying attention" to local land use plans.[5]

Decentralization policies were expected to provide opportunities to explore other ways of dealing with problems in the forests. Expectations however, are not being met. While some district governments proceeded to finding systems that can institutionalize sustainable forest management responsibilities, others used their newfound authority to create their own district forest enterprises and issued logging licenses to individuals and groups without adequate controls. Some districts did not see forest management as among their primary responsibilities, thus leaving many areas in a state of open access. Overall, it seemed that decentralization policies accelerated the final stages of forestland clearing, with or without the backing of legal authority.

In Java, increased clearing of state forestland is certainly widespread and well documented[6] during this period of turbulent political transition. *Reformasi* has given courage to communities to take over denuded and degraded plantations that were formerly owned and managed state forest corporations. Plantation clearing is often quickly followed by terracing of the land and planting of crops and plantation seedlings nurtured with organic fertilizers. The cropping strategy allows farmers to begin generating revenues from cassava and chili within the first year, as future canopy trees begin to emerge. By the time the canopy begins to close, shading out annual crops, the farmers transition to an understorey of coffee and plants for culinary use. These events are highly significant as they could be part of a longer-term transition to community-based agroforestry systems.

It is important to note that the Outer Islands developed a forestry system different from Java as a result of different historical experiences since the colonial period. Scientific-based plantation management has governed Java's forest since the early times, forcing long-established

indigenous resource use and tenurial systems to find new ways of incorporation. In the Outer Islands, similar processes began in earnest only after the New Order government was established. In contrast to Java, Outer Islands have poorer soil, lower population density, and much less intensive land management[7].

Community Forestry Support Strategies of Multi-stakeholder Teams

In Wonosobo District of Central Java, the newly passed laws on decentralization and forest management were a signal that central government was earnest in its efforts to implement regional autonomy. Eager to utilize the new opportunity for reform, the Wonosobo Legislative Assembly opened up venues for discussing issues on land use conflict and forest plunder. A broad range of issues surfaced during these intensive multi-stakeholder dialogues such as illegal logging, boundary conflicts, benefit sharing inequities, and corruption. Policy support to community-based forest management emerged as the strategy for responding to these issues.

The FKKM-Central Java was instrumental in the design of social mechanisms. The key elements characterizing the overall process are:

- multi-stakeholder type of discussions
- particular emphasis on involvement of forest farmers
- regular occurrence of meetings with option to call for special meetings as needed
- broad-based participation in local policy making
- iterative consultations during policy drafting
- revising strategies to respond to emerging needs and changing contexts

Lembaga ARuPA and Yayasan Koling, two organizations that are part of FKKM-Central Java, became the main groups consistently assisting the Wonosobo District Legislative Assembly in implementing the dialogue mechanisms. Meanwhile, as a national network, FKKM also became involved in advocating policy reforms in implementing guidelines for forest management.

After 19 months of intensive dialogue and eight drafts, the Wonosobo District government passed the District Regulation on Community-Based Forest Management (Perda 22) in October 2001. A new committee was formed to draft the technical guidelines for the implementation of Perda 22. To aid in drafting the technical guidelines, the committee decided to implement pilot planning activities with strategically selected villages that were willing to undergo a planning and mapping exercise. Lessons from this pilot activity will be used in developing a training program on community planning with other villages.

Steps Taken by Forest Users

Even before policy discussions in the district took place, several villagers in Wonosobo, like in other parts of Java, were already 'encroaching' on degraded and denuded state forestlands adjacent to their village or community land. In the Soeharto era, such local steps were usually dealt with rapidly and violently by police or military personnel "rented" by or out to logging firms. With increasing large-scale violent conflict in numerous parts of the country, the thinly-stretched military and police lacked the resources to respond to concession-related disputes.[8] Also during this time, the Perhutani faced organizational difficulties because of mounting pressure from various reform groups within and outside government.

The passing of the District Regulation on Community-based Forest Management was a welcome development for villagers who had already started applying the traditional agroforestry techniques they used in lands classified as *hutan rakyat*, or people's forests. Finally, a process for involving them in planning and development of rights and responsibilities in state forestlands had emerged.

This report is the story of two villages in Wonosobo District of Central Java making this transition and the new roles and responsibilities that communities, district government, and national government are taking up. Though no pattern of decentralized management holds true for all forest areas in Indonesia, a greater understanding of the events as they unfold may help different stakeholders to find new ways of working with each other.

PART II

Management Systems in Java's State Forestlands

History of State Forest Management, Labor Control and Land Degradation[9]

Forests in Java started to be utilized for large-scale commercial purposes more than 400 years ago, with the entrance of VOC, the Dutch East India Company (Table 1). The dense, durable teak (*Tectona grandis*) was among the finest species in the world for ships' timber, and the tall, straight trees, more populous than people in some parts of the island in the 15th century, made majestic masts for the most formidable battleships. VOC negotiated with Javanese rulers and their officials, providing them with valuable gifts so that they could establish offices, hire labor, gain access to the teak forests and construct shipbuilding centers. Initial forest areas acquired in Java were in the vicinity of Jepara, Rembang, Pekalongan, Waleri and Brebes. Local forest laborers were under VOC's virtual disposal. Peasants were required to render compulsory forest labor services in exchange for being exempted from head taxes and the usual labor services exacted by regional rulers and the sultan. Dragging beams to the coast took 3-5 days from the closest forest. As sites became more distant, hauling beams took 12-15 days; the walk back required another five. When the VOC sensed the profitability of coffee cultivation in the uplands during the 1700s, it required upland farmers to grow coffee on cleared forestland while making new clearings for the cultivation of rainfed rice. The repressive feudal structures of VOC drove many from their farms to clear forest in other, less controlled parts of the uplands.

When the Dutch colonial government took over Indonesia in the late 18th century, it took control of land, trees and labor in teak-rich areas through the *Dienst van het Boschwezen* created in 1808. Under the *Boschwezen,* villagers were restricted from accessing teak for lumber, and were only allowed to collect deadwood and non-timber forest products. Regulations were established punishing all uses of the forest unauthorized by the state, thus criminalizing many customary uses of the forest. The maximum penalty for forest "criminals" was ten years in prison or a fine of 200 rijk dollars, or silver coins worth 6 tons of rice in 1846[10]. Two-thirds of this fine went to the state and one-third to the person who reported the crime. Fortunately, these harsh regulations were not enforceable as there was not yet a forest police force. Instead, the Boschwezen had sub-district forest managers overseeing some 100,000 laborers through the *blandongdiensten* system. Each woodcutter or *blandong* received a small annual allowance of iron, salt and gunpowder, and a daily supply of 1.5 kilograms hulled rice. As an incentive, partial advance payments for logs were made, with the remainder paid on delivery to the coastal log yards. Payments were administered through middlemen, and often were not received by the workers.

The *blandongdiensten* system was revised during the brief English control of Java, when it was decided that workers should be subjected to the same land rents as other peasants. Instead of getting wages, forest labor was credited in value for taxes due. Half the "working men" of a village were required to work as forest laborers; the other half was supposed to be left free to work the rice fields. Woodcutters and timber haulers worked eight months in a year, and guarded forests for the remaining four months in exchange for the village's exemption from land rent. *Blandong* villages were remunerated through designated village heads and regents.

The Dutch regained control of Java in 1816, but the English-revised *blandongdiensten* was retained and forest villages remained liable for land rents and continued to pay by laboring in the forest, providing draft animals for hauling, and helping build logging roads. To work off land rents, an owner

TABLE 1. Timeline of Forest Management in Java

Year	National Experience
	Colonization Era
1596	Dutch East India Company (VOC) starts teak logging operations
1799	Dutch colonial government replaces VOC as proprietor and administrator of the teak logging operations
1808	*Dienst van het Boschwezen*, the forest service, is created with rights to control land, trees, and labor
1935	Dutch adopts the *tumpang sari* system as the form of management for teak plantations.
1942	*Ringyoo Tyuoo Zimusyoo* (Jawatan Kehutanan), the Japanese Forest Service, takes control of forests in Java
	Independence
1950s	Efforts are made to change the form of management, but control remains under Jawatan Kehutanan. Indonesian Forest Service Planning Department estimates forest cover in Java at 5.07 million hectares.
1961	Perusahaan Negara Perhutani (PN Perhutani) is created to manage West Kalimantan, East and Central Java.
1962	PN Perhutani launches its multiple use forestry program.
	New Order Government
1967	*Basic Forest Law No. 5* reconfirms two types of forest tenure: state and private. Forest areas not claimed and proven as private property are considered as state forests, upon which the State can claims authority to issue logging concessions. Forest plunder and conflict between state forest companies and communities increase.
1972	*Government Regulation No. 15* merges PN Perhutani in East and Central Java into one company, the Perum Perhutani.
1978	*Government Regulation No. 2* includes West Java in Perum Perhutani operations.
1970s	Perhutani's multi-use forest program becomes the Prosperity Approach Program on Forests.
1982	Perhutani's Prosperity Approach Program becomes Forest Villager Empowerment Program. Perhutani's Forest Villager Empowerment Program becomes Social Forestry Program (Perhutanan Sosial).
1985	World Conservation Monitoring Centre estimates forest cover in Java at 1.3 million hectares
1986	*Government Regulation No. 36* replaces Government Regulation No. 2/1978 and requires Perhutani to update its management systems based on new government regulations issued in 1983.
	Reformation Government
1999	Forest plunder and land use conflict increase. *Law on Regional Government (UU No. 22)* decentralizes several central government functions, including natural resources management, to regency level/district governments. *Revised Forestry Law (UU No. 41)* recognizes limited community involvement in forest management. *Government Act (PP) No. 53* reconfirms role of PN Perhutani as forest manager in Java. Military/police approaches are used to deal with forest plunder.
2000	Perhutani's Social Forestry Program becomes Collaborative Forest Management Program (1st version of PHBM).
2001	*Agrarian Reform and Natural Resource Management Law (TAP MPR No. 9)* lays down the basis for initiatives to harmonize inter-sectoral policies relating to natural resource management *Kpts No. 31* Ministry of Forests issues decree on administration of community forestry in zones without prior rights, thus excluding areas under Perhutani management–85% of forestlands in Java. Perhutani's Collaborative Forest Management Program becomes Collaborative Forest Resource Management Program (2nd version of PHBM). *PP No. 14* privatizes Perum Perhutani to become PT (Persero) Perhutani.
2002	*PP No. 34* restructures state forest management and gives guidelines for developing forest management plans. Supreme Court holds judicial review based on civil society's proposal to revoke Perhutani privatization.
2003	*PP No. 30* replaces PP No. 14 thus converting Perhutani back to a state corporation.

of a team of buffalo had to deliver the equivalent of 15 giant teak trees or 35 smaller ones to the log yards. Loggers were only provided daily rice rations if they worked far from their villages.

In 1865, the *blandongdiensten* was abolished and replaced by a so-called free labor system, where workers worked for cash wages instead of exemption from land rent. As workers still needed cash to pay taxes on land, livestock, marriages, divorces and irrigation water, the new system became an indirect control on labor. It was also during this period that new laws were passed to solidify state control over forestlands.

The Dutch colonial government declared the country's forests as "state-owned" through the 1870s Basic Agrarian Law with its *domeinverklaaring* rules. This rule stated that the Dutch government owned all land that had no proof of legal ownership. Using German 'scientific' forestry, the state classified, mapped and bounded state forest reserves. Drawing boundaries effectively evicted people from the source of their subsistence and became the legal basis for deterring villagers from converting forestlands to agriculture and collecting forest products. Forest police were formed in 1880 under the Interior Department police forces. Meanwhile, the population started to grow ever faster and this, together with the new establishment of large private tea, rubber and cocoa estates, led to increasingly large upland forest areas being cleared in West Java, while the remaining forested lowlands and valley bottoms were clear-felled for the cultivation of irrigated rice that was introduced from Central and East Java.

As teak became scarcer, German-trained Dutch foresters established the rotating system for teak harvest in "parcels" and started reforestation efforts. However, control of labor in reforestation was more difficult than in logging. Profits, wages, commissions and bribes came from cutting big trees, not replacing them. In 1873, the *taung ya* system of reforestation was piloted in the forest district of Tegal-Pekalongan to attract labor for replanting teak. *Taung ya*, or *tumpang sari* as it later became known, was a system where peasant planters could grow rice, corn, tobacco and other field crops for one or two years in between rows of teak seedlings. The teak belonged to the state while agricultural crops belonged to the planters. In addition, planters received a nominal cash fee. Ten years after, a pamphlet was written describing the *taung ya* method and results of the pilot activity. Circulation of this pamphlet among foresters enabled the spread of tumpang sari across Java. Foresters lauded the method for its economy and efficiency in replanting the forest. However, the temporary nature of reforestation land access helped create a new kind of forest sector dependence. Poor landless families dependent on subsistence farming followed the harvest of teak parcels to gain access to tumpang sari and built houses of waste wood and teak bark near the parcel. The reforestation method, however, did not work on very poor land as foresters were unable to attract labor even if higher payments were offered. In the 1930s towards the end of the Dutch rule, large-terracing and land redistribution programs targeting smallholders were launched as part of a revival of social accountability.

When the Dutch government was replaced by the Japanese occupation during World War II, forest maps, sawmills and other Dutch-built infrastructure were destroyed by the foresters themselves so that the Japanese would not be able to use them. With the departure of the Dutch, villagers tasted for the first time, freedom from stringent control over their lives. They saw the chance to get back at the centuries-old system and ransacked remaining log yards, administrators' housing and the forest itself. This went on until the establishment of the *Ringyoo Tyuoo Zimusyoo*, the Japanese Forest Service of Java. The RTZ took charge of a vast army of forest laborers forced to cut and haul timber to supply logs, firewood, and charcoal for trains, factories and other war-related industries. Though food rations for the workers were meager, running away was not a good option as it often meant a more rapid death than the starvation that killed many forest laborers. The Japanese created new forest villages by settling colonies of woodcutters to convert forest to agriculture and forced rice deliveries to feed the military and civilian bureaucracy. It was estimated that timber and fuelwood production in 1943 and 1944 almost doubled prewar wood production under the Dutch. With virtually no replanting done, the toll on Indonesia's forests was great during this period. Export crop estates were converted to produce castor oil and cloth fiber but many of the crops failed. Land degradation was considered to have been particularly severe during this period.

Indonesia declared independence in the 1945 through a revolution that lasted until 1949, but the revolutionary government retained the colonial state's centralized forest management system. The public image of forestry and foresters remained unfavorable because new, liberal ideas were not being reflected in improved access of villagers to forestlands and their resources. While the language of revolution was one of freedom and justice for all, many foresters were encouraging a return to Dutch exclusionary principles treating villagers as squatters and wood thieves. Forests continued to suffer extensive damage as the Indonesian government also needed wood to fuel trains and clear forests for agriculture. Political violence in forestlands increased with the pent-up feelings against the Forest Service and unrelenting forest access restrictions from the colonial period.

The increasing violence and decreasing capacity of the Forest Service in containing problems in the forest led to some changes. In 1951, the Committee for the Development of Forests and Agricultural Regions (*Panitia Pembangunan Wilayah Hutan dan Pertanian*) was formed to handle the "squatter problem". The multi-agency committee provided some balance to decision-making as it consisted of representatives from various government agencies, the military and agricultural services, many of whom stood to gain from the Forest Service's loss of land and power. Foresters worked with the Department of Information to convince people of "the meaning and functions of the forest" as the state defined it. In 1957, the Directorate of Forestry was established and provincial managers took over some responsibility for autonomous decisions concerning marketing of forest products, forest management, protection, and exploitation including labor practices. Policy was still formulated at the center and all regional decisions had to concur with national policies. The slight shift in power did not last long as the provincial unit's power decreased when Perusahaan Negara Perhutani (PN Perhutani), the state forest corporation, was established in 1961 to cover West Kalimantan, East and Central Java. Also, the 1965 coup attempt by rebel groups brought out the iron hand of the state. Many people who posed problems for the Forest Service—squatters, forest laborers in rebel-affiliated organizations, and black market teak traders—were killed or interned as political prisoners. Population movement was high as upland farmers fled their homes to take refuge in safer villagers and cities. Many who later returned home found irrigation structures degraded and abandoned land taken over by other farmers, or distributed among military personnel after ousting the rebels. The experience left many forest villages fearful of the state and reluctant to overtly demand extended access rights.

Managing State Forests. A common feature of Perhutani programs was the involvement of communities to plant seedlings in return for allowing them to interplant with agricultural crops for 2–3 years before the canopy closes. The signboard outlines the technical specifications that communities should follow.

PN Perhutani was created to generate foreign exchange from timber for the state to finance reforestation, supply forest products to industry, and to manage perceived community pressures on the forests. In 1972, the PN Perhutani for East and Central Java were combined to form Perum Perhutani; West Java was added in 1978. Perhutani inherited the previous territories of the Dutch Forest Service in Java and managed all production forest and most protection forest on the island covering almost 3 million hectares or more than 20% of Java. The Basic Forest Law No. 5 passed in 1967 reconfirmed Perhutani's

role as state forest manager in Java. As of 2001, Perhutani reported 2.5 million hectares under its management (Table 2).

Unlike its predecessors, Perum Perhutani is an autonomous government corporation. The income it generates is used to support itself while submitting 55% of its profit to the national development budget. The organization is composed of technical forestry specialists, forest police, and administrators whose primary objective is the production of teak and other forest products. Apart from revenue generation, Perhutani is also mandated to protect forest cover and watersheds and stimulate improvements in rural welfare through forest-related earning opportunities.

On its second year of operation, Perhutani launched a program on the multiple uses of the forest and revived *tumpang sari* of the Dutch era. The corporation employed local communities to replant non-teak areas with other monoculture species, mainly pine (*Pinus mercusii*) and dammar (*Agathis dammara*). In return, they were allowed to plant food crops like corn and cassava in between the trees they planted. Communities were allowed to do this for 2 to 3 years, after which they had to stop and leave the canopy close. The Basic Forestry Law of 1967 formalized tumpang sari as the official forest management approach.

Since its establishment, Perhutani had gone through several programs that bring in communities into state forest management. A common feature of all these programs was the involvement of communities as laborers who plant seedlings in return for allowing them to interplant with agricultural crops. However, many forest farmers on Java were not satisfied with the traditional two years of forest access offered under the conventional *tumpang sari*. Java was becoming densely populated and the shrinking private landholdings could no longer fulfill daily needs for food, fodder and fuelwood. Reforestation often failed on sites near village settlements because of livestock grazing, forest fires, firewood cutting and other forms of encroachment. These disturbances usually occurred after the plantation was two years old, when farmers' cultivation rights to the site had ended.

The uncertainty in tenurial status was impacting not only on the effectiveness of *tumpang sari* to encourage reforestation; it was also affecting the success of several upland programs related to soil conservation and agronomic improvements. Farmers were reluctant to invest time, energy and other resources as long as they could not be certain of obtaining the benefits of their investments.

The Soeharto government had a substantial ideological and financial commitment to economic development. It switched from a policy of land redistribution started towards the end of Dutch rule to one encouraging private enterprise. Government programs were more attuned to intensification of lowland rice cultivation and industrial development than to the position of smallholder and landless upland farmers. The drive for agricultural productivity and industrial development was so intense such that erosion became a significant problem. The magnitude of river sediment loads rank among the highest in the world, estimated to be 10-60 t ha $^{-1}$ yr $^{-1}$ and around 15% of the island's watersheds declared to be in a 'critical' state.

After the fall of Soeharto's 31-year regime in 1998, there was an emergence of violent possession of forest resources by organized operations. Massive theft and stock damage occurred. Theft was three times the level of legal harvest and standing stock declined by 4% in a span of one year (Table 3). If this trend were to continue, Java's forest cover would be largely gone in ten years, but local activities already compensate for some of the cover loss.

With the political transition, massive cutting and the promise of *reformasi*, village members gained new-found courage to occupy the bare state lands and manage them according to the mixed agroforestry system they practice on their own lands.

TABLE 2. Forest Classification in Java and Extent of Land Under Perhutani Management, 2001[11]

Java Forestland Classification	Total Area (Ha)	Under Perhutani Management	Under Forest Conservation Agency
Production	1,916,964	1,916,964	0
Limited Production	650,619	650,619	0
Conservation (National Park, etc.)	442,188	2,850	439,338
Total Forestlands in Java *	3,009,771	2,570,432	439,339

**Excludes state forest in Yogyakarta Special Province (18.000 Ha)*

TABLE 3. Analysis of Perum Perhutani Timber Harvest, 1998-1999[12]

	Stock Inventory (in '000 m³)	
	1998	1999
Standing stock from reforestation	37,261	35,468
Growth (y)		
Growth, start of year	36	45
Growth, already planted	1,019	1,003
Maximum Allowable Cut	1,055	1,048
Harvest /Degradation (x)		
Stock Harvested	403	406
Stock Theft	1,119	1,173
Damaged Stock	17	39
Total Stock Removed	1,539	1,618
Overcutting (x - y)	**484**	**570**
Standing stock, yearend	35,468	34,264

Growing Population, Land Scarcity and Intensive Land Use

One of the earth's geologic hotspots, Java has 17 active volcanoes. With its ash-enriched soil, it is the most cultivated of Indonesia's large islands. It is also the country's political and industrial center. With a population of 120 million, Java is the most populated among the country's 17,100 islands. More than half the Indonesia's population is in Java. Average land ownership is about one-third to one-half hectare per family, and landlessness is rising. Around 20 million people, one-sixth of the island's population, live in areas under Perhutani management and are wholly or partly dependent on state forestlands for livelihood.[13]

Communities from various ethnic groups of Java used to have full access to forestlands for agricultural and other subsistence activities, until Dutch colonial interests began in the late 16th century.[14] The Sundanese people that inhabited the hilly western part of the island in low numbers subsisted on a form of shifting cultivation, whereas the Javanese, living mainly in the central and eastern lowlands, were practicing irrigated rice cultivation. As state control over more accessible lowlands tightened, villagers were forced to look for less regulated but also less accessible areas in the uplands.

Forests are called *wono* or *alas* in Javanese and *talun* in Sundanese. The hamlet (*dusun*) land management system of the Javanese is called *wono dusun*, a community resource unit that has multiple uses—agriculture, livestock raising and forestry. Early attempts to develop poly-culture management systems for state forestlands borrowed heavily from these indigenous Southeast Asian agroforestry systems.[15] The *wono dusun* exhibits many features that characterize intensive agroforestry such as ecological diversity, stratification, multiple use, ecological sustainability and greater economic stability.

Indigenous agroforestry in Java often imitate the floristic diversity of natural forest ecosystems, though the actual species composition may be different. Javanese farmers have developed highly complex home gardens, with hundreds of productive plant species found in a single village. *Wono dusun* areas contain wood trees, fruit trees, seasonal crops, cattle feed, and many other types of vegetation. Forests managed by communities are dominated by sengon (*Paraserianthes falcataria*) and mahogany *(Swietenia macrophylla)*. Annual crops grown are cassava, kapulogo *(Amomum compactum)*, vanilla *(Vanilla planifolia)* and corn (local variety). Some perennial crops that can be found are kemukus (*Piper cubeba*), salak (*Salacca edulis*), jenu *(Derris caudatilimba),* chili and cloves. The community also mixes these with other crops such as, suruh *(Piper betle)*, suren *(Toona sureni)*, coffee and other plants for daily culinary use or for selling.

In this way, *wono dusun* maximizes the use of available land resources through spatial and chronological stratification of the various species. Spatial stratification is the arrangement of various plants within a unit of land while chronological stratification is the changing of composition of the stand over time.[16] *Wono dusun* blocks are usually stratified into multiple layers, with plants arranged according to their different requirements for light, nutrients and moisture. The stratification that results mimics a number of the aspects of the ecological balance that natural forests provide.

Staggered land use and continuous seasonal crop production is also integral to this agroforestry system. In cutting *sengon* for example, everyone does not cut at the same time and the area suffers limited disturbance while other crops are still in production. The reasons they gave for having this practice was that they wait for the differently aged trees to mature before harvesting and from what they have seen in state forestlands, clear cutting results in soil degradation.

Communities see the value of this traditional practice in several ways. Apart from the protection it

gives to crops against diseases, the variety of plants is a way to buffer their livelihood against market fluctuations. When a price of one product drops, they still have other products to sell. It provides them with subsistence products that can be harvested more immediately to meet daily needs. Chili could be harvested every 15 days, while *kapulogo* is available monthly. Grass, legumes and corn tops sustain cattle and goats. Their mid-term needs are covered by selling coffee, cloves, coconut, cassava and *salak*. They see timber as a way of saving to anticipate long-term needs such as marriage, education, house building, and pilgrimage to Mecca. As a result, financial yield of the land is more stable and generates greater value for the communities than less diverse plots. Compared to monoculture systems, *wono dusun* blocks are seen as more socially resilient and less subject to environmental stress.

Villagers usually practice *wono dusun* on land classified by government as *hutan rakyat* or people's forests. *Hutan rakyat* lands are private titled lands that are generally in the name of household heads. The land can be passed on as inheritance, can be sold to others, and can be used as collateral for bank loans. Resources on these lands are statistically accounted for under the agricultural sector. Hutan rakyat is one type of community forestry in Indonesia, wherein community forestry (*perhutanan masyarakat*) is a term used to describe forestlands that are not under state or industrial management.

In terms of land cover statistics however, there is some indication that these lands may be getting classi-

Intensive Land Use. *Wono dusun* is a common resource unit in Java that has multiple uses—agriculture, forestry and livestock raising. This intensive agroforestry system provides local communities greater economic stability while maintaining ecological sustainability.

fied as forest cover. In the Department of Forestry data analyzed in 2002, forest cover is defined broadly as natural forests that can be identified as such on satellite imagery. There was no attempt to differentiate between agroforests, or groups of trees planted by local people on land they claim as their own, and forest cover on state forestlands. It is likely that large areas of land that are identified as "forested" are in fact agroforests with private rights attached[17]. Global Forest Watch estimates that forest cover in Java increased by almost 600,000 hectares—from 1.27 million hectares in 1985 to 1.87 million hectares in 1997. Though it may be theorized that the apparent increase in forest area over the twelve-year period could be due to plantation establishment, it also mentions that the poor quality of spatial data for plantations in Java did not allow for verification of this assumption.[18] In the absence of validation, it may be argued that this increase is mainly due to the spread of community agroforestry.

People's forests contribute a significant amount of wood due to its high productivity per hectare. In 1999, these areas generated 2.29 m^3/ha/year of timber, which is three times more than the average annual productivity per hectare in Perhutani-managed state lands. People's forests all around Java contributed 11% to the total supply of the island's wood needs or 895,000 m^3, more than the production of Perhutani's Unit in East Java, the most productive and most mature stock among the three units (Table 4). In Wonosobo District of Central Java where 60% of local taxes and 40–50% of non-oil exports come from forest products, the yield from community forests greatly contributed to the district government's processed wood export revenue in 1999 of Rp 12 billion (€1.2 million), much greater than the district's expected revenue of Rp 4.6 billion (€460,000) for 1999.[19]

The Role of Local Culture and the Javanese Bureaucracy

Prior to the arrival of the Dutch, Indonesia was ruled through sultanates. Though land was considered the property of Javanese sultans, the nature of their property rights and the simultaneous validity of local systems of usufruct differed greatly from the systems imposed by the Dutch. To the Javanese sultans, land was important insofar as it bore profitable or useful fruits or wood and was worked by subject populations. As far as sultans were concerned, the rights they gave VOC were only for harvesting teak, not land rights.[21] Nevertheless, in practice VOC gained control not only over the trees, but also the land and the local population due to the vast extent of their activities and their comprehensive engagement with all related actors.

Under the current government structure, the smallest level of governance is the village (*desa*), headed by a village chief elected every five years. The chief, as the formal leader, takes care of implementing government projects in the different hamlets (*dusun*) of his village. Informal leadership in Java comes from the Islam *kyai*, religious leaders who take responsibility for the mosque and leads religious practices in the village. Within the village structure, there are also voluntary peoples' organizations and women's groups formed such as the LKMD; a mechanism for villagers to take advantage of projects such as animal husbandry, family planning, festivities, sports and cooperation for building schools and roads.

TABLE 4. Wood Supply Sources of Timber Industry in Java, 1999[20]

Wood Supply Sources	Production m^3 year	Area Covered ha	Productivity Per Hectare m^3/ha/year
Perum Perhutani Unit I (Central Java)	601,912	648,062	0.93
Perum Perhutani Unit II (East Java)	766,890	1,128,401	0.68
Perum Perhutani Unit III (West Java and Banten)	392,815	793,970	0.49
1. Total Perhutani Production in Java	1,761,617	2,570,433	0.69
2. People's Forest (*Hutan rakyat*)	895,371	391,317	2.29
3. Outer Islands	4,349,837	nd	na
4. Illegally Cut Logs	1,119,318	nd	na
Total Wood Supply	**8,126,143**		

Note: Production figure for Outer Islands includes illegally cut logs from national park

Villages are grouped into administrative sub-districts (*kecamatan*) which in turn are grouped into regencies or districts (*kabupaten*). The *Bupati* heads the executive branch of district (*Pemerintah Daerah/PEMDA*), supported by the District Legislative Assembly (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah/DPRD*) that is tasked to develop district policies. The Bupati and Legislative Assembly Representatives are all electoral positions (Annex 1). District governments are classified into six provinces/regions—East, Central and West Java, Banten, Yogyakarta, and Jakarta.

According to recently developed policies for decentralization or 'regional autonomy', many functions of government, including many aspects of forest regulation and management, are being decentralized to the provincial and district governments. For example, the Basic Law on Regional Government and Basic Law on Financial Balance specify that 80% of state income from resources (including forests) shall go to the regencies. The 1999 Basic Forestry Law gives the *Bupati* the right to hand out 100-hectare logging licenses in their area of jurisdiction.

There are however, many problems with implementing these laws. The basic division of authority and responsibility over forests among the central, provincial and district governments is unclear and being contested. The regional autonomy policy has fanned disputes about which level of government has the authority to change the status of forestlands. Central government is afraid with the way some district governments could be legalizing illegal logging by providing new small-scale licenses to old concessions that were not able to get their licenses renewed.[22]

Table 5 is an attempt to chart the perspectives of the different stakeholders of state forestlands. Communities relating directly with forest resources but are not purely financially driven feel the breakdown of ecological services more immediately, and so give much value to the environmental services that forests provide. District government, concerned with the constituents in its area of political jurisdiction, values the ecological and economic stability that forests provide in their district. Perum Perhutani, Ministry of Forestry and the national government are responsible for a larger area of jurisdiction and so would have to consider how forests can benefit a larger constituency and how the whole nation can benefit. The unresolved difference as to the causes of and solutions to deforestation is affecting the wider environment and governance as a whole, and thus requiring greater attention in discussions.

TABLE 5. Perspectives on Forests and Environment

Perspectives	Community	State Forest Enterprises	District Governments	Central Government
Importance of Forests	Forest is important and needs to be preserved because it protects from wind, drought, landslide and erosion. Forest products (timber and non-timber) give income. The existence of forests enables us to improve our welfare.	The forest has an ecological as well as an economic function. Forests give much needed revenue to central government.	Forests in Wonosobo play an important role in sustaining the 3 watersheds in the district. The forest is the biggest natural resource that can increase district revenue. Forests can improve people's welfare esp. those living in villages surrounding forests.	Forest is a resource to generate national revenue. Forest has an ecological function.
Causes of Deforestation	Forest plundering by some irresponsible parties within the community who are involved in organized operations. Perhutani officers who have been doing overcutting.*	Forest plundering by community.	Forest plundering which involve both irresponsible parties and Perhutani officers. Mismanagement by Perhutani. Community is not involved actively in FM which prevents community from having a sense of ownership toward state forest.	Forest plundering and disaster.
Solutions to deforestation	Involve community in forest management. If community has sense of ownership toward forest then they will protect forest.	Plantation establishment that follows Perhutani's technical plan.	Community-based forest management which means forest management by involving community actively to gain product and maintain forest.	Manage the forest through scientifically proven silvicultural practices.
How can plantations be managed sustainably	–Main species is *sengon* –Variety of species –Mixed planting systems to protect forest against disease –Cycle of non-disruptive cutting –Replant gaps immediately after cutting	–Main species are pine and mahogany –Space is 3x6 –Fence plantation should be *kaliandra* –*Taung ya* system implemented –Clear cut	–CBFM with trees as main crop –Adopt management from state forest management to decentralized management.	To manage the forest through scientifically proven silvicultural practices

**Communities know of this because they see wood traders giving extra money to Perhutani.*

PART III

Resource Management Transitions in Wonosobo District

Forestlands in Wonosobo District, just like many areas in Java, have been under state management for many years. The Law on Regional Autonomy of 1999 has given local government an opening to take responsibility for managing these forestlands that are facing multiple pressures (Table 6). As newspaper articles in 1999 provide accounts of massive forest plunder, so too Perhutani reported that 10% of state forestlands in Wonosobo had been degraded. The report attributed more than 70% to socially-related disturbances, most notable being forest looting and "other causes". No explanations on what instances could fall under other causes. There are disputed contradictory accounts on the nature of these other causes. One account ascribes the blame on community members acting independently, or else to external pressures that co-opt the community. Another account says that these are most likely areas the Perhutani performs salvage cutting operations in forests where looting already occurred.

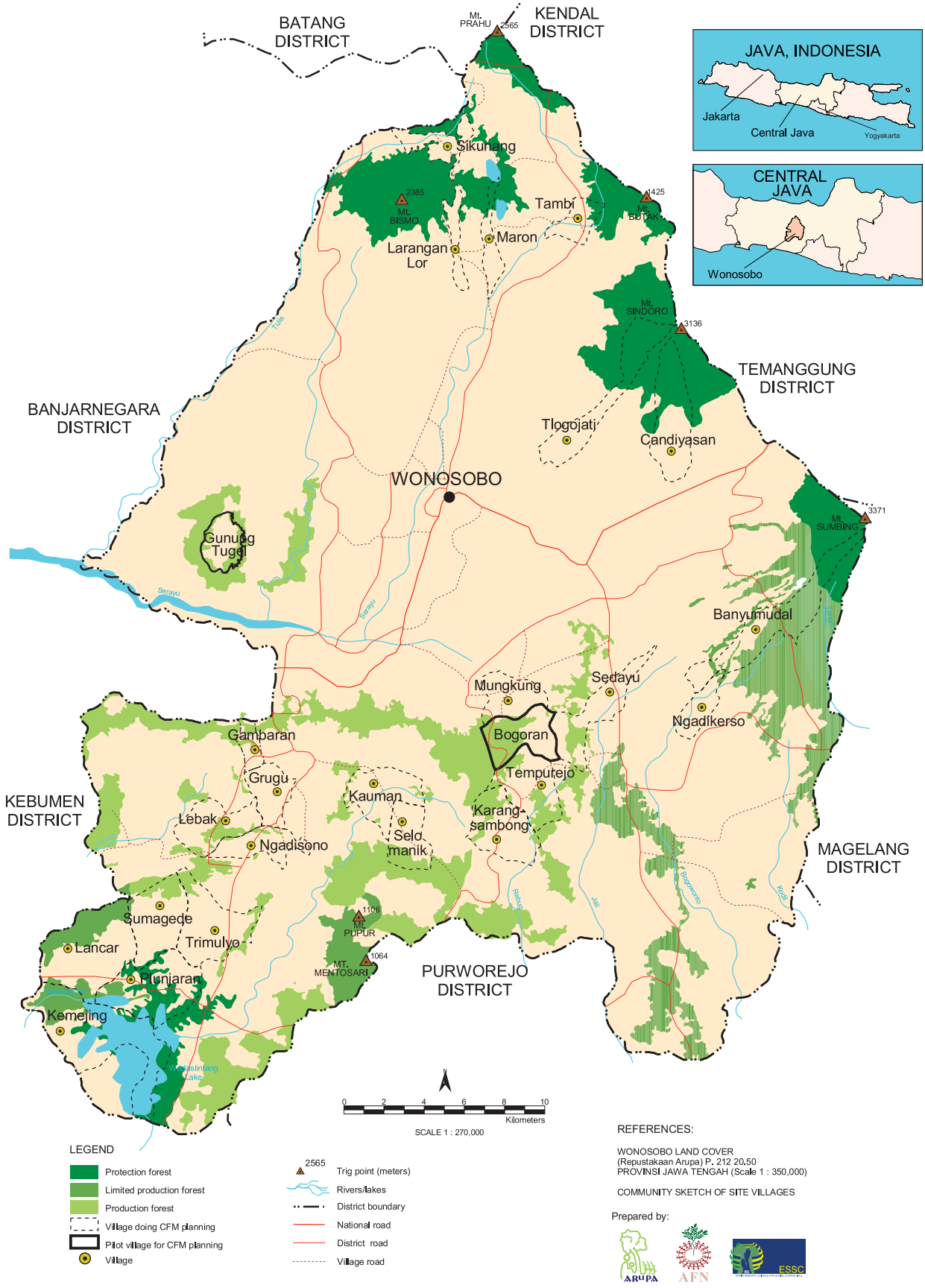
For the Perhutani, decentralization to district government means handing over management of 19,000 hectares in Wonosobo. Though this represents only less than 1% of the total land that the company is managing in Java, Perhutani sees that turning over management to the Wonosobo District could spark similar cases in Java and further decrease corporate control over the rest of Perhutani's management area. Wonosobo District and its forest areas are classified under state forest management, further classified according to protection, limited production and production forestlands (Map 1). Based on existing forest laws, all forestlands in the district—whether classified as production, limited production, or protection—fall under Perhutani management.

The effects of deforestation on the environment and the marginalization of local people from sustained access to state forestlands had taken its toll on the centuries-old system. The social and environmental pressures as well as the political and economic transitions paved the way for changes in forest management policies. Different districts and sectors, like Wonosobo, started seeking other forms of resource management. Democratization paved the way to an

TABLE 6. Pressures on Wonosobo State Forest Lands, 2000[23]

Causes of Forest Degradation in State Forest Lands	Forest Management Unit North Kedu (ha)	Forest Management Unit South Kedu (ha)	TOTAL (ha)
Perhutani-managed State Forestlands	9,967	9,728	19,695
Socially Related Disturbances			
Timber Theft	37	165	202
Forest Looting	327	246	573
Forest Encroachment	0	0	0
Land Conflicts	0	0	0
Fire	0	0	0
Fuelwood Disturbance	4	0	4
Other Causes	11	657	668
Sub-total	379	1,068	1,447
Failure in reforestation/plantation	0	0	0
Conversion to Protection Forests	547	0	547
Degraded Land under Perhutani Management	926	1,068	1,994
% Degraded			10%

MAP 1. State Forest Lands in Wonosobo



increase in civil society groups and a movement towards decentralization.

Transitions in Wonosobo are occurring through two levels of negotiations. The first level involves the district and central government. The district government is in the process of obtaining recognition of the district policy from the central government. The second level is between communities and district government. Communities are working towards obtaining agreements with the district government to manage and reap benefits from resources on state forestlands that they have planted. This section describes the setting and the actors in the transitions and how the transition process has progressed so far.

Forests and People

Wonosobo is one of 38 districts in Central Java Province and covers a land area of 98,500 hectares (3% of the province). Located in the foothills of Sindoro Mountain at the center of the island of Java, Wonosobo is known to tourists as the gateway to Dieng Plateau where they stop to see the Java's oldest Hindu temples and enjoy the temperate climate.

Wonosobo provides important ecological services to low-lying areas to the south; it services five watersheds and and the Wadaslintang dam (Map 2). These are critical given that more than 30% of the district is on slopes of 40 degrees or more with altitudes between 270-2250 masl and rains of 2000-3000 mm annually. With the steep slopes and high rainfall, Wonosobo can be considered an environmentally critical area for water generation and highly susceptible to erosion and landslides.

Wonosobo's land is used largely for farm unit production purposes with more than 60% planted with crops such as rice, vegetables, fruit trees, coconut, coffee, clove, and various tree species for roundwood. State forestland is the second largest land use, with 18,900 hectares[24] or 20% of total district land area classified under state forest management primarily for production of pine and dammar (Table 7).

Thirty-seven per cent (37%) of Wonosobo is still covered with forests (*hutan rakyat* and Perhutani statelands), though they may not be in areas where forests are most needed for the ecological services they provide. The Forestry Law of 1999 requires districts to maintain at least 30% forest cover on its land area (Article 18, *UU41/1999*), but Wonosobo needs to improve its present level of forest cover especially in environmentally critical areas. Population has grown rapidly to 733,000 (2001) and currently represents 3% of Central Java Province. Most people speak Javanese and are Muslim. Over 70% of the district's population live in the uplands (154 villages) and depend upon agriculture and forestry for a living.

Other livelihood sources of households come from members who leave their villages. They go to the cities—Singapore, Malaysia or further—to find work as helpers and send money back to their families. Household help is the only possible job especially for women working in cities as they do not have easy access to junior high schools and college education. Leadership and articulation of village concerns come mostly from men who finished high school or have had one to two years of college education.

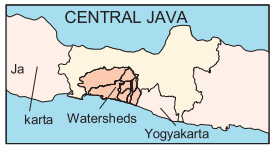
Forest Management in State Lands

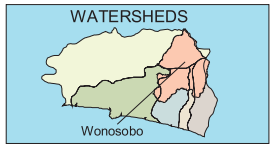
According to figures from the Perhutani Unit I in Central Java, Perhutani is managing 19,695 hectares of state forestlands in Wonosobo, which is larger than the District's figure of 18,896 hectares. Perhutani has two forest management units for Wonosobo—North Kedu and South Kedu. Typically, these state forestlands are located in headwaters. The North Kedu Unit covers 9,967 hectares of pine and mahogany plantations. South Kedu covers 9,728 hectares devoted to planting pine, dammar and some teak. Non-teak production is greater now compared to the early days

TABLE 7. Wonosobo Land Use, 2000[25]

Land Use Type	Area (hectare)	%
Farmland	46,508	47.2
State Forest	18,896	19.2
Agriculture (simple irrigation system)	10,984	11.2
Agriculture (rainfed)	4,535	4.6
Agriculture (traditional irrigation system)	1,657	1.7
Agriculture (modern irrigation system)	1,373	1.4
Fishpond	204	0.2
Grassland	11	0.0
State Crops	2,659	2.7
Dam	1,484	1.5
Settlement	7,261	7.4
Others	2,896	2.9
Total	**98,468**	**100**

MAP 2. Wonosobo-Serviced Watersheds





LEGEND:

- Serayu watershed
- Lower Serayu watershed
- Gentan watershed
- Gentan sub-watershed
- Bogowonto watershed
- Wonosobo district
- Watershed divide
- Provincial boundary
- District boundary
- River/Lake
- Coastline
- National road
- Provincial road
- Railroad
- Trig point (m)
- Specific district center
- District center
- City
- Commercial port
- Military airport
- Mining site
- Cement factory
- Iron faundry
- Temple

SOURCES:

BASE MAP:
Provinci Jawa Tengah Scale 1 : 350.000,
PT. Karya Pembina Swajaya
Jawa Tengah & Yogyakarta Scale 1 : 500,000
PT Pembina Peraga

WATERSHED BOUNDARY:
Digital file from Arupa edited by ESSC Bohol

N

0 5 10 15 20

Kilometers

SCALE 1 : 600,000

UNIVERSAL TRANSVERSE MERCATOR PROJECTION
ZONE 49

PREPARED BY:

ARUPA AFN ESSC

of state forest management, partly due to the forest damages that Perhutani incurred in teak forests with the conflicts and political upsets during the start of independence. The revised strategy is to make forest management districts smaller so that management can be intensified in non-teak forests and produce industrial wood pulp and resin. Thus pine and dammar became some of the chosen species for non-teak producing forestlands such as in Wonosobo.

Perhutani forest management involves specific technical and organizational regulations, grounded in strict representations of what a 'planted forest' should be and who will or should benefit from its output. These regulations often determine the species that may be planted, spacing patterns, cultivation techniques and rotations. Villagers are allowed to enter state forestlands only when *tumpang sari* is being implemented. If there is no tumpang sari allowed, then communities are forbidden to enter state forestlands. Perhutani guards apprehend them if they enter the forest just to collect fuelwood.

Perhutani field staff strives to maintain good relations with village leaders, both formal and informal. Village heads are informed of on-going work in forestlands. Funding assistance for alternative livelihood projects is offered. Support is also provided for establishment of village mosques and donations to the *kyai*, the religious leader in the village.

In 1999, an official letter from the Central Perhutani Director was circulated to district units. The letter ordered the adoption of collaborative forest management as the new Perhutani management approach. What this program is and how it is implemented, however, are not specified in the letter. A few progressive Perhutani middle-level managers in collaboration with NGOs including ARuPA through the Java Forest Forum (*Forum Hutan Jawa/FHW*), took this opportunity to propose a management approach centered on local

Perhutani Pine Plantations. Perhutani forest management is grounded in strict representations of what a "planted forest" should be and who may benefit from its output. Perhutani plantations are typically established in headwaters.

people-Perhutani partnership. In contrast to Perhutani's previous schemes—i.e. the hiring of villagers on teak plantations—the newly proposed Collaborative Forest Management Program (PHBM) framework of 2000 calls for greater local decision-making authority. The proposal also includes much greater profit sharing for locals by giving them rights to harvest and sell timber. The proposal however, faces opposition from Perhutani mainstream management who feel this PHBM version is too radical, even before a more collaborative local approach was proposed. For most top-level Perhutani managers, its existing Social Forestry Program can be amended to raise wages of laborers and expand the program's designated land area, but timber production sharing is out of the question.[26]

Resource Management in Upland Villages

Upland villages in Wonosobo are managing 20,000 hectares of *hutan rakyat*[27], representing 20% of the district. On these lands they practice *wono dusun*.

When state lands became open access, communities took the opportunity and planted on bare state forestlands in the way they managed their own lands. Most of the 154 upland villages in Wonosobo already took the initiative to plant on degraded state forestlands near people's forests even if management in state forestlands as yet has no back-up from legislation. This de facto increased the area of Wonosobo's forested lands under community management.

Bogoran, Gunung Tugel and Selomanik, three villages in Wonosobo, relate how they are managing in people's forests, their involvement with the Perhutani in state forest management, their concerns and their recent efforts at resource management on Perhutani's forestlands.

Bogoran village in Sapuran Sub-District covers a land area of 664 hectares and is divided into 3 hamlets—Bogoran, Wadas, and Kyuni. Bogoran was established early in the 13th century and is now home to 1,810 people. State forestlands comprise 34% of the village land area or 226 hectares while agricultural lands that include people's forests (*hutan rakyat*) make up 50% or 332 hectares.[28] In hutan rakyat areas, villagers practice *wono dusun*. Species providing the upper layer canopy are fast-growing or fruit-bearing trees, mainly sengon *(Paraserianthes falcataria)*, suren (*Toona sureni*), mahogany (*Swietenia macrophylla*), jackfruit (*Arthocarpus*

Women and upland resources. Women form a group to earn cash from helping tend the land of other villagers.

BOX 1. Sukoco on Managing State Forests in Bogoran

I graduated from high school in 1990 and started going to village meetings. In 1993, I got involved in a forest farmer group that was sponsored by the Provincial and District Forest Office. In 1997, we won a competition for the best village fruit tree gardens and at that time we focused on improving forest management on private lands.

While we mostly focused on community forestry activities on private lands, one group of farmers (Block Sikemplong) in our village began trying to replant a barren hillside that was under the authority of the State Forest Corporation (Perum Perhutani) in the mid-1990s. The SFC had been trying to establish a pine plantation but largely failed, so the farmers began planting shade trees with coffee and cassava underneath. The coffee and shade trees grew quickly, but Perhutani cut down all the farmers' trees in 1998. At that time, the coffee was just ready for harvest. I felt very sorry for the farmers and felt that I should do something to help them.

When Perum Perhutani administration lost control in our area and many forestlands were cleared, our local forest farmer group began discussing what could be done with the barren hillsides. I met with some of the staff members from ARuPA, a Yogyakarta-based NGO, to discuss the possibility of reforesting the barren slopes that were eroding during the rainy season and baking during the hot summer. ARuPA facilitators and farmer leaders began facilitating groups to organize and reforest the area.

Over the next few years, eight forest farmer groups were formed in the administrative villages of Bogoran and Wadas. Each group included 20 to 40 families who received approximately 1/4 of a hectare of land each. Priority was given to landless and land-poor families, but every family in the hamlet got something. My group, Ngudi Rahayu, was formed in March 2000, and we have been meeting every 36 days (following the Javanese monthly calendar). Every month, each member family contributes Rp. 500 (€ 0.05). We have saved Rp. 800,000 (€ 80) so far, which we want to use to establish a nursery for our seedlings and saplings.

Almost all the farmers in the eight groups have bench-terraced their land, with no outside assistance, in order to reduce soil erosion and increase productivity. In the first year, we planted annual crops (corn, cassava, sweet potatoes, and legumes), as well as trees (*sengon, suren, nangka, and mahoni*). As the tree canopy closed, we replaced annual crops with coffee, medicinal plants (*kapulogo and kemukus),* and spices *(kayu mericha). Kayu mericha* adds extra value while taking little space, as it climbs the *nangka* (jackfruit) trees. Around the edges of the forest garden, farmers in our group planted some coconuts as well. In one year, the *sengon* grew to 5 to 10 centimeters in diameter (1.6 to 3.3 inches), and at that rate can be harvested in 6 to 10 years. Currently, farmers are receiving 60,000 to 100,000 (€ 6 to € 10) per tree. We fell trees as they become ready to harvest and as need for cash arises in the family.

Sukoco and Budi of Desa Bogoran

Our forest farmer group members are poor and they manage the forest to support their families, but they are also increasingly aware of the environmental needs. We have had meetings to discuss protection and management of the water sources on the Perhutani land that was deforested. Budi, my younger brother, would like to find ways to get the youth interested and involved in natural resource management. In our 300 hectare area, we have 5 springs in Bogoran and 8 springs in Wadas that feed the *sawah* (paddy) in the valley bottom. We have agreed that around each spring a 500 meter circle of forest garden must be maintained as well as 100 meters on each side of the streams running away from the springs. In these water resource areas, no tree felling or annual crops are permitted, however they can be planted with productive tree species such as *nangka*, avocado, *durien*, coconut, and *petai.*

—Mark Poffenberger's interview with Sukoco, September 2003

indica) jengkol (*Pithecellobium jiringa*), kelapa (*Cocus nucifera*), petai (*Parkia speciosa*), aren (*Arenga pinata*) and rambutan (*Nephelium lappaceum)*. Plants that compose the middle layer are coffee, salak (*Salacca edulis*), kaliandra (*Calliandra calothyrsus*), cocoa, pepper, banana, cloves and papaya. The lower layer is composed of cash crops such as ginger, turmeric, and other shade tolerant crops. As long as light permits, annual food crops such as corn, cassava and pepper are also grown.

Women play an important role in managing the household and securing livelihood. They normally get up at dawn to do house chores so that they can maintain the fields later in the morning. In the afternoon, they work on land that needs to be cleared for their husbands to till. Women group themselves when there is somebody who wants to hire them to clear or maintain land. They get Rp 9,000 (€1) per person per day as compensation but they do not get the payment right away. It gets accrued and the landowner gives it to them in lump sum. They see this as savings that they can use for festivities during Ramadan. Once a month, they leave their village to go to the market to sell their cash crops and buy supplies for the house and for land clearing. They buy clothes only once a year, after Ramadan.

After the reformasi, several Bogoran villagers started planting on barren state forestlands in and around the village. As of 2002, around 90 hectares of state forestlands have been planted. Villagers have developed a management plan and presented to the district government.

Gunung Tugel Village in Sukojarjo Sub-District covers 429 hectares and has a population of 1,585 spread across six hamlets: Gunung Tugel, Tanggul Angin, Selomoyo, Jaksan, Gerdiyah, and Menganti. The *wono dusun* system similar to Bogoran is practiced in less than 215 hectares of people's forest.

Market demands influence crops that villagers plant on the land. In the mid-1990s when coffee was fetching market prices as high as R15,000/kilo (€1.50), many households planted coffee on people's forests. When its price drastically dropped to R3,000/kilo, Gunung Tugel villagers cut the coffee and replaced them with snake fruit, which they prefer because of its stable market price.

State forest blocks in the village covers 192 hectares. The villagers reported that these state forestlands were looted in 1999. After the looting, the Perhutani asked them to plant mahogany. In 2001, a sign was put up regarding information on spacing, species and the planting arrangement with villagers. During a village meeting in April 2002, they shared:

> *"We were not given seeds, so we collected seeds ourselves. In return, Perhutani allowed us to plant annual crops in between the tree seedlings for three years. We did not have a clear contract with the Perhutani District Office. Now we are not anymore following what the Perhutani sign prescribes. We are planting whatever and however*

BOX 2. Perhutani Operations in Bogoran

Perhutani cut old growth forests in Bogoran in 1965. Right after total clearing, the Perhutani hired the villagers and provided them with dammar (*Agathis dammara*) seedlings to plant. The stock was clearcut 30 years after. The next round of planting started immediately in 1995, when the people there were asked to plant pine (*Pinus mercusii*) and lamtoro (*Leucaena glaucas*) seedlings. Lamtoro were planted to mark the state forest boundary. This round, they were given the responsibility to look after the seedlings for two years. In return, they were allowed to intercrop with the seedlings that they maintain for two years.

In some areas, the pine plantations largely failed, and so the farmers began planting sengon (*Paraserianthes falcataria*) with coffee and cassava. The coffee and sengon grew quickly, but Perhutani, employing people from other villages using the *blandong* system, cut down these crops in 1998 just when the coffee was ready for harvesting. After this, Perhutani field staff asked Bogoran villagers to replant on looted state forestlands. Before they started planting, villagers asked permission to cut the trees that remained so that they could use the proceeds to improve the condition of the village road. Perhutani officials gave approval for villagers to cut 100 trees.

But then there were reports that some local Perhutani staff, as well as some police officers, began telling village farmers that they could earn from cutting down the pine trees on state land if they took the wood to local traders. Farmers who participated received from the traders around Rp. 20,000 to Rp. 30,000 (€2 to €3) for each tree they felled and delivered. These traders in turn paid off the Perhutani staff and police. Between 1998 and 2000, local people reported that over 300 hectares of pine forests around Bogoran were cleared in this manner.

—AFN-ARuPA interview with Bogoran villagers, April 2002

Bp. Krustanto, elected to the District Legislative Assembly, thinks that the old state management system needs updating because land is scarce and people are many in Java. The agroforestry system that people do on their land on their own provides hope.

we want. We are looking after the trees that we have already planted so we would like to find out what agreement can be reached for the newly planted land."

As of 2002, Gunung Tugel has planted 138 hectares of state forestlands with *sengon* and other crops.

Selomanik Village in Kaliwiro Sub-District covers 577 hectares with around 1,832 people living in its seven hamlets: Kumiwang, Kratenan, Selomanik, Sijambu, Tuwang, Durensawit, and Karangmangu. Perhutani; operations in Selomanik started around 1980s, when 130 hectares of natural forests were cut and replaced with pine.

Farmers used to have contracts with the Perhutani and relations with Perhutani staff were smooth until 1998 when the village felt the effects of the economic crisis. Some villagers thought that the pay was low and there was no way to negotiate wages. Their negative experiences with state forestlands have made them critical towards the state forest corpora-tion's management style.

The locals were increasingly disgruntled. As the only road to state forestlands is through their village, they put up a sign at the village bridge asking Perhutani truck haulers to give them a cut from the profit or else they will not let the truck pass as the village maintains the road and bridge.

Water availability is another continuous concern. Water is distributed to houses through pipes from the water source installed by the government. A water user group organized informally within the village runs the system including maintenance of the pipes. In 2000, the after-effects of the economic crisis were compounded by ricefields drying up. They were wondering whether this phenomenon had something to do with the pines planted above their fields. However, a villager said that while water is a primary issue, the second problem is the insecurity of workers on Perhutani-controlled land. They do not want to plant pine; they want to plant different tree crops such as *sengon* like what they plant on their land.

Villagers now estimate that around 250 hectares of their land has forest cover, but three hamlets—Kumiwang, Selomanik and Tuwang—do not have forests anymore. There are a lot of young villagers active in resource management. They feel that there is a lot of state forestland, but this is not being used properly.

BOX 3. Zudi on State Forestland Management in Selomanik

Zudi is a young villager from Selomanik who went to college and went back to the village to help out in his family's agroforestry farms. He shared:

"We used to have contracts with Perhutani to manage forestlands. The pay was bad and there was no way to negotiate wages. Perhutani was taking all the profit on the land we were working on. It is hard to grow crops because permission is always needed. We need to get permits to change crops, even if it is just to plant bananas. We know of villagers who are friends with Perhutani because of the profit they get from supporting illegal cutting. Perhutani acts as if they do not know about the racket.

We are the people who are here, who live here, and who do all the work. Forestlands sustain our lives, the way we live and work. We cannot live without the forest yet Perhutani takes all the profit. We think the use of the land can be improved but we are not sure how to go about working with PSDHBM.

We do not see that relating with the Perhutani can give us profit in the future. A share of 25% is too low and we do not believe anymore. We want a 60–40% arrangement where 60% goes to the farmer and 40% goes to Perhutani."

—AFN-ARuPA meeting in Selomanik, April 2003

District Concerns and Opportunities

Some of the state forests in Wonosobo are now bare because there has been no replanting in recent years. After the *reformasi*, the massive forest plunder, and the weakening of Perhutani's presence in state forestlands, many areas became open access. *Hutan rakyat* areas on the other hand are retaining their tree cover. *Hutan rakyat* areas adjacent to barren state forestlands became buffer zones for settlements from erosion and land slope.

The Wonosobo District Head (*Bupati*) and Legislative Assembly (DPRD), all electoral positions, manage 15 administrative sub-districts (*kecamatan*) covering 263 villages[29]. With 70% of its population dependent upon forestlands, forest plunder and land use conflicts are high on the list of Wonosobo District's concerns. Estimates of forestlands plundered between 1998 and 2000 ranged from 2,300[30] to 5,000[31] hectares.

The 1999 Decentralization Law provided the Wonosobo District Government with newfound political optimism to take a more proactive role in settling resource management concerns. This opportunity, coupled with the greater revenue that processed wood coming from people's forests contribute to their coffers, prompted the DPRD to look into how they can support communities in forest management.

The Wonosobo Legislative Assembly is grouped into five committees. When discussions on forest management decentralization started, Mr. Krustanto was heading the Committee on Economic Development (*Komisi B*), in charge of developing policies concerning trade, industry, agriculture, fisheries, livestock, forest produce and other estate crops. Mr. Krustanto feels that with the extent of damage to the environment and the needs in upland villages, Wonosobo needs to find another way to manage forests and he sees that there is hope in responding to the concerns through community-based forest management.

The *Bupati* heads the executive arm of the district government and is responsible for signing off on policies recommended by the Legislative Assembly. The Bupati recognizes that discussions on ways to solve forest plunder and land use conflict need to involve various stakeholders. He is interested in finding an alternative management scheme to sustain forests and promote community prosperity.

The District Forest and Estate Crops Office (*Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan/DK*) works under the District Executive Government and has communications with Perhutani staff at the local level (*Kesatuan Pemangkuan Hutan/KPH*). The DK also coordinates with the Provincial Forest Office under the Provincial Governor. The District Forest Office head sees that involvement of forest-dependent communities in resource management is inevitable given the strong relations they have with the land.

Expansion of Community Support Groups

Many community support groups became active after the fall of the New Order Government in 1998. In Wonosobo, many groups are helping the district deal with its environmental concerns.

From the academe, Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta provide significant inputs to the dialogue on forest plunder, conflicts and forest policy development. Through its forest forum FKKM, people from the academe share how local autonomy is working in different sectors, opinions on the legal basis of forest management and evidence on community-based forest management from other countries.

FKKM-Central Java views Wonosobo as a strategic place to explore opportunities for community forest management implementation with local government and communities. There is high potential for district government to become interested in community forest management because the forest sector contribution to district revenue comes mainly from processed wood that comes from people's forests. Several communities in Wonosobo, given how they are managing the land, can serve as good examples for community forest management.

Non-government organizations (NGOs) active in environmental concerns working in Wonosobo mostly come from a community-based orientation on natural resource management and relate with other NGO networks in Indonesia, as well as outside the country. *Lembaga ARuPA* (Volunteer Alliance for Saving Nature) is a group of around 20 people, many of who are foresters from Gadjah Mada and other universities in Yogyakarta. ARuPA engages in social and technical research as part of its advocacy for forest sector reform in Java. *Yayasan Koling* is a Wonosobo-based group assisting communities in alternative livelihood technologies. Other environmental NGOs providing support to the area include HuMA, *Jaringan Kerja Pendamping Masyarakat* (*JKPM*), Indonesian Court Monitoring (ICM), Forest Watch Indonesia (FWI), *Walhi*, and *PKHR*.

Media plays a significant role in encouraging discussions on community forest management. A weekly talk show over a local radio station in Wonosobo

has regular features related to forestry, which helps the public consultation process on forest plunder and land use conflict.[32] ARuPA has two video shows on community forest management in English and Bahasa produced in collaboration with DFID. Updates are also circulated around the villages through information exchange with *Serikat Petani Kedu Banyumas* (*SEPKUBA*), a farmers' network group in Wonosobo.

Struggle for Multi-stakeholder Dialogue

Many groups share Wonosobo District concerns of forest plunder and land use conflicts. Communities are concerned because these issues affect their daily living. The Perhutani is concerned because they affect production and revenues. Organizations supporting communities and environment sustainability are also concerned. To accommodate this multitude of groups having common interest in resolving forest plunder and land use conflict, the District Government provided venues to start a dialogue.

The dialogue process was not smooth and easy. Though a common interest was established, stakeholders preferred different strategies for addressing the issues. This section describes the struggles of various stakeholders in tackling forest management issues in Wonosobo.

Tim Multipihak. Transforming from an old forest management system to a new one evolves slowly. Changes first comes socially before they take effect on the landscape. The greatest value in getting together is to come up with a common understanding, even if agreement is slow to come.

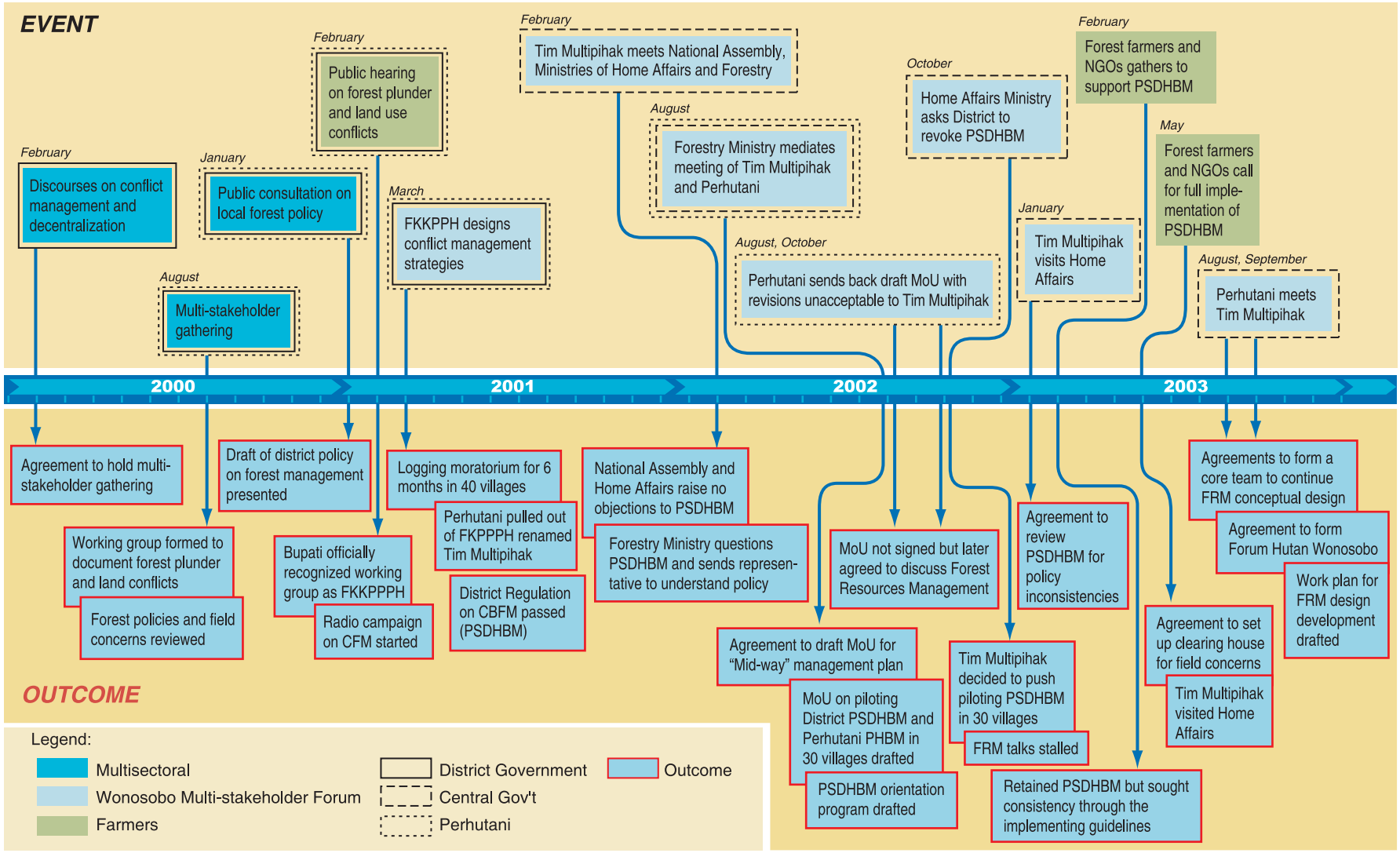
Multi-stakeholder Forum on District Regulation (PSDHBM)

The multi-stakeholder process in Wonosobo was borne out of several discourses on decentralization and forest management, facilitated by FKKM-Central Java through ARuPA and Koling with the District Legislative Assembly in early 2000, some months after the new laws on decentralization and forestry were passed (Figure 1).

In August 2000, a multi-stakeholder gathering of 250 people was held to further open up discussions on decentralization and forest management. Participants came from district government, Perum Perhutani, academe, press, non-government organizations, community leaders, and farmer organizations. During the gathering, it was agreed that a forum was needed to discuss forest management in the district and ways to accommodate forest user group interests. A working group was formed composed of the District Legislative Assembly and NGOs to initiate a draft local policy. To facilitate the drafting process, there was a series of multi-stakeholder consultations occurred during the following months culminating in a public consultation in January 2001 attended by forest farmers, local government, forestry officials, the press, NGOs and forestry academe. During these meetings, national and local forest policies were discussed and various opinions were presented on the legal basis of forest management. At the same time, information was provided on how local autonomy was working in different sectors and evidence of community-based forest management from other countries. As a result, it was agreed that an ad hoc team be created to document the extent of forest plunder and land occupation in the district and help improve the draft policy.

In February 2001, the Wonosobo Legislative Assembly organized a public hearing to further discuss problems in forest management and seek solutions. The District Head officially recognized the multi-

FIGURE 1. Timeline and Process of Dialogue on Forest Management in Wonosobo, 2001-2003



BOX 4. Wonosobo District Regulation on Community-Based Forest Management (PERDA NO. 22/2001)

The Wonosobo District Regulation on CBFM is founded on the following PRINCIPLES (Article 2)

1. sustainability of forest functions in recognition of carrying capacity of the land
2. stability and continuous improvement of community welfare
3. local governance and community participation in natural resource management
4. social equity and equal opportunity for local communities
5. public accountability and benefit-sharing for environmental services
6. tenure security

The District Regulation can be applied to all state forestlands within the administrative jurisdiction of the Wonosobo District. The mechanism for establishing CBFM on state forestland:

1. *Site establishment* (Article 5-8) – Potential sites for CBFM are selected based on inventory and identification activities conducted in state forestlands by the Wonosobo District in collaboration with the Wonosobo Forest Forum and village communities. Identification involves determining the area's forest function classification and the physical condition of the state forestland. Village communities can apply for a CBFM Permit on sites identified as suitable for CBFM implementation through the District Forest and Estate Crops Office (*Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan/DK*).
2. *Community Preparation and Planning* (Article 9-13) – District Government, with inputs from the Wonosobo Forest Forum, shall formulate the criteria for selecting community groups qualified to get a CBFM Permit. Community groups nominated as potential CBFM permit holders shall undergo community preparation with assistance from the DK or an NGO. The community preparation stage involves participatory mapping activities aimed to:
    a. establish the community profile and the capacity of the group to work together,
    b. determine potentials of natural resources in the area,
    c. document mutually agreed internal rules and regulations on forest management within the community,
    d. develop the management plan.
3. *Authorization Process* (Article 14-16) – CBFM permit applications need acknowledgement from the Village Chief and Representatives. Applications are then submitted to the Regent (district head) through the DK. Application papers include the site map, area size, community profile, mutually approved group regulation, and general management plan. The CBFM permit is conferred through a written agreement between local community and the District Government (as represented by DK) that outlines rights and responsibilities of both parties.
4. *Validation and Objection Process* (Article 17) – The details of the approved permit (site map, area size, community information) need to be published in local publications to accommodate any objections from other community groups. Objections are processed by the DK. The permit legally takes effect if there are no objections within three months after publication date.
5. *Nature of CBFM Permit* (Article 17-18) – CBFM permit is granted for a maximum of 30 years, with a trial period of six years. The permit cannot be transferred to another party. In case of CBFM group member passes away, his membership is passed on to his inheritor until the permit expires. The permit does not bestow land ownership upon the group. The permit holder is allowed to acquire non-binding funding from external stakeholders.
6. *Management Responsibilities* (Article 19-39) – The CBFM permit holder is expected to undertake the following activities:
    a. Arrangements in working area – participatory zoning of CBFM area into protection and utilization
    b. Composition of management plans –general management plan and annual operational plan
    c. Utilization – permissible activities in utilization and protection zones
    d. Rehabilitation – planting, stock enrichment, nurturing, and soil conservation techniques
    e. Protection – forest protection activities from fire, pests, diseases and other human activities.
7. *Monitoring and Evaluation Mechanisms* (Article 40-46)
    a. CBFM permit holder is required to submit annual reports to DK.
    b. Participatory evaluation (three times a year) facilitated by District Government or assisting NGO.
    c. Field Surveys by Wonosobo Forest Forum or other external stakeholders
8. *Permit Cancellation Terms and Procedure* (Article 46)

stakeholder process by issuing a decree calling for the establishment of a forum to handle issues of forest plunder and land use conflicts (District Decree 522/200/2001). The Forum was called *FKPPPH* or Coordinating Forum for Issues on Forest Plunder, Land Use Conflict and Ways towards Rehabilitation. The group was composed of representatives from the District Government, Perum Perhutani, Wonosobo Legislative Assembly, District Forest Office, District Attorney's Office, District Police, forest user groups, informal leaders, NGOs and media.

During these multi-stakeholder gatherings, facilitators strived to emphasize that each stakeholder has equal opportunity to express ideas. It was initially difficult to move away from the standard dynamics of a government-hosted meeting where only high-level government officials can chair the meeting and that officers in lower positions were expected to be quiet and affirm what superiors said. Over time, the meeting dynamics changed. Meeting facilitators could be the Vice-Bupati, the Head of District Forest Office or even non-government representatives. Discussions began to run with greater participation of others. The more dynamic exchange of ideas promoted better understanding among stakeholders. This resulted in the development of more creative strategies for dealing with issues and concerns.

One of the recommendations from FKPPPH after seven months of intensive discussions was the implementation of a logging moratorium in 40 villages in six sub-districts of Wonosobo for six months from March to September 2001 and development a program for conflict resolution. Representatives from the Perum Perhutani were not very accepting of the decision, and so pulled out of the forum in early 2001. Consequently, the Forum changed its name from FKPPPH to Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum (Tim Multipihak) composed of the same actors except Perhutani.

Running parallel to the logging moratorium was the continuing improvement of the district policy that had taken shape as a district-level legislation supporting communities in forest management. The local working group in charge of legislative drafting process visited almost 40 villages to get comments and ideas from the field. After eight drafts and several public consultations, the District Regulation on Community-based Forest Management (*Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Hutan Berbasis Masyarakat/PSDHBM*) was passed by the Wonosobo Legislative Assembly in September 2001, and signed by the *Bupati* a month after.

PSDHBM technical guidelines were then drafted in the first quarter of 2002. While in the process of drafting the guidelines, the Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum visited Jakarta to meet with the Ministry of Home Affairs and the National Legislative Assembly—Third Commission (3rd *DPR*) to get their feedback on the newly-passed District Regulation. Both parties raised no objection and provided positive feedback on the new policy's objectives. Affirmation was further obtained during a policy meeting in March 2002 in Wisma PKBI in Jakarta. These meetings prompted the Wonosobo district government to quickly commence implementation. To test the process laid out in the technical guidelines, the Wonosobo Multi-Stakeholder Team in April 2002 decided to undertake community planning in pilot villages.

The multi-stakeholder team thought at this time that the district policy was on the way to being approved by central government. However, concerns and questions from the Ministry of Forestry and Perhutani were initially communicated to the team while it was in the middle of piloting planning activities with communities.

Perhutani's Collaborative Forest Management Program (PHBM)

Having pulled out in early 2001 from the forum that passed the CBFM district regulation, Perhutani sought other means to influence the process by appealing to central government for its cancellation.

In July 2002, Forestry Minister Muhammad Prakosa called the multi-stakeholder team to a meeting in Jakarta. During the meeting, he expressed that the district regulation is not clear to the Forestry Ministry. He also acknowledged the disagreement happening between the Forum and the Perhutani, and so placed Ir. Triyono, Director of Community Forestry Development under the Directorate General for Land Rehabilitation, as mediator between the two parties. For the next two months, Ir. Triyono made several attempts to facilitate a mid-way plan agreeable between the Wonosobo District Government and the Perhutani but failed, largely because of retractions in agreements previously reached. For example, on August 21, 2002, the parties met to draft a Memorandum of Understanding that Perhutani agrees that the District could try in PSDHBM in 30 villages. However, a week after the meeting, the Perhutani sent back a draft different from what was agreed. In early October, the Central Java provincial government was

TABLE 8. Chronology of Dialogue Events, 2002

Date	Agenda	Location	Outcome
26 Feb 2002	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum consults National Legislative Assembly (DPR)	DPR, Jakarta	DPR raises no objection to PSDHBM
26 Feb 2002	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum consults Home Affairs Ministry	Home Affairs Ministry, Jakarta	Home Affairs Ministry expresses that Wonosobo PSDHBM is a positive step towards regional autonomy
5 March 2002	Policy Dialogue on Community-based Forest Management	Wisma PKBI, Jakarta Forestry Ministry, Jakarta	Full support to PSDHBM and its immediate implementation.
3 July 2002	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum meets Forestry Minister		Minister seeks to understand PSDHBM further and places Ir. Triyono as mediator between Wonosobo and Perhutani.
6 July 2002	Ir. Triyono meets Wonosobo District Government, Legislative Assembly, farmer representatives and NGOs	Hall of Wonosobo Regent officer	Ir. Triyono comprehends PSDHBM
Jul–Aug 2002	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum	Wonosobo Regency Hall	Draft Orientation Program for PSDHBM Implementation
10 Aug 2002	Ir. Triyono facilitates meeting between Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum and Perhutani	Wonosobo Regency Hall	Ir. Triyono presents 'mid-way' management plan
21 Aug 2002	Ir. Triyono facilitates meeting between Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum and Perhutani	Hotel Radisson, Yogyakarta	Wonosobo Regional Government and Perhutani agree to try PSDHBM & PHBM in 30 villages each through Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)
27 Aug 2002	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum and Perhutani meet to sign MoU	Forestry Ministry, Jakarta	- Perhutani sends a new MoU draft that differs from the previous agreement - MoU signing halts
2 Sept 2002	Next schedule set for Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum and Perhutani to sign MoU	Wonosobo Regency Hall	- Perhutani does not attend. - MoU not signed.
14 Sep 2002	Forestry Minister issues letter to Home Affairs Ministry	Jakarta	Forestry Ministry asking the Home Affairs Ministry to negotiate the revocation of PSDHBM
3 Oct 2002	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum meets Perhutani	Hotel Indonesia (HI), Jakarta	Revises agreement in Hotel Radisson: - no reference to PSDHBM - agree to use new term: Forest Resource Management (FRM) in Wonosobo - Multi-stakeholder Forum proposes that Wonosobo District develops the draft concept for FRM
17 Oct 2002	Central Java Provincial Government facilitates meeting between Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum and Perhutani	Hotel Rawa Pening Bandungan Semarang, Central Java	Draft agreement on FRM Wonosobo
24 Oct 2002	Home Affairs Ministry issues letter to Wonosobo District Head	Jakarta	Home Affairs Ministry asking Wonosobo District Head to work on PSDHBM revocation
30 Oct 2002	Perhutani meets Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum	Wonosobo Regency Hall	Wonosobo District Government and Perhutani agree on new concept of Forest Resource Management (FRM) for Wonosobo
Nov 2002	Wonosobo District Head receives letter from Home Affairs Ministry		Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum decides to re-assess the situation
25 Nov 2002	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum	Wonosobo Vice-District's Office	The Forum decides to retain the Radisson Hotel version of the MoU (PSDHBM trial in 30 villages)
26 Nov 2002	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum and Perhutani meet to sign MoU	Baturraden Banyumas, Central Java	Agreement stalls due to differences in views on authority and technical aspects for reforestation

called on to mediate in a further attempt to reach an agreement until the Wonosobo District Head received a letter from Home Affairs General Secretary S. Nurbaya asking the Bupati to halt the regulation's implementation and to work on its revocation with the Wonosobo Legislative Assembly (Table 8).

In the meantime, the Perhutani started concretizing its management framework for a Collaborative Forest Management Program (*Pengelolaan Sumberdaya Hutan Bersama Masyarakat/ PHBM*), a successor of the earlier PHBM launched in 2000. The main feature of PHBM is the introduction of timber profit sharing agreement between the community and Perhutani. Under the PHBM, the community will receive 25% of the floor price quoted during the timber's auction in return for their labor on state forestlands. Perhutani still retains the authority to determine the species that laborers can plant (Table 9). The PHBM scheme is being offered as an alternative to the PSDHBM scheme under the District Regulation. This move is happening concurrently with the Ministry of Forestry's initiative to create a national Social Forestry Program, similar in nature to PHBM.

Piloting Community Resource Planning for PSDHBM

Before the policy uncertainties surfaced in 2002, the Wonosobo Multi-Stakeholder Team visited the villages of Gunung Tugel and Bogoran where local people showed them *hutan rakyat* areas and the adjacent damaged state forestlands. Communities also mentioned that they are aware of the illegal cutting going on within state forest areas, but are not doing anything about it at present because they feel it is not within their power to do so.

Due to these visits, Bogoran and Gunung Tugel became strategic in initially testing and promoting the implementation of CBFM. From a district perspective, these villages may serve as windows of insight for movements occurring in other areas. They are located in separate sub-districts and can potentially become initial learning areas for nearby villages as people begin to articulate a deeper understanding of the regulation and surrounding issues.

The District Regulation states that community groups can apply for a CBFM permit to work on state forestlands upon submission of the site map, area size of

TABLE 9. Comparison Between Perhutani PHBM Program and District PSDHBM Policy

Element	Perhutani (PHBM)	District (PSDHBM)
Priority Sites	Barren state forestland	Barren state forestland where villagers already planted
Recognized Community Organization	Forest Village Institutions (*Lembaga Masyarakat Desa Hutan/LMDH*) that have been notarized	Forest user groups can organize at different levels e.g. state forest area (*blok*), hamlet (*dusun*), village (*desa*)
Community Role	Community is one of the parties in collaborative forest management	Community is the main party in forest management
Support Systems	Perhutani provides seedlings, tools, fertilizers	District Forest Office provides facilitation & budget assistance during the planning process
Planning Process	–National Perhutani issues medium-term (5 to 8 years) business plans –Local Perhutani (*KPH*) develops annual management plans based on national business plan and issues implementation letter to communities (specifying species, spacing, etc.)	–Community drafts management plan –Wonosobo Forest Forum reviews management plan and recommends improvement through discussion with community in the field –*Bupati* approves management plan based on recommendation from District Forest Office and Wonosobo Forest Forum
Signing Parties	Community (represented by LMDH) Perhutani (represented by KPH)	Community (represented by forest user group) District (represented by Bupati)
Tenure	2 years (formal agreement) revised annually for 10 years (informal agreement)	30 years with 6 years trial period (formal agreement)
Production sharing	25% community 75% Perhutani	70% community 30% District

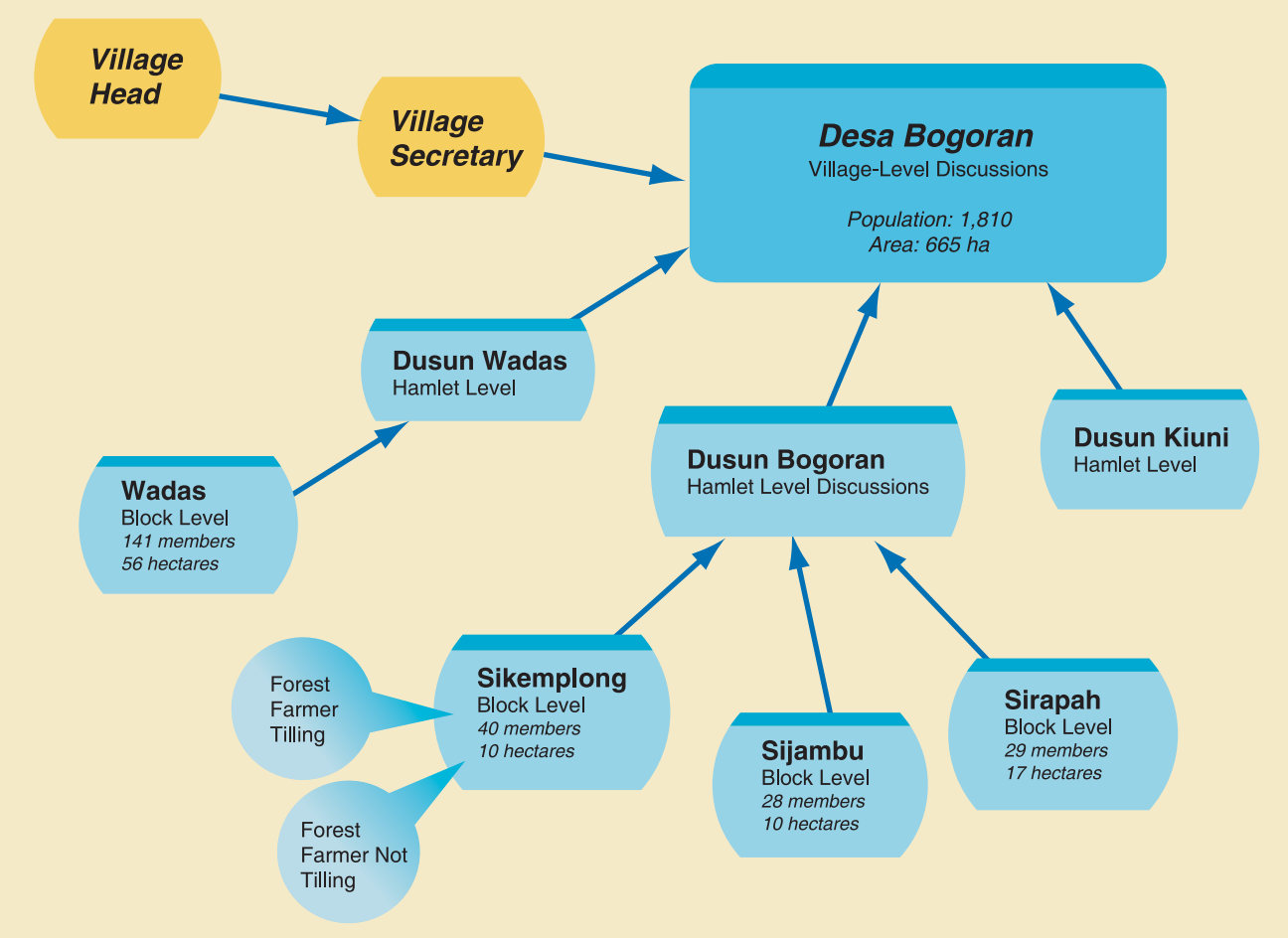
the proposed state forest block for management, community profile, and a general management plan that includes internal rules and regulations (Box 4). The draft technical guidelines further states that a group of at least 20 members can be granted management rights to an area covering 10–15 hectares. Members of the group need to be farmers living within or surrounding the forest. Priority should be given to farmers with existing land ownership of less than 0.3 hectares.

To test the process laid out in the technical guidelines, the Wonosobo Multi-Stakeholder Team in April 2002 decided to undertake community planning in the two pilot villages—Bogoran and Gunung Tugel. The objectives of this exercise are:

(1) to develop a better understanding of the district regulation among communities
(2) to help the district identify the challenges of implementation
(3) to equip the pilot villages with capacity to manage issues over resources in state lands.

It must be remembered that during this time, Perhutani had already opted out of the Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Team and started lobbying with central government for the regulation's cancellation while increasing its presence in the villages. Hence, while the planning process in relation to PSDHBM was being facilitated with communities, local Perhutani was contacting the same communities regarding the new PHBM program and the weaknesses of the PSDHBM. Perhutani field staff insisted that the community planning process and the district regulation did not have the official backing from central government and that Perhutani's PHBM program was a more tangible alternative to the PSDHBM scheme. Local communities became confused between the two programs. The policy was clearly in question but groups felt the discussion was not over nor any option for the community ruled out.

FIGURE 2. Village Multi-stakeholder Discussion Process



Establishing Clarity and Commitments

Due to the policy uncertainties, establishing clarity and commitments became ARuPA and Koling's primary priority and first stage in the community planning process in Bogoran and Gunung Tugel. Over a seven-month period (May to December 2002), ARuPA and Koling spent time in the villages to facilitate clarity of context and objectives and to identify and nurture the community's level of commitment to a planning process under PSDHBM. Facilitation was conducted on three levels to better understand the different perspectives within the community context (Figure 2):

- *Blok* (block) level–Discussions were conducted among forest farmers at the block level, working on state forestlands within the village, and farmers who are not tilling in state forest areas but are accessing its resources. A block corresponds to an area identified under the Perhutani management. Years of working with the state forest management enabled villagers to get familiar with the boundaries that Perhutani had set.
- *Dusun* (hamlet) level–Discussions involve farmers within the hamlet who are working on state lands, farmers not working on state lands, and also leaders in the hamlet.
- *Desa* (Village)–Discussions involve farmers within the village who are working on state lands, farmers not working on state lands, and informal leaders. Village heads choose not to get involved as representative of the bureaucracy pending official approval of the District Regulation from central government. They however expressed their informal support of activities relating to CBFM.

Representatives joining discussions in Bogoran and Gunung Tugel include both formal (village officers) and informal key persons or leaders (religious, youth and women leaders). These key persons were chosen because, as observed during community meetings, everybody listens to them. Some leaders have power at the village level, while some show influence at the sub-village level.

Women from PKK join the meetings. PKK is a group dealing with family welfare and capacity-building projects such as cooking and caring for infants. Their PKK meetings have become venues to continue discussions on their roles in community forest management as they link with household responsibilities.

Clarity and commitment took some time to establish among stakeholders. Communities are not familiar with participatory discussion processes and community trust of facilitators (ARuPA and Koling) had first to be built. To build this trust and ensure maximum participation of members in the community, various strategies have been developed as facilitators become familiar with life in the village:

Establishing clarity. Bogoran villagers met one night in 2002 to map the state forest areas where they have already planted. From this gathering they learned that all barren state forest lands have already been planted. They know that by law this is illegal so they want to find out how they can still achieve equitable production sharing arrangements.

- *Initial Interviews*–Before a group meeting, facilitators carry out informal interviews with some individuals in the community to get an initial sense of local sentiment. This helps facilitators understand general conditions in life of the local people and provides valuable inputs in designing productive group meetings.
- *Build Community Rapport with Facilitator*–

Meetings start with facilitators (ARuPA and Koling) introducing themselves. To instill trust from participants, introductions are carried out in great detail and participants are invited to ask any question.

- *Use local language*–Javanese is the language used during discussions. Bahasa Indonesia is understood in the community but is rarely used in conversations.
- *Hold meetings at night*–Meetings are held at night because meetings held during mid-day have been proven to be less productive. Some participants are unable to see the meeting through to the end due to other necessary tasks. Community members have more free time during evenings.
- *Choose conducive meeting venues*–Facilitators choose meeting venues where community members are comfortable expressing themselves. Meetings are usually held in a house of a community member. Sometimes, facilitators change meeting settings to ensure that discussions are more productive.
- *Summarize Relevant Topics Discussed*–Facilitators always endeavor to lead discussions in a way that community needs and concerns are raised and processed as a group.

The community planning activities became effective venues for building trust and courage to participate, as well as for surfacing management problems, needs and opportunities. Initially, villagers were not fully trusting of the District Parliament's conviction to implement PSDHBM. However, after participating in several multi-stakeholder discussions in the Parliament Office, communities were convinced of the district government's commitment to seeing that the district regulation gets implemented. These events also gave courage to community members in visiting offices of district representatives to seek clarifications.

Village visits of local representatives helped strengthen communications between local government and communities. Communities became more comfortable asking detailed questions about forest management policies. The following village concerns surfaced as a result of these processes:

- In Bogoran, villagers shared that they have already planted on all barren state forestlands in the village and they know that by law this is illegal. Because of this situation, they were interested in finding out how they can achieve equitable production sharing arrangements and management rights with government through the new district regulation.
- In Gunung Tugel, villagers also shared the status of community planting on state forestlands. One villager reported: "Some people already planted. Some do not want to plant. Others are waiting for the agreement to be signed before they plant." They also asked if the district regulation mentioned any guidelines on production sharing.

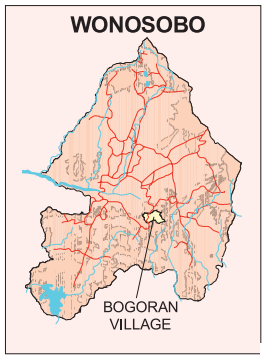
A significant amount of time is being spent maintaining clarity and nurturing commitments already established among village members. ARuPA and Koling had to constantly update communities ironing out the confusion resulting from differing sets of information and perspectives they get regarding the district regulation. "NGOs say this and Perhutani says another," was how community expressed their confusion. Perhutani field staff showed them a letter from Ministry of Home Affairs saying that the district regulation has been cancelled; at the same time district representatives and non-government organizations were saying that implementation is pending finalization of technical guidelines. This difference had to wait several months for clarification.

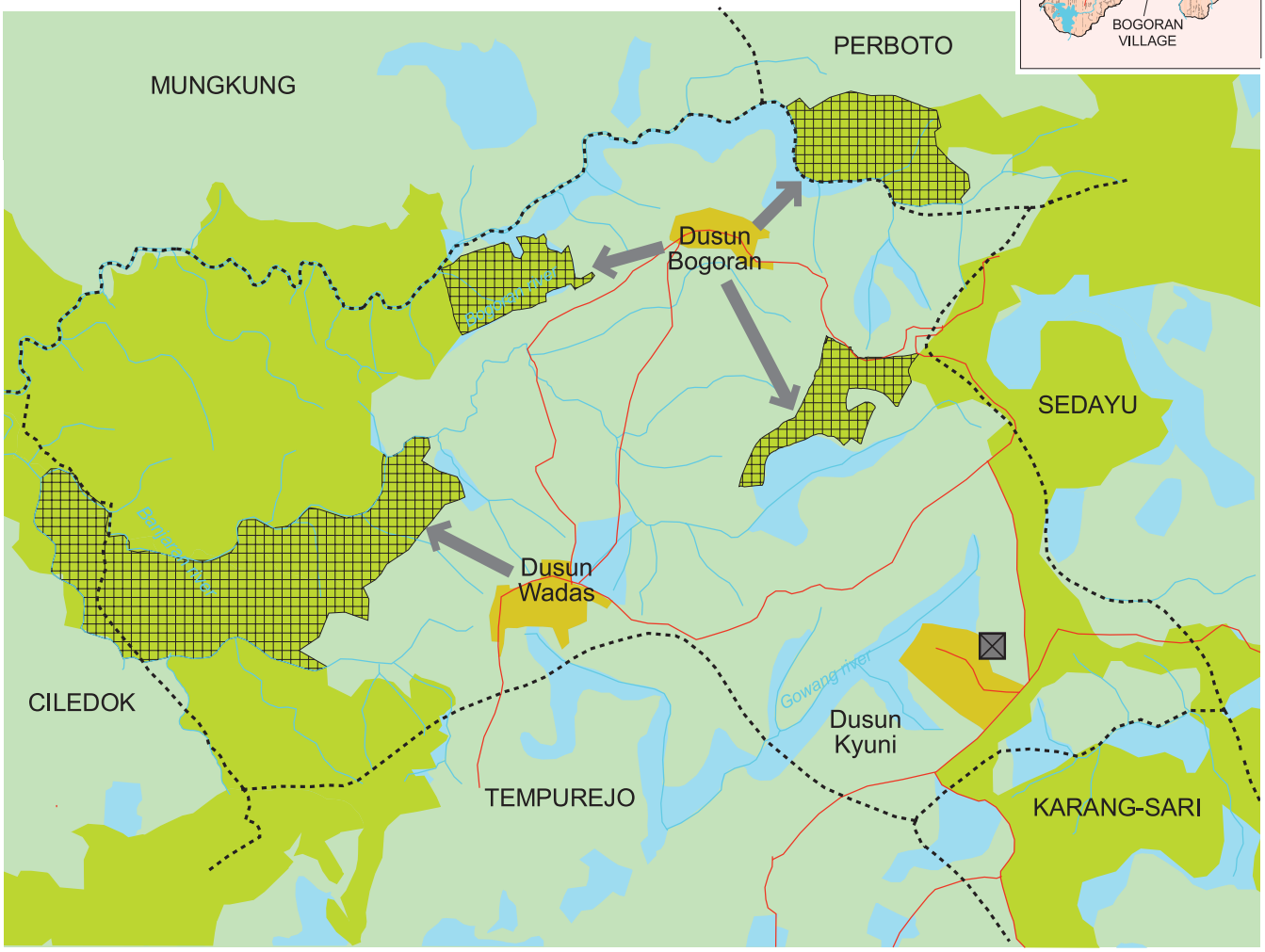
Documenting Management Systems

Documenting management systems is the next stage in community planning process. Upon establishing clarity and commitments, participating villagers from Bogoran and Gunung Tugel organized themselves into management groups around the second half of 2002. Within the group, farmers sketched the areas where they are working on state forest blocks on a large sheet of paper. Being former laborers in Perhutani-delineated state forest blocks, their boundaries closely followed the forest block shapes on Perhutani's technical maps. Farmers also sketched the actual status of the land they are working on. To supplement the information obtained from sketch mapping, farmers were also asked to describe their annual planting cycle using an agricultural calendar.

Agreements on forest management plans had been developed through group meetings. The initial meetings defined the location of working land by drawn on the community map. The map contained working boundary among members, groups, and

MAP 3. Community-Occupied State Forestlands, Bogoran Village





N

0 0.5 1
Kilometer

SCALE 1 : 28,000

UNIVERSAL TRANSVERSE MERCATOR PROJECTION
ZONE 49

LEGEND:

- Community-occupied state forestlands
- State forest area
- People's forest (*hutan rakyat*)
- Ricefield
- Settlement
- Perhutani-donated Soccer field
- State forest area accessed by hamlet
- Village boundary
- River
- Road

SOURCES:

Forest area map 1 : 10.000, Perhutani
Digital landscape map 1 : 25,000, National Survey and Mapping Agency
Community mapping, Bogoran
December 2003

DIGITIZED BY:
Chehafudin and Farid Wajdi

PREPARED BY:

ARUPA AFN ESSC

illustrated actual condition of the land as well. The drawing process was conducted by a team and verified by other members resulting in greater awareness and clarity of the concerns.

In Bogoran, two hamlets in the village—Bogoran and Wadas—joined the planning activities; the Kyuni hamlet backed out. Kyuni was very eager to go through the process when activities were just starting. One villager from Kyuni even expressed what he thinks about community management:

> *"It is workable to plan as a group and follow the principles of the group if we ourselves formed the group. But it is difficult if we have to manage the land as a group because there are always differences between one person and another."*

However, with seeping uncertainty on the district regulation, Kyuni villagers decided not to get involved until such time when the regulation is officially implemented. Another complication for Kyuni is that its members are already bound to an agreement with Perhutani because they were recently granted permission to convert a portion of the state land into a football field.

The two hamlets that joined in Bogoran decided to form 4 planning groups and so divided in order to cover the different state forest blocks located far from each other (Map 3). The Bogoran village head expressed support for the planning process in his personal capacity but hesitant to give statement in an official capacity pending central government approval of the district regulation.

In Gunung Tugel, the villagers formed five groups. Each *dusun* covered one block. One of the problems raised was the existing land distribution; there are some farmers with large blocks, while others have no working land. Later on, it was learned that these forest farmers with "no land" in state forest areas oftentimes own land in *hutan rakyat*. Through the process, the community finally agreed to give greater opportunity to villagers with no lands to work in the state forest block, by providing monetary compensation in exchange for using the land (Map 4).

Twenty-two other villages expressed interest in going through a community planning process. Given the limitations in the number of facilitators, a training program was designed to transfer the lessons learned from the two pilot areas. Community members who took part in the planning process for Bogoran and Gunung Tugel acted as facilitators for other villages who wish to develop management plans for their areas (Map 1).

The process of together sketching and coming up with a picture of the group's working area surfaced several management concerns. The questions that groups were taking time to resolve were noted and tabled for another meeting. ARuPA and Koling emphasized that not all questions can be resolved in one sitting, and that it was more important to have a process for continuing discussions so that concerns can be tackled step by step. In succeeding meetings, they made agreements to solve management problems. The groups further agreed on the tree species to be planted and the spacing. Towards the end, a financial analysis was developed to supplement the management plans.

Negotiating Rights and Responsibilities

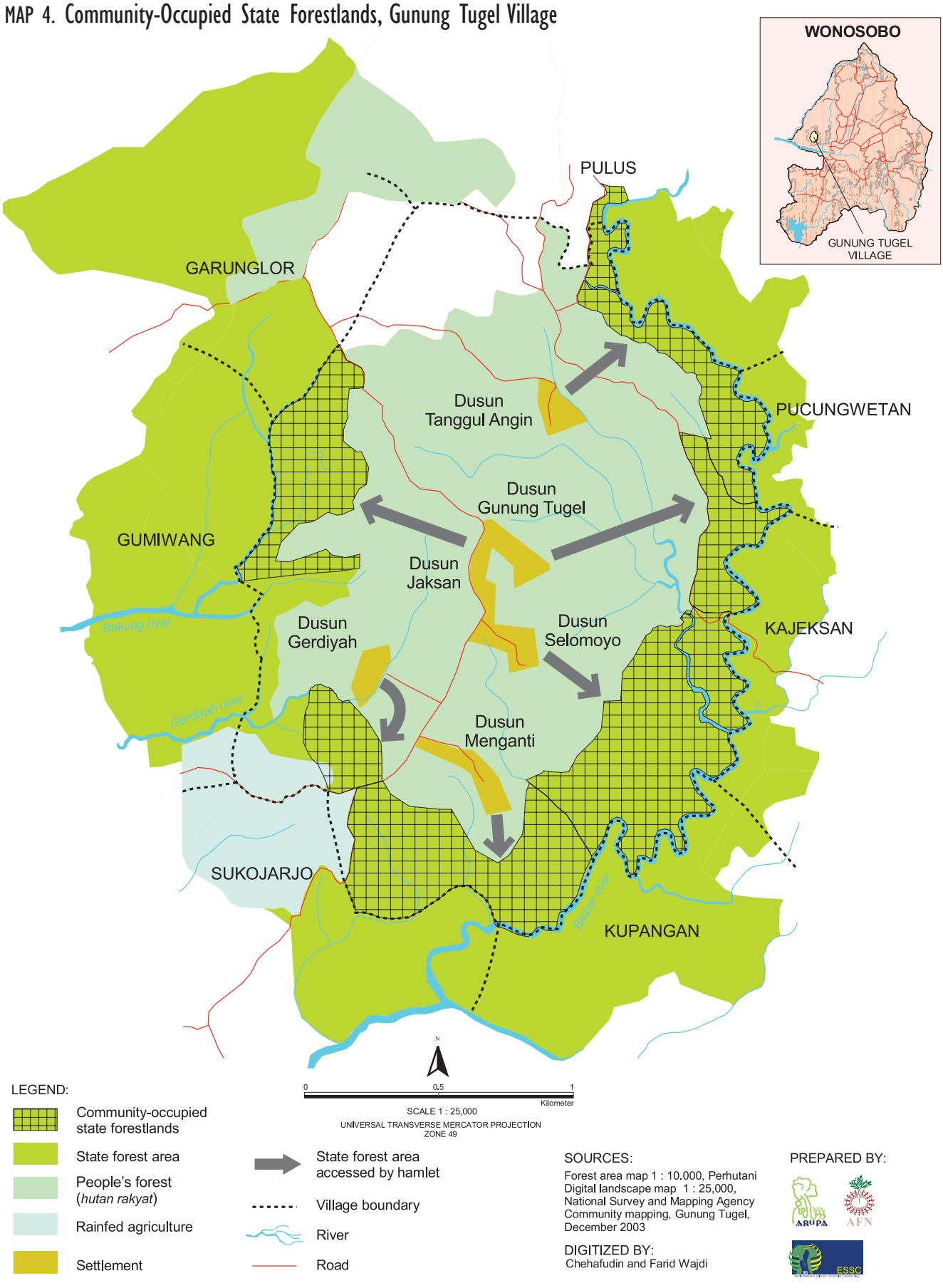
Village–District Negotiations

Technical guidelines of the District Regulation states that rights and responsibilities of each member should be clearly defined in a *statuta* (rules and regulations) agreed upon by the group applying for a CBFM permit. The community planning process helps communities document their *statuta* that generally, the *statuta* declares the group's goals, membership, organizational structure and activities. Members have the right to vote on rules and regulations and for representatives. Members are responsible for complying with the agreed rules, participating in meetings, and managing assigned forest blocks following the community management plan. Penalties for non-compliance are agreed and included in the *statuta* during the community planning process.

It was during this stage that villagers discussed the issue of production sharing between the community and outside stakeholders. Schemes varied among different community groups but all were inspired by *maro*, the practice of a local landowner and his workers sharing equitably the farm harvest according to inputs that both parties provided. Based on this, groups proposed a community- government sharing for timber produced that considers the community inputs (labor, seedlings, fertilizers, pesticides, devices). In some cases, communities proposed a 50-50 community-government sharing while others proposed up to a 75-25 sharing scheme. Apart from this, all cash crops produced are deemed as belonging to the community. These discussions helped the development of implementing guidelines, which initially did not prescribe a production sharing percentage.

Meanwhile, Perhutani field personnel were going

MAP 4. Community-Occupied State Forestlands, Gunung Tugel Village



BOX 5. Local Rules and Regulations on Forest Management, 2002

Sikemplong Group, Bogoran Village

1. Membership Requirements

- Members are farmers who have working land in the state forest areas.
- Members should exhibit responsibility for their working land.
- Members should be willing to obey the statuta.
- Membership fee is Rp. 1000 per year

2. Officers

- Chief, Vice Chief, Secretary I, Secretary II, and Treasurer
- One-year term of office
- Officer meetings conducted once every 3 months

3. Member Meetings

- Member meetings conducted once in 6 months
- Special meeting may be conducted when necessary
- Decisions reached during member meetings have the highest authority

4. Penalties

- Members absent during meetings will be fined Rp. 5000. If absence is due to illness, the member has to inform the group chief that he/she could not attend. Other family members can represent the member to the meeting.
- If land is left barren, the Group Chief, with acknowledgement from other officers, shall give the member 3 formal warnings. If there is no action after the warnings, the working land will be handed over to another member.
- Plantation pattern rules shall be formally issued by the Group Chief and acknowledged by other officers. Members not following the pattern shall be given 3 warnings. If there is no action, the group will change the pattern on the member's working land.

5. Conflict Resolution

- Conflict that could not be resolved among members should be reported to an officer. Officers shall facilitate resolution of conflicts/problems between members.
- If officers are not able to facilitate resolution of the problem, it will be raised during a member meeting for resolution.

Selomoyo Group, Gunung Tugel Village

1. Criteria for Membership

- Members are farmers working on the designated state forest blocks surrounding the Selomoyo hamlet.
- Members can live in other villages, as long as they remain committed to following rules agreed within the Selomoyo Group.
- If there is exchange of working land among members, the group must agree with the exchange.

2. Responsibilities of Group Members

- Follow the agreed rules
- Participate in group meetings
- Manage forests according to the community management plan

3. Rights of Group Members

- Right to vote during establishment of the group policy
- Right to select group representatives
- Right to propose special meetings

4. Penalties

- Penalties are imposed on members who have broken agreed rules
- A penalty will be executed after the member has been warned three times
- The group will decide on the forms of penalty

around discussing the new production sharing arrangement between community and Perhutani offered under the PHBM scheme. Perhutani is now giving communities a 25% share of timber produced while retaining 75% for the company.

Community members are divided in their opinions about these new schemes. Some would like to avail of the Perhutani scheme even if it means a lower timber share, for fear that the district regulation will be cancelled. Those who think that the district regulation will eventually be implemented are resisting the newly offered Perhutani scheme.

District-Perhutani Negotiations

Another level of negotiation for rights and responsibilities is occurring between the District Government and the Perhutani. Negotiations started in July 2002 when the Ministry of Forestry assigned Ir. Triyono to mediate between the two parties. After attending a multi-stakeholder meeting organized in Wonosobo so that he might understand the situation in the district, Ir. Triyono

presented his recommendations in August 2002 in a meeting where the Perhutani and the Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum members were present. Ir. Triyono then facilitated the development of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the two parties during a meeting in Yogyakarta. Attempts to secure signatures in August and September failed due to changes in the draft revisions that were not agreed. In October, the two parties met again to revise the former MOU. This time, there was no mention of PSDHBM. Instead, they agreed that each of them would try their different schemes in 30 villages that they will select.

Community Options and Concerns

The communities in Wonosobo are now in a situation where they are being presented with two different schemes—one offered by the District Government (PSDHBM) and the other offered by Perhutani (PHBM).

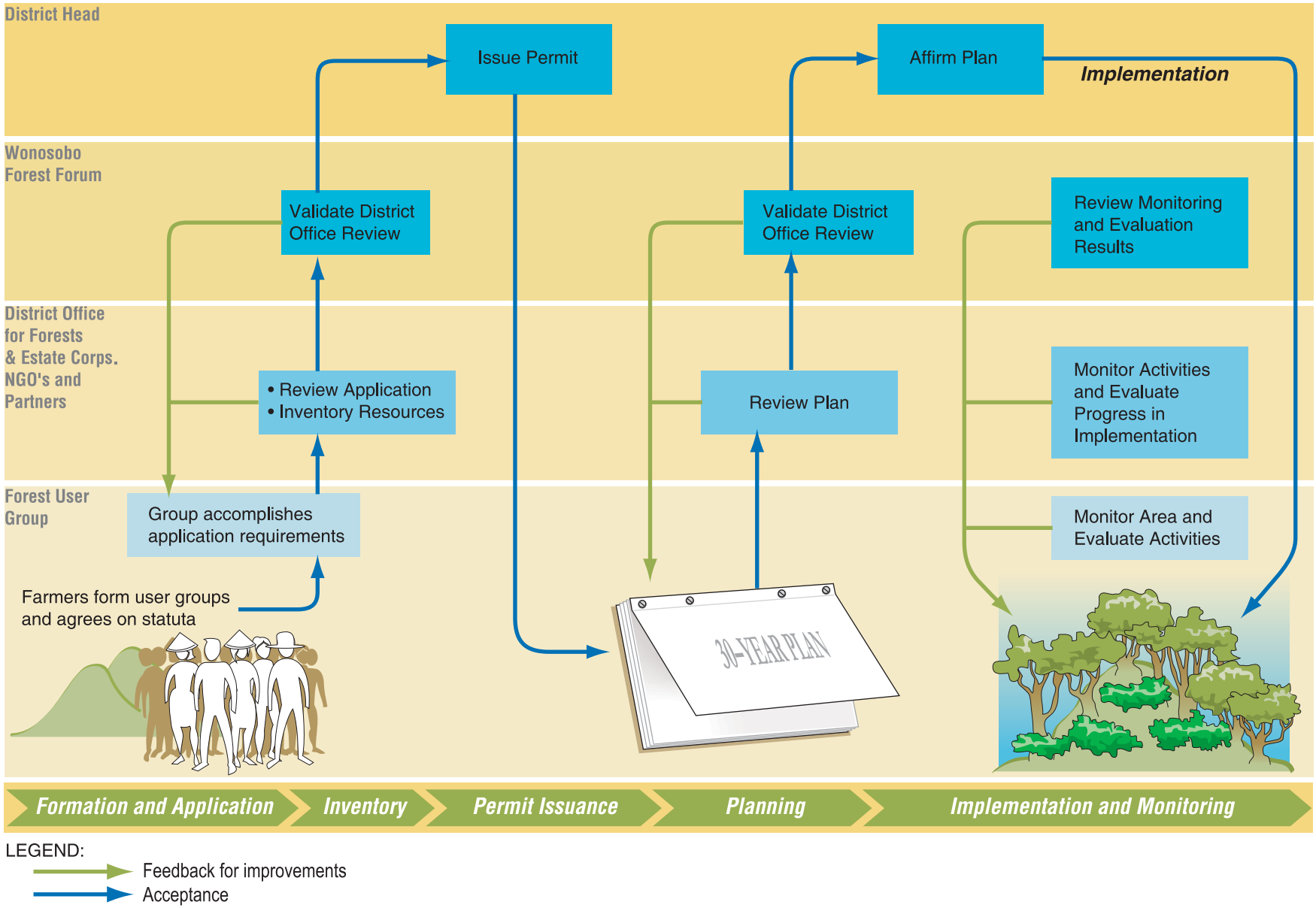
PSDHBM opened up a multi-stakeholder dialogue process that gave communities the opportunity to participate in the legislative drafting process. Communities obtained information and provided inputs through a weekly radio campaign program, public consultations, and village visits of the multi-stakeholder team. Communities became aware of new opportunities that can respond to their tenure and resource questions. Moreover, if implemented, the District Regulation gives them a greater chance to voice out their plans for the area and greater share in the timber produced. These brought them new hope for more substantive access to the land and its resources. However, with the uncertainty in policy ratification from the central level, communities face concerns in implementation and validity.

On the other hand, PHBM is a program that Perhutani is willing to implement immediately. Compared to Perhutani's earlier program where they were not granted any timber benefits, PHBM now offers them a share on timber produced. Even if the benefits are less, the assurance that this program has greater

TABLE 10. Chronology of Dialogue Events, 2003

Date	Agenda	Location	Outcome
3 Jan 2003	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum	Wonosobo Vice-Regent's Office	Plans to hold forums with Home Affairs Ministry to clarify aspects of PSDHBM
7 Jan 2003	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum visits Home Affairs Ministry	Home Affairs Ministry, Jakarta	Agrees to facilitate multi-stakeholder dialogues to review inconsistent articles in PSDHBM
16 Jan 2003	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum	Wonosobo Vice-Regent's Office	Agrees to issue revisions to make PSDHBM articles consistent
17 Jan 2003	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum meets Perhutani	Hotel Ambarukmo, Yogyakarta	Agrees that some articles in PSDHBM could raise conflicts in authority among parties.
18–19 Jan 2003	Inter-village farmers meeting	Ngadisono Village, Kaliwiro Sub-district, Wonosobo	Forest farmers with NGOs express support to PSDHBM implementation.
10 Feb 2003	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum	Wonosobo Vice-Regent's Office	Decides to retain PSDHBM as is and then include detailed explanations in the technical guidelines to resolve inconsistency in articles.
7–8 May 2003	Inter-village farmers meeting	Wonosobo SKB Building	Farmers agree that PSDHBM implementation needs to be hastened and spread to more villages.
9 May 2003	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum visits Home Affairs Ministry	Home Affairs Ministry, Jakarta	Attempts to get clarification on Home Affairs Ministry's objection to PSDHBM; explanation still has not achieved clarity. The team affirms its decision to retain the present form of PSDHBM.
25 Jun 2003	Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum	Wonosobo Legislative Assembly's Office	Agrees to develop 'clearing and protection house' to respond to field concerns during PSDHBM implementation
23 Aug 2003	Perhutani visits Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum	Wonosobo Legislative Assembly's Office	Forms a core team to facilitate development of the concept for Wonosobo FRM. Agrees to develop Wonosobo Forest Forum (*Forum Hutan Wonosobo–FHW*)
6 Sep 2003	Perhutani visits Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum	Wonosobo District Forest Office	Core team drafted work plan to develop the Wonosobo FRM concept.

FIGURE 3. Process for Approving and Monitoring CBFM Permits



chances of getting implemented has made some community members think twice about PSDHBM.

Given these two options, the communities are now torn between the more substantial benefits offered under PSDHBM versus the assured benefits offered under PHBM. Community members who hold on to the hope the PSDHBM will get implemented in Wonosobo pushed through with community resource management planning. The next section illustrates the challenges in facilitating community resource management planning in the midst of policy uncertainties.

Supporting Community Agreements

The strategies of the Perhutani and the Wonosobo Multi-Stakeholder Forum are being implemented simultaneously. Communities are getting caught in between.

In response to this situation, the Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum sought to secure agreements on two levels. One level is between the village groups and the district government; the process is already laid out in the draft technical guidelines of PSDHBM and is currently being reviewed. The other level is between the district government and central government. This level is faced with many challenges given the present position of central government. However difficult, great efforts are being put into negotiations as the outcome is critical in formalizing the local agreements (Figure 1).

Prior to receiving the letter from Home Affairs Ministry, the Multi-stakeholder Forum hoped that a Memorandum of Understanding with Perhutani would allow for the continued implementation of PSDHBM in 30 villages that are ready to take up management responsibility. The Forum measures community readiness in terms of the level at which group processes is institutionalized, including community planning and development of the group *statuta* and management plans. In return, the PHBM scheme of Perhutani would also continue in villages that accept this option.

District Support to Future Agreements

Under the District Regulation, the Bupati is responsible for approving CBFM permits to applying village groups. The village group is considered the forest management unit for the proposed area and shall be the holder the CBFM permit. The permit is a binding agreement between community and district government for the management of state forestlands. The permit is valid for 30 years, with the first six years considered as the trial period. To apply, a group should submit a letter of application, a location map, community profile, its *statuta*, and a 30-year management plan. The District Forest and Estate Crop Office (*Dinas Kehutanan dan Perkebunan/DK*) is the body tasked to process the applications.

Processing CBFM permits has five phases, all of which may return to the first phase if at any point in the iterative evaluation, the application is found unacceptable (Figure 3).

- The first phase entails the formation of a forest user group, if one is not yet formed. A forest user group is considered "formed" if it has a statute that has been agreed by the village head. The DK, with support from NGOs, can assist interested forest user groups in putting together the documents for submission—community profile, the statuta, and location map. If the group is already formed and documents are already in order, it can proceed.
- The second phase involves forest inventory and

Wonosobo district government is discussing what can be done in highland areas that wants to secure CFM permits but are doing intensive commercial agriculture on environmentally critical slopes.

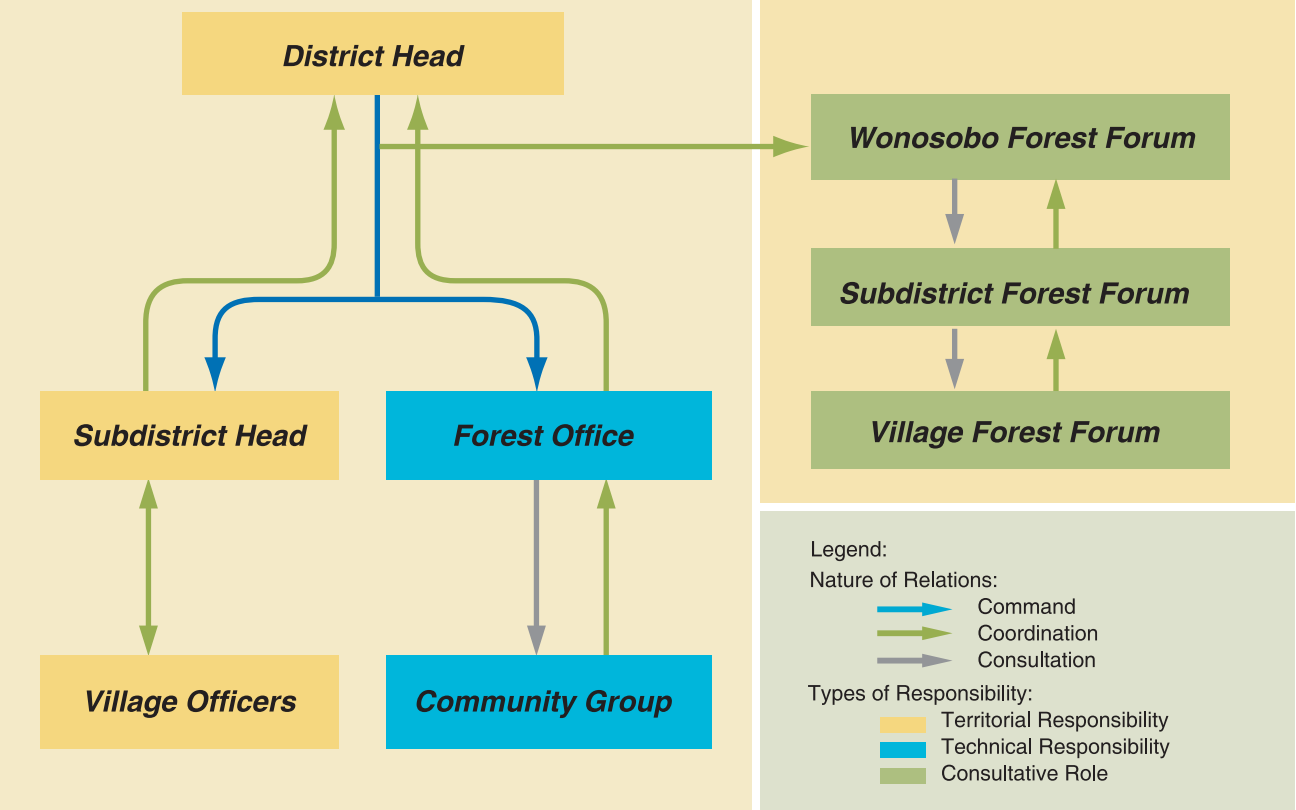
validation of the state forestland being proposed for community management. The DK develops a baseline map, performs a forest inventory, validates technical information with community maps, and consults the Wonosobo Forest Forum (*FHW*) on their findings. If results of the review with FHW are satisfactory, The DK then prepares the CBFM permit and forwards this along with the application documents to the District Head for approval. If the application does not meet certain requirements, then DK shall give feedback to the applicants so that they can adjust the plan.

- The third phase is when the District Head issues the permit to operate the suggested area under community forest management. The District Head grants permission on a yearly basis. If the application does not meet certain requirements, then District Head shall give feedback to the applicants through the DK and so that they can adjust the plan.
- The process enters the fourth phase once permission to operate is secured from the District Head. The group starts developing the more detailed annual business plans and the six-year plan. NGOs may facilitate community planning.
- The fifth phase is the continuing monitoring and evaluation of DK and FHW to review implementation in the decreed CBFM areas and give feedback to the District Head to aid future decisions relating to the continuation of activities.

This procedure is not yet being implemented pending the central government's approval of the District Regulation. As an interim measure with communities that already underwent the community planning process, a meeting was arranged in January 2003 for Bogoran and Gunung Tugel villagers to present their management plans to the District Government, the District Legislative Assembly, local NGOs, and representatives of SEPKUBA, a farmers' association coming from 20 villages in Wonosobo.

This presentation has further convinced the district government of the capacity of villagers to effectively manage state forestlands. The community planning process is now viewed as a way to identify field evidence for central government to be convinced that communities are capable of management if provided adequate support systems. As the primary implementers of the PSDHBM,

FIGURE 4. Wonosobo Forest Forum Relational Chart



forest communities need to show their capabilities to answer doubts of the Ministry of Forestry.

Several villages in the district are also lending support to the PSDHBM scheme. In September 2002, when various efforts to draw up a memorandum of understanding with the Perhutani failed, villagers gathered in front of the Wonosobo District Hall to express their disappointment over the situation. This prompted the Wonosobo District Head to issue a letter supporting the implementation of the District Regulation. In January 2003 during the presentation of Bogoran and Gunung Tugel, twenty other villages expressed interest to undergo the community planning process even if the fate of the regulation is still uncertain.

Review and Monitoring Mechanisms

Under the District Regulation, the Wonosobo Forest Forum (*FHW*) is an independent body that functions as a communication and forestry-related multi-stakeholder coordination forum (Figure 4). One of the future tasks of the FHW is to monitor approved CBFRM permits.

Once the district regulation gets approval from central government, the group is to be formalized on three levels—village, sub-district and district—of mixed membership coming from government, local community, academe and non-government organizations. At present, the people who are forming the FHW mostly come from the Wonosobo Multi-Stakeholder Forum, the body that was responsible for drafting and refining the implementing guidelines, comprised of representatives from the District Forest and Estate Crops Office, District Legislative Assembly (*DPRD*) and selected representatives from NGOs, forest user groups, sub-district heads, and village heads.

However, pending implementation of the district regulation, the ad hoc FHW is taking up responsibility for anticipating factors that may hinder implementation of the regulation. DPRD who has official responsibility for developing the technical guidelines play a primary role in motivating other members of FHW to continue discussions amidst the uncertainty of the regulation's recognition from central government. To find new ways of dealing with constantly emerging challenges, facilitation of FHW meetings is rotated among members. Junior government staff are encouraged to speak out.

Also, while the central government approval is pending, FHW is continuing to strengthen the environmental soundness of the district regulation and its implementing guidelines. Some aspects that are being discussed in relation to review and monitoring mechanisms are:

- What to do with CBFM applications that are not environmentally sustainable
- What can be done for protection forests
- How to measure environment sustainability in PHSDBM areas (production forest)
- How to manage areas that are far away from communities
- How to feed back developments in implementation to central government to prove management capacity
- How to monitor resource management implementation in forest blocks as contributing to the economy development of the communities

Based on the district regulation's process for declaring state forestlands under PSDHBM, applications that are deemed environmentally unsustainable shall not be approved. Plans will be adjusted with communities with assistance from District Forest Office and NGOs. The FHW has also identified areas in protection forests that are in critical condition and could become more heavily degraded if communities are not provided with management rights and responsibilities.

Soliciting National Recognition

For the Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum, the most difficult aspect of the resource management transition is the solicitation of the national government's recognition of the District Regulation.

The Law on Regional Governments states that in the framework of supervision, district regulations such as the PSDHBM should be submitted to central government within 15 days after enactment (Article 113). It further states that central government may revoke district regulations that are deemed contradictory to public interest, higher regulations, or other prevailing laws (Article 114). A district that cannot accept the revocation decision may file its objections to the Supreme Court after submitting a petition to central government.

The District Regulation was immediately submitted to the Ministry of Forestry for review, but it took almost one year for central government to respond. Both Ministries of Forestry and Home Affairs sought the revocation of PSDHBM through extra-judicial procedures. The Forestry Minister issued a letter to the Home Affairs Minister requesting for cancellation, using the basis that

Perhutani has prior rights over the state forestlands concerned and thus the regulation contradicts with the 1999 Forestry Law. One month later, the General Secretary of Home Affairs issued a letter to the Wonosobo District Head asking for the policy revocation. The apprehension of Home Affairs is said to be coming from an interpretation that PSDHBM gives Wonosobo District the power to alter the status of forestlands. On top of these, Perhutani submitted a petition for judicial review to the Supreme Court.

The negative responses greatly affected the on-going processes that encouraged policy dialogue and aimed to smoothen implementation. This broke the momentum gained through the multi-stakeholder processes. With pressure from the Ministry of Forestry, Perum Perhutani, the Ministry of Home Affairs, and political parties, members of the Wonosobo Multi-stakeholder Forum are continuously checking with each other regarding their views on emerging issues.

These events brought the Wonosobo case to international attention and gained much support from non-government organizations, academe, as well as in Asia regional and global discussions. An article from Down to Earth reported that at least 75 national and international non-government organizations expressed concern over the Forestry Minister's letter. Numerous news articles about the Wonosobo situation circulated in the internet in Bahasa and English languages.[33]

Despite all the difficulties there are continuous efforts to engage central government. (Table 10). The different members of the Wonosobo Multi-Stakeholder Forum, according to their own capacities, are supporting agreements being developed in the communities and soliciting support from others within their own circles of influence.

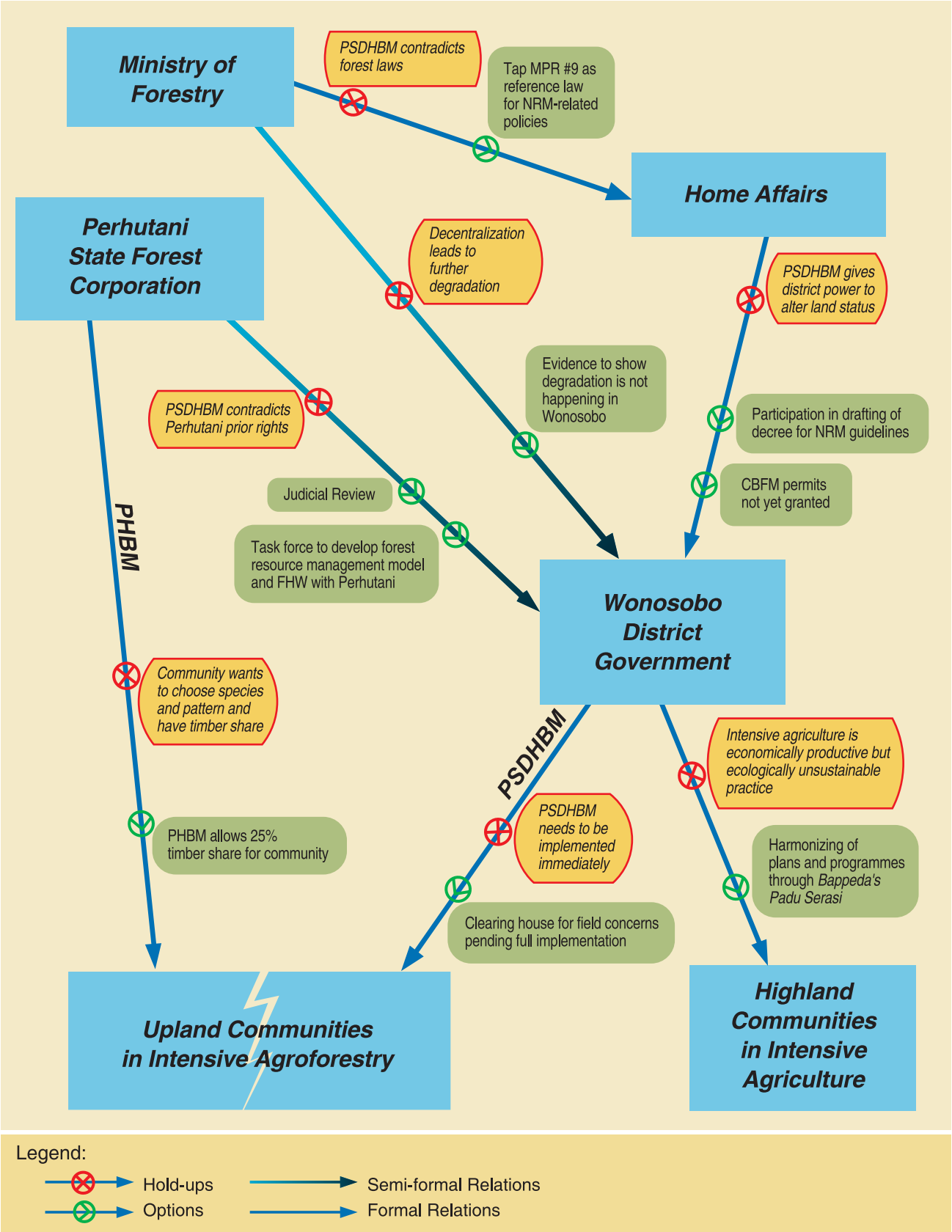
The District Government strives to keep the dialogue process going with Perhutani and national government, in consideration of the reality that communities have already occupied state forestlands. In a meeting with Perhutani in August 2003, the District agreed to become part of a small team to continue the development of a model for Forest Resource Management (FRM) and the Wonosobo Forest Forum (*FHW*).

The District has also become active in national policy discussions relating to natural resource management. In early 2004, hopes lay in two policies discussed. The Agrarian Reform and Natural Resources Law (*Tap MPR* No. 9, 2001) enacted by the Peoples' Consultative Assembly (*MPR*) in 2001 provides the District with a stronger legal basis for continuing its support to implement the PSDHBM. A proposed government act (*Peraturan Pemerintah/PP*) sponsored by the Ministry of Home Affairs could serve as the implementing guideline for the increased role of districts in the management of natural resources (e.g. forests, minerals, estate crops). Their hope with the latter proposal stemmed from the satisfaction with the process by which consultations were conducted in the drafting of the government act. As district governments are allowed to participate in the drafting process, district level realities, sentiments and justifications can be heard and incorporated. These consultations can then provide the District Regulation with the legitimacy called for by other central government agencies. The District has also approached the Forest Tenure Working Group to help them continue the dialogue process at the national level.

From an objective distance, the current issues pertaining to the District Regulation could be viewed as generally legal or procedural for which there are options (Figure 5). In considering Perhutani's legal rights, one option is to call upon the Supreme Court to conduct a judicial review and give a final decision on the fate of PSDHBM. Another way is to proceed with the agreed small task force and contribute to the design of a Wonosobo forest resource management model and the FHW. The Forestry Ministry apprehension on decentralization as causing further degradation is getting clarified as applying more to situations in Kalimantan starting in the late 1990s and not Wonosobo. At the national level, there are efforts to sort out policy overlaps through agreeing on a reference law for all natural-resource management related policies and crafting ministerial decrees along these lines. At the district level, a clearing house for field concerns is being set up to serve as a venue to clarify community concerns on PSDHBM and its implementation. The District Planning Office (*Bappeda*) could strengthen its capacity for more effective harmonization of all plans and programs (nationally or locally-initiated; technical or territorial projects) and identification of environmentally critical areas within the district. At the community level meanwhile, people's skills are growing in participation, resource planning, conflict management, and agreement negotiations.

Among the different stakeholders, there is general agreement that to move forward, they have to continue meeting. The past three years have been very dynamic and despite the succession of misunderstandings, issues are actually getting processed as people learn different skills and find different ways to continue communicating among each other. This resilience gives the situation a

FIGURE 5. Legal and Procedural Hold-ups and Options



BOX 6. Forced Land Clearing in Bogoran Village, 2004

On 25 October 2004, a timber trader claimed to be backed by Perhutani forced Bogoran farmers to clearcut a 6-hectare block in state forestlands and to give him 30% of the revenue. Farmers planted this barren block in 1999 with Albizzia, now valued at 20 million rupiah (€ 1,800 or USD 2,300). The farmers had to relent to the timber trader's demands.

Sopingi, a timber trader well-known in the area to have police and military connections, engineered the incident by bringing 11 armed men from a nearby village to Bogoran on 22 October and claiming that Perhutani sent him and his men to order the land clearing so that Perhutani can take back the land and start a new round of planting. He said that if farmers will not do the clearing themselves, he will order his men to clear the land and take all the proceeds.

Sukoco, a recognized leader of forest farmers in Bogoran (Box 1), clarified the situation with an officer of Perhutani's forest management unit, who responded that his office did not give orders to Sopingi's group. Farmers met and agreed that they will stand for their right by gathering at the state forest block the next morning to prevent the clearing. Sukoco then informed ARuPA, the village head, and the police of the incident and the farmers' plans. ARuPA in turn asked district government's help in mediating the brewing conflict, and informed the rest of the Wonosobo Forest Forum members.

The next morning, 23 October, Bogoran farmers and Sopingi's men faced each other in the forest and exchanged heated remarks. To ease the situation, DPRD representatives at the scene called Sopingi and his men to a meeting with Bogoran villagers at the district hall. The meeting was opened to other members of the Wonosobo Forest Forum—the District Forest Office, Perhutani field officers, Wonosobo District Forest Office, NGOs, and the local media. While Perhutani officers denied that it ordered Sopingi, they admitted that the state forest block in question has been targeted for planting this year. The meeting became unruly, and ended with Sukoco being beaten up by one of Sopingi's men. DPRD suspended the meeting and called a smaller session to manage the conflict. At this meeting, Perhutani and Sopingi insisted on drawing up an agreement for land clearing. Without an approved CBFM District Regulation, DPRD was not able to stand behind Bogoran farmers and conceded to the land clearing. With DPRD's sympathy, most of the Bogoran farmers understood and accepted the situation and that night agreed to clear the block and devised a sharing arrangement. The farmer who tended the block will get 90% of the proceeds, while the remaining will be distributed among the village government, the youth organization and the Block Sijambu forest farmer group. DPRD attended this village meeting. However, this sharing arrangement did not materialize as Sopingi insisted on his 30% share by threatening farmers with arms.

Until this recent incident, difficulties of Wonosobo farmers who actively manage state forestlands have largely been legal and procedural in nature. It is important to document what happened in Bogoran, and for Wonosobo Forest Forum to find the means to resolve this type of incident more peacefully and equitably in the future. It is also important to note that this area incident is outside of the legal and procedural hold ups that the DPRD is facing in relation to CBFM District Regulation. Separate dialogue processes are needed to respond to these two distinct concerns.

way to move forward with an ecologically and socially coherent integration of various forest management regimes.

Spread of Decentralization Initiatives

Wonosobo is not the only district working out local policies that advance the decentralization of responsibilities in natural resource management. Several district governments in other parts of the country have initiated efforts in drafting district regulations that could secure management rights and responsibilities for local forest user groups.

Liwa District of West Lampung in Sumatra has 71% of its land area classified under forestlands for protection and conservation. Liwa forestlands include Krui, one of the few special designation zones that the Forestry Ministry declared in 1998 to legally recognize indigenous forest management systems. A portion of Bukit Barisan National Park is located in Liwa. A district regulation has been drafted on Community-Based Environment and Natural Resource Management that covers land, water, and coastal resources. The District Legislative Assembly (*DPRD*) has been developing the draft since 2002 in cooperation with the District Forest Office and many other support groups including ICRAF, LATIN, WWF, WATALA and other local non-government organizations. The regulation has been initiated with the aim of reducing the confusion that arises locally due to the frequent changes in national policies. The regulation endeavors to institutionalize transparent mechanisms for making all related information accessible and available to the public that should encourage accountability in government service and participation from local people. A baseline study now complete helps stakeholders in discussing the regulation's contents. As the district has a high level of protection forest, community incorporation in its management and rehabilitation of the watersheds, while buffering of the park areas are also viewed by all as necessary. To avoid some of the difficulties that Wonosobo encountered with the national review process, the draft was presented to the Forestry Ministry and Social Forestry Working Group in 2003 so that they can provide comments before it gets finalized and signed by the DPRD. The draft is to be finalized in 2004. Meanwhile, a national government program, National Movement for Forest and Land Reha-

bilitation (*GNRHL*) has adopted an expired *HKM* site in Sumberjaya as one of its implementation sites.

Sumbawa, one of seven districts in West Nusa Tenggara, passed a regulation on Community-Based Forest Management (*Perda* No. 25) in 2002. The policy aims to provide a framework for dealing with existing community management initiatives and abandoned areas with a view of increasing land productivity that will accrue to the welfare of local communities. With assistance from DFID-MFP and the Institution for Social and Economic Research, Education, and Information (LP3ES), the Sumbawa Legislative Assembly submitted the regulation to the national government and is undergoing judicial review as of 2004. The district government identified seven learning sites where CBFM implementation could be started. One of these sites has 1,199 hectares of land that villagers planted with *kemiri* or kennel nut (*Aleurites moluccana*) in 1987, from which they collect nuts that generate revenue of at least Rp 22.5M (€2,500) for villagers involved in harvesting, drying and packaging of both ground and whole nuts. Along with cattle fattening, these two practices give a more permanent nature to livelihood activities and reduce the need for intensive rice or corn cultivation see on the lower, less steep hills. A cooperative exists that could be a basis to integrate the various needs and capacities of the community in securing a more sustainable livelihood and environment as these lands need permanent cover to improve the water table and ecological services down the valley.

Spread of Initiatives. Mr. Julmansyah of the District Forest Office listens to villagers planting in abandoned teak plantations. At first villagers did not want to talk because they thought that the forest officers were there to apprehend them. When they learned that Sumbawa has a CBFM Regulation, they opened up.

Sumbawa also has around 18,000 hectares of teak plantations formerly under the *HTI* program of Perum Perhutani. Some of these areas have been severely affected by cutting of the young trees and burning of the area. The resulting stump regeneration has no economic value and Perhutani has not returned to oversee the area. People in different villages have discussed the use of these lands with the district officials and seek to legally occupy the area and plant trees with a level of food crop production. Different stakeholders meet formally and informally while some communities want to go ahead with planting fruit trees and later work out possible sharing arrangements. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Forestry has chosen 1,300 hectares within the Perhutani HTI forestlands as one of the learning sites for the Ministry's Social Forestry Program. In February 2004, district forest officers underwent training in facilitation as part of the Ministry of Forestry's implementation of its Social Forestry Program. Sumbawa District Office is currently seeking ways to harmonize this new central government initiative with existing local actions.

West Kutai in East Kalimantan, a new district established in 1999, is richly endowed with natural resources. In an effort to set a precedent of good and participatory planning in forest management, the district with assistance from the NRMP-EPIQ Program underwent in a process of forestry portrait development, scenario building, strategic planning, prioritizing, and program planning to come up with a draft district regulation. In 2002, the District presented their draft to the Director General for Land Rehabilitation of the Forestry Ministry. In 2003, the Ministry asked the District to revoke the regulation.

All of these sites like Wonosobo are struggling with the emerging policies and limitations in order to accomplish a better policy framework that is adaptive to actual area management of a sustainable environment.

Reflections on the Process

Constraints and Options

Field practitioners in Indonesia have seen how lands can be degraded and recognize the work that local people have carried-out on previously denuded forestlands. Cities and towns are feeling the impact of forest degradation on the environment. The present management system does not yet have a mechanism to either hold anyone accountable for the degradation or insure its return to a sustainable balance.

Corrupt systems have been shown to operate in so many parts of Southeast Asia. The looting of forest resources involving state enterprises and military results in the inability of communities to manage forest resources as evident in many countries. Usually, the rural poor do not have the capacity to loot by themselves; they can only do so in collusion with more powerful actors.

On the other hand, there are communities like Wonosobo that, though in one sense are overtaking "precedent rights" of the Perhutani, have tried to do this within the legal means available. As district and central governments are sorting out the status of the decentralization policy, the community waits for a resolution while still working on state forestland. Even with this uncertainty, people from most of Wonosobo's 154 villages are now working on state forestlands.

Attitudes and Authorities

Allocation of responsibilities for forestland has usually been on a large scale and not attentive to the landscape or social needs of a particular area. Furthermore, there is an inherent but false sense that there is enough forest to cover traditional corporate allocations for economic gain, rural population needs, and ecological services in Java.

Under a towering, active volcanoe, the complex mosaic of forests and farms are carefully managed by Wonosobo's Communities.

Though ideas on decentralizing forest management were discussed in various multi-stakeholder efforts to manage conflict, it must be recognized that the transition in forest management on state forestlands first happened on the ground as in many other countries. With the early hope of *reformasi,* villagers gained the courage to reforest degraded state forestlands without Perhutani's permission. They extended their practice of *wono dusun* in people's forests into these neglected state forestlands, planted species they preferred, and nurtured the crops with active participation, not only of men, but also of the women and youth.

There has been an immense environmental value in what the people have done with the landscape. The efforts of the Wonosobo District, in providing local policy framework to enable community action, has made the situation politically awkward, given the present lack of guidelines for national policies interfacing decentralization and forestry. Without the official recognition from central government, village heads, for example, find difficulty in getting fully involved in the process, mainly because they hold formal positions in the government bureaucracy. A compromise needs to be made for the sake of the environment and the people, even if it opens up broader political implications around Java about necessary transitions in state forest access, shared production, and ownership.

Implications for National Policies and Programs

Creative policies seeking to respond to these concerns are being held back until national decision-makers consider the policy implications and precedents as well as powerful vested interests. If this 'policy of precedence' continue to inhibit people in finding ways of dealing with resource concerns, then further social and environmental degradation will occur. A transparent and participatory reassessment of the status quo is urgently needed in order to establish rights and responsibilities so that accountabilities can be identified and the gap between practice and policy can be narrowed. Otherwise, the use of force or threats will renew—on a generational scale—the resentment and injustice local people feel while having to find a livelihood.

Ultimately, any new policy has to respond to the question of ecological services, as this is the greatest source of benefit to society. If there is general agreement in wanting to secure better ecological services, then the main effort has to be to secure a level of better management. The government has been approaching this by reviewing concessionaires and timber licenses. Districts and communities are addressing this in other ways.

The situation in Indonesia reflects a trend in Southeast Asia where government and government corporations are, in highly populated areas, being pressured to hand over the rights (not the ownership) and establish essential socio-economic stability and environmental sustainability. Indonesia has one of the few opportunities to be successful because its populations are dense and there are intensive but sustainable utilization practices that respond to today's market and social pressures.

References

[1] UN Development Programme, 2001. *World Resources 2000-2001*. Oxford, UK: UN Environment Programme, World Bank, and World Resources Institute. pp: 252-253.

[2] Forest Watch Indonesia/Global Forest Watch (FWI/GFW). 2002. *The State of the Forest: Indonesia*. Bogor, Indonesia: Forest Watch Indonesia and Washington DC: Global Forest Watch. p:1.

[3] FWI/GFW. 2002. *The State of the Forest: Indonesia*. Bogor, Indonesia: Forest Watch Indonesia and Washington DC: Global Forest Watch. p: 66.

[4] Lindayati, Rita. 2002. "Ideas and Institutions in Social Forestry Policy" pp: 40 in *Which Way Forward? People, Forests, and Policy-making in Indonesia* edited by Carol J Pierce Colfer and Ida Aju Pradnja Resosudarmo. Washington DC: Resources for the Future.

[5] FWI/GFW, 2002. *The State of the Forest: Indonesia*. Bogor, Indonesia: Forest Watch Indonesia and Washington DC: Global Forest Watch, pp: 66.

[6] Major national newspapers such as *Kompas* and *Suara Pembaruan* reported many incidents, especially during 1998–99.

[7] Lindayati, Rita. 2000. *Community Forestry Policies in Selected Southeast Asian Countries*. Ottawa, Ontario: International Development Research Centre (IDRC). P: 9.

[8] FWI/GFW. 2002. *The State of the Forest: Indonesia*. Bogor, Indonesia: Forest Watch Indonesia and Washington DC: Global Forest Watch, p: 62.

[9] This section was based on:

Peluso, Nancy Lee. 1990. "State Forest Management in Java" pp: 27–55 in *Keepers of the Forest: Land Management Alternatives in Southeast Asia* edited by Mark Poffenberger. Connecticut, USA: Kumarian Press.

Van Dijk, Albert IJM. 2002. *Water Sediment and Dynamics in Bench-Terraced Agricultural Steeplands in West Java, Indonesia*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, pp: 2–28.

[10] Fasseur, 1975 in Cahyono, Edi. 1988. *Karesidenan Pekalongan Kurun Cultuurstelsel: Masyarakat Pribumi Menyongsong Pabrik Gula.* Skripsi Sarjana Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Sastra. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia.

[11] Perhutani. 2002. *Statistik Tahun 1997-2001*. Jakarta: Direksi PT Perhutani. p: 10.

[12] Analysis based on figures from *Data Divisi Perencanaan dan Pengembangan Perum Perhutani* (Perum Perhutani Division of Planning and Institutional Development). 2000. Unpublished.

[13] ARuPA. 2001. *Endless Negotiations*. Yogyakarta: Indonesia.

[14] Peluso, Nancy. 1992. *Rich Forests-Poor People: Resource Control and Resistance in Java*. University of California Press, Berkeley, California, USA.

[15] Poffenberger, Mark (ed). 1990. *Keepers of the Forest: Land Management Alternatives in Southeast Asia*. Connecticut, USA: Kumarian Press, pp: 48-49, 220.

[16] Stoney, Carol and Mulyadi Bratamihardja. 1990. "Identifying Appropriate Agroforestry Technologies in Java" p: 147 in *Keepers of the Forest: Land Management Alternatives in Southeast Asia* edited by Mark Poffenberger. Connecticut, USA: Kumarian Press.

[17] Fay, Chip and Genevieve Michon. 2003. *Redressing Forest Hegemony: When a Forestry Regulatory Framework is Best Replaced by an Agrarian One*. Draft paper for CIFOR conference on Rural Livelihoods, Forests and Biodiversity.

[18] FWI/GFW. 2002. *The State of the Forest: Indonesia*. Bogor, Indonesia: Forest Watch Indonesia and Washington DC: Global Forest Watch. p.13.

[19] Bakhtiar, Irfan. 2002. "Wonosobo: Facing Decentralized Forest Management". Paper presented in Asia Forest Network Regional Workshop on *Strategies for Community Forest Management Diagnosis and Planning*. p: 3.

[20] Analysis based on figures from:

Perum Perhutani. 2002. *Statistik Perum Perhutani Tahun 1997—2001*. Jakarta. pp: 10, 39.

Papers from the Forestry Industry Restructuring and Forest Resources Value Recalculation Seminar: Supriadi, Dodi. 2000. *Keterkaitan Rehabilitasi Hutan, Gerakan Penghijauan dan Hutan Rakyat dengan Industri Kehutanan*; and Ahmad, Nanang Roffandi. 2000. *Restrukturisasi Industri Kayu Hulu dan Pengelolaan Hutan Produksi di Luar Jawa*.

[21] Peluso, Nancy Lee. 1990. "State Forest Management in Java". pp: 32 in *Keepers of the Forest: Land Management Alternatives in Southeast Asia* edited by Mark Poffenberger. Connecticut, USA: Kumarian Press.

[22] FWI/GFW. 2002. *The State of the Forest: Indonesia*. Bogor, Indonesia: Forest Watch Indonesia and Washington DC: Global Forest Watch. p: 13.

[23] Analysis based on figures from: *Data Tanah Kosong*. Sampai Dengan Agustus 2000; and *Perhutani KPH Kedu Utara & Kedu Selatan*. 2001.

[24] Bappeda TK. 1997. *II Dan Kantor Statistik, Kabupaten Wonosobo* (Wonosobo in Figures 1997).

[25] Badan Pusat Statistik. 2000. *Wonosobo dalam Angka* (Statistical Data on Wonosobo). Wonosobo: BPS Kabupaten Wonosobo.

[26] Rita Lindayati. 2000. *Community Forestry Policies in Selected Southeast Asian Countries*. International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada. pp: 11–12.

[27] Wonosobo Forest District Agency Statistical Data. 1999.

[28] Bappeda TK. *II Dan Kantor Statistik, Kabupaten Wonosobo* (Wonosobo in Figures 1997).

[29] Bappeda TK. *II Dan Kantor Statistik, Kabupaten Wonosobo* (Wonosobo in Figures 1997).

[30] Harian Suara Merdeka, Kamis, 5 April 2001

[31] Hutan Jawa Menjemput Ajal. p: 190.

[32] Bakhtiar, Irfan. "Wonosobo: Facing Decentralized Forest Management". Paper presented on Open Discussion on *Strategies for Forest Resource Management in the Decentralized Era*. no date. www.arupa.or.id

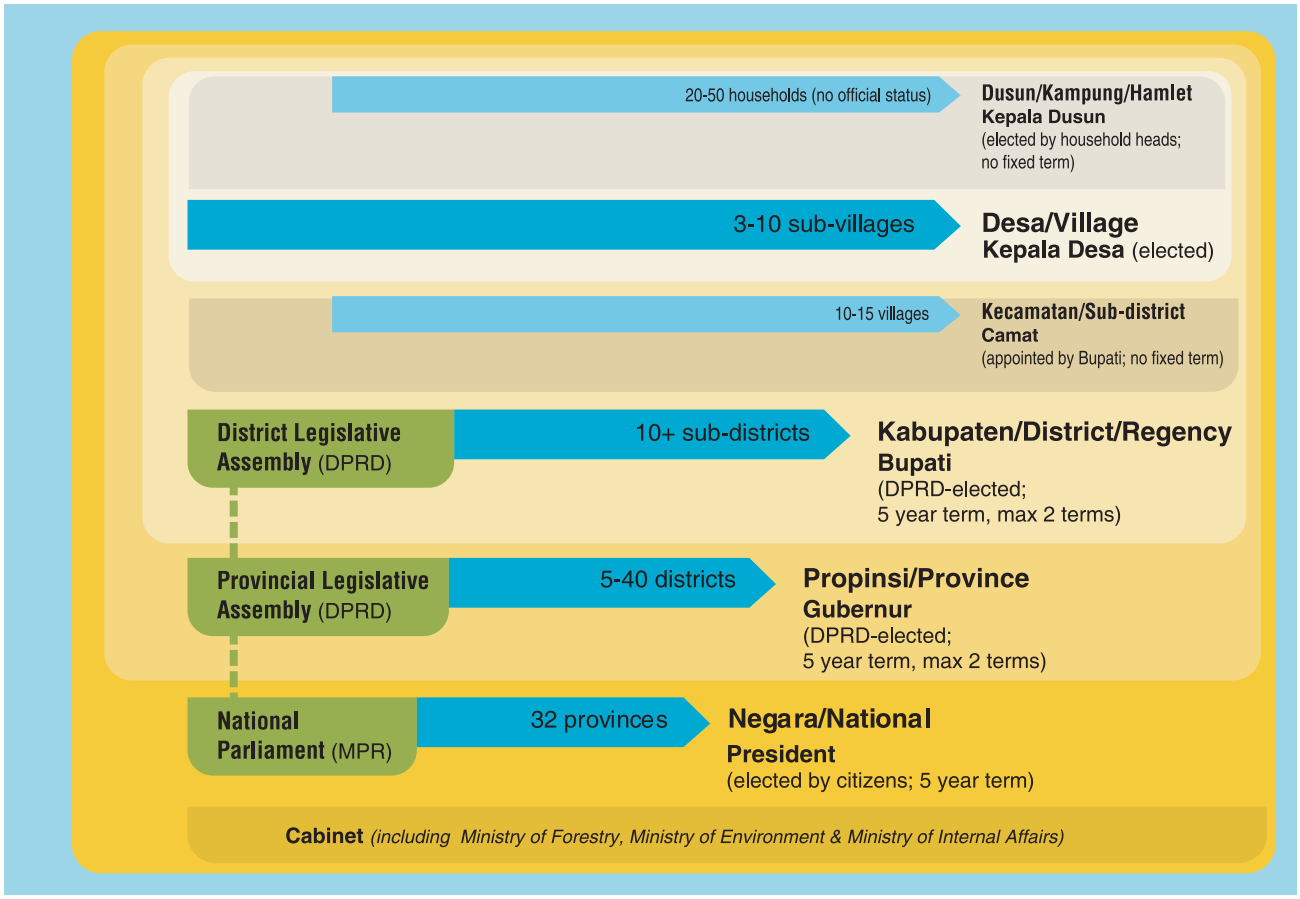
[33] *Kedaulatan Rakyat* 3 Oct 2002; *Tempo* 15 Oct 2002.

Annexes

ANNEX 1. Equivalent Terms for Units of Governance in Southeast Asia

	CAMBODIA	INDONESIA	PHILIPPINES	THAILAND	VIET NAM
Hamlet (no legal status)	Phum–Thmei *(20-50 hh)*	Dusun *(50+ hh)*	Purok *(20-50 hh)*	Klum Ban/Pok *(20-30 hh)*	Cum *(20-30 hh)*
Village	Phum *(100+ hh)*	Desa *(5-10 dusun)*	Barangay *(7-10 purok)*	Moo Ban *(50+ hh)*	Bàn/Lang *(30-60 hh)*
Commune (local government unit)	Khum *(10-20 phum)*			Tambon *(8-15 moo ban)*	Xa *(8-15 bàn)*
Sub-district		Kecamatan *(10-15 desa)*			
District	Srok *(8+ Khum)*	Kapubaten or Kota *(10+ kecamatan)*	Munisipyo *(10+ barangay)*	Amphoe *(8-10 tambon)*	Huyên *(12-18 xa)*
Provincial	Khaet *(5+ Srok)*	Propinsi *(5-40 kabupaten)*	Probinsiya *(10+ munisipyo)*	Chang Wat *(8-20 amphoe)*	Tinh *(8-16 Huyên)*
National Government	Kingdom of Cambodia *(23 provinces)*	Pemerintah Pusat Indonesia *(32 provinces)*	Republic of the Philippines *(79 provinces)*	Royal Thai Government *(76 provinces)*	Socialist Republic of Viet Nam *(62 provinces)*
Population	10 million	207 million	81 million	66 million	78 million

ANNEX 2. Terms of Governance in Indonesia



Research Network Report • Number 13 • December 2004