

COLLECTIVE ACTION ON STATE FOREST COMPANY IN JAVA, INDONESIA

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Abstract

Total state forest company (SFM) area in Java is about 2.9 million hectares, and forest mostly covered by teak . There are at least 6200 villages surrounded the forest with total inhabitants is around 35 millions. More than 80% of villagers depended on the forest resources for their family income. CIFOR created a collaborative project in the Southeast Asia Country so called the LPF (Levelling Playing Field). One is implemented in Java state forest company (Perhutani). The objectives of LPF are to get better forest management for next generation and to improve community power in forest management and their welfare.

LPF project try to support and empower local community organization which was established by Perhutani (State Forest Company in Java). The program is called PHBM (community collaboration forest management). Under this scenario, local organization allowed to use forest state land for planting trees and crops plantation. Benefits sharing from timber is about 25% for people and 75% for Perhutani. The problems are related to the weak of forest micro planning by local people and how local people allocate the benefits sharing they get from Perhutani. Focus group discussion, workshop, vision, future scenario, participatory planning were used as methods to empower all stakeholders involved.

The result is quite interesting such as: *first*, Perhutani perceived that doing collective action among stakeholders in the PHBM is needed; *second*, participatory forest management planning has been produced during the empowerment process and it is supported by all stakeholders; and *third*, budget from benefits sharing are allocated into common social needs, fee for farmers, fee for organization operation, forest security control, village government, salary LMDH board, budget for CF-PHBM, and for economic productive activities.

Keywords: The LPF, PHBM, community planning, collective action, budget allocation from benefits sharing

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1. Introduction

In many countries the implementation of development, generally the planning and activities were prepared by government actors and very rare involve community, although the objective of development is to enhance better life of people, easy access to economic resources, and create environment balance. There is no debate that the subject of development and also the beneficiaries of development is community, but the actions of development in many countries were always represented by government institution interest or the group of people who have authority to do it.

Understanding of development process which is explained above that is existed and occurred in many development sectors, no exception in forestry development sector in Java island, Indonesia. As long as the roles of people are concern in the forestry development process, actively participation from people should be addressed. In fact that in Indonesia context, however, government role much more bigger than community in term of forest utilization, forest control and forest usage.

State forest in Java has been managed by State Forest Company (called Perhutani) since early 1960s, forest control, forest utilization, and forest security are dominated by the company. The company is the only one who can manage and utilize the forest resource in sustainable way without other actors involved, particular case in the issues of production forest. Forestry Department believe that only Perhutani has capability to manage and control state forest in the whole Java. In the political context, therefore, the single holder as like Perhutani's role in forest management in Java can only be carried out under centralized government political system. Otherwise, single holder can not carry out effectively if under decentralized government political system.

The position of Java island in Indonesia is unique because total area of Java is only 6.5% from total area of Indonesia, but most of people of Indonesia (64%) are living in this island. Total state forest area in Java is 2.9 million ha (19%). The area of forest influenced and interacted by local people activities from 6,200 villages, where those villages have at least 35 millions inhabitants. The data figure out that state forest has big roles to villagers in their everyday life, but at the same time those people should also be considered as forest destroyer if a forestry activities are not involves local community participation. Other information should be known that most of villages are located surrounding forest area categorized as poor village where job opportunity for local people is limited, over productive labour workers, and the land ownership for agricultural activities is low, average 0.25 ha per family. Many young generations went to city and also working on abroad such as in Malaysia, Brunei, Saudi Arabia, and Hongkong to get more income for their family welfare. Job opportunity which is opened by Perhutani.

Several activities which had been carried out by Perhutani addressed to improve forest village community welfare and restoring the quality of forest resources such as: Prosperity approach program in 1972-1985, Social forestry program (PS) in 1986-2000, and

Forest village community development program (PMDH) in 1994-2000. The objectives of all those programs were to enhance community welfare of forest farmer who participate in forest plantation activities, mix-cropping (tumpangsari), raising cattle, and success on forest plantation. Based on monitoring and evaluation, however, those each program did not reach the objectives of program. Some reasons why the programs were failed depend on how far Perhutani understood enough about social dynamic and local political processes in the village and national level. In fact that Perhutani still less understand about social issues so far. Poverty and less welfare of forest dwellers still exist in village area, even though social welfare program had been implemented by Perhutani since 30 years ago. Let we see the continuing of village community pressure on forest through wide plundering and illegal logging activities massively, it is caused by lack of participation and less of community welfare.

2. Background of Program

The forest plundering since 1998 to 2004 in Java and outer Java islands found out that forest management system in Indonesia was not addressed to answer the real community need of forest resource. One important point of Perhutani program until 2000 that is failed in the issue of local community organization empowerment. Learning from their fail and experiences, therefore, and also due to Indonesian political changing since 1998 toward democracy political system so called reform political era, it was influenced to the Perhutani policy exchange as well in term of issues on forest conflict resolution perform among stakeholders involved. Since 1999-2000 Perhutani has done a series of public consultation and discussion with several NGOs and universities staffs with respect to formulate a participatory model of Java forest management, improve local people welfare, and managing forest with sustainable way. In the year 2001 Perhutani has formulated a new national program that is called Community Collaborative Forest Management / CCFM (PHBM). Main characteristic of PHBM is willing to empower local community organization in the village level so that able to do forest management collaboratively among community and Perhutani.

Total state forest under management of Perhutani is about 2,926,949 ha, consist of 1,811,814 ha as production forest, protection forest 627,937 ha, and 442,198 ha as conservation forest. According to data from Forestry Department and Perhutani in the year 2002, the super critical forest land within production forest is about 370.130 ha (12.65%), within protection forest is 191,200 ha (6.53%), and 68,375 ha within conservation forest or 2.34% (Foretika, April 2004 Yogyakarta)

Those critical forest land were caused by less success of making forest plantation, forest land occupied by people and community, and of course due to forest plundering accident so that the forest to be destroyed. As an example, 8,182,280 trees disappear from the forest caused by illegal logging in Central Java province for period 1998-2003 or equal

with capital loss about Rp 1.477 trillions (Bisnis Indonesia, 2003). The root problems of deforestation in Java after 1998 should be known and at the same time it should be taken into consideration its solution properly and precisely.

The spirit of decentralization has influenced Perhutani policy on the way to reach their objectives through changing their main set, such as Perhutani will open the opportunity of local people to get more benefits from forest, earning for local government, and other actors who willing to participate, to control and manage state forest collaboratively. It is really quite a new perspective in the context of Java forest management implementation. Under this a new approach, the position of Perhutani is not the only one "holder and player" to manage Java state forest. The community, trader, local government are also partner of Perhutani in implementation of forest management. The multi stakeholders and multi shareholders framework to be properly choice to control, utilize, and manage Java state forest for the next.

PHBM which is implemented by Perhutani since 2001 based on board of Perhutani regulation No. 136/Kpts/DIR/2001 as a guide toward how social, economic and environment condition should be integrated proportionally to reach Perhutani vision and mission. The objectives of PHBM are: (1) to improve sense of responsibility from Perhutani, local people, and other actors who have interest to make forest resource sustain; (2) to enhance the role of Perhutani, local people, and other actors who have interest in forest management system; (3) to harmonize all forest management activities and regional development that refer to the social dynamic in the village area; (4) to enhance the quality of forest resource that coincide with the specific problems in the site; and (5) to improve earning of Perhutani, villagers, and other actors interest simultaneously.

The concept, goal and objectives of PHBM should be implemented accompany with local people and other actors related in the field level. By doing so, many information should be prepared in addressed to PHBM implementation such as baseline data with issues of social economic and cultural of forest dwellers, ecological problems, and physical data which are related to state forest resources. Other issues and information are needed to be considered dealt with the empowering of local community organization to do bargaining on the timber production sharing and participatory forest planning process.

Since year 2004 the Lavelling Playing Field (LPF) program was established and it will be continued until 2007. The LPF program is created by CIRAD-France and CIFOR, and supported by EU. Scope of LPF program is covering 3 sites of South East Asian Countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, and Phillipine). In the context of Indonesia, the implementation of LPF program, CIRAD-CIFOR made collaboration with Faculty of Forestry, Gadjah Mada University (UGM). One site location selected under scenario of LPF program in Indonesia is PHBM. Forest District of Randu Blatung and Pemalang in Central Java were selected as area of LPF program. There were 4 selected villages location: *Surajaya* and *Glandang* located in Forest

District of Pemalang (KPH Pemalang), and *Gempol* and *Tanggal* located in Forest District of Randu Blatung (KPH Randu Blatung).

The second year of LPF program 2005 focused on the intervention activities in the 4 selected villages as a continuing action research a year before (Surajaya, Gladang, Tanggal, and Gempol). This paper consists of all activities of LPF intervention program done in the year of 2005 and many kinds of collective action executed by local community organization which is called LMDH or "Lembaga Masyarakat Desa Hutan" (Forest Village Community Institution /FVCI). The collective action within PHBM program will be elaborated in this paper.

3. PHBM Context and Problems Formulation

Community Collaboration Forest Management (CCFM/PHBM) program should be implemented in all area of Perhutani in Java. Basic problems of teak forest management in Java are: (1) poverty of people surrounding the teak forest area; and (2) high pressure of people to the forest resource.

CCFM program is not a new paradigm in Perhutani, and since year 1972 this company has carried out some community welfare program. In 1986-1998 the social forestry program was also executed by Perhutani. The fact that the programs were not success. There are many forest areas to be destroyed by plundering movement since 1998-2004, and at least around 500.000 ha Perhutani forest area to be critical land and become unproductive area. Flood and erosion of land are coming and there are many people have loss their property and crops. CCFM/PHBM program created by Perhutani with intension that is a new model of land use system and timber production benefit sharing will be considered as the way to increase the welfare of local people and also to improve the quality of teak forest.

Under CRM's scenario then, the relationship among group of local people which is called LMDH (Forest Village Community Institution / FVCI) and Perhutani is formed in the frame of memorandum of understanding (MOU). The MOU agreement between LMDH and Perhutani consist of: (1) Farmer is allowed to use the forest land for their own purposes such as planting the crops, grass for animal feeding, planting fruit trees, and those all harvesting material belong to farmer, but for the teak timber will be shared proportionally; (2) For final harvesting of timber, therefore, a group of people so called LMDH will get benefit sharing of 25% and Perhutani will get 75% from total timber harvesting value; and (3) LMDH is established by Perhutani, but there is no empowerment. The contents of MOU much more Perhutani's need rather than need of people and LMDH. According to protocol, the member of LMDH is all villagers.

Based on MOU agreement, people and LMDH don't know what they wan to do in the CCFM program, how about forest management planning, LMDH's membership, who will get benefits among the people in LMDH and village, who will do negotiation with Perhutani, and

how do the LMDH allocate budget from benefit sharing? Those all questions should be answered by all stakeholders involved in CCFM. LPF program will be taken into consideration the problems of people and LMDH regarding with CCFM/PHBM implementation. In which way the LPF program can support LMDH and what is the result of the collective action from LPF intervention activities.

Goal of LPF program in 4 villages PHBM sites as follows: (1) Improved livelihood for community in the site; (2) Properly managed natural and human resources, and also local community institutions; and (3) Improved processes for communication, coordination, negotiation, agreements, and contracts among different stakeholders.

Outputs expected from LPF program in the context of PHBM are: (1) Processes for stakeholders to share perception over long term view and livelihood issues; (2) Establishment of community working groups as media for improving their needs; (3) Improve capacity building of local community capabilities, communication and information sharing among stakeholders; (4) Increase capacity of local community to prepare collective action and writing participatory forest management planning; (5) Better open access of local community to get services related to natural resources management and livelihood; (6) Better access to get fairness communication and information sharing among stakeholders at the local level for natural resources management; and (7) Support a model of benefit sharing from timber as a form of collective action.

4. A Collective action defined

Collective action is often considered narrowly in terms of formal organization and property rights only in terms of formal title issued by the government; in fact, they are much more than that. Collective action can be defined as voluntary action taken by a group to achieve common interests. Members can act directly on their own or through an organization. In the context of natural resources management, even deciding on and observing rules for use or non use of a resource can be considered collective action, and it can be instituted through common property regime or through coordinated activities across individual farms (Dick and Gregorio 2004). Property rights can be defined as "the capacity to call upon the collective to stand behind one's claim to a benefits stream" (Bromley 1991). In the terms of property rights we also know that there is a name of type of goods such as "common pool resources(CPR)" as goods that can be kept from potential users only at great cost or with difficulty but that are subtract able in consumption and can thus disappear. Common property regime is a property rights arrangement in which a group of resource users share rights and duties toward a resource (McKean 2000)

Rights do not necessary imply full ownership and the sole authority to use and dispose of resource; different individuals, families, groups, or even the state often hold overlapping use and decision making rights. To be secure, rights should be of sufficient duration to allow one to reap the reward of investment and should be backed by an

effective, socially sanctioned enforcement institution. This institution is not always the government; communities or other institutions may provide the backing (Dick and Gregario 2004).

According to Ostrom (2004), collective action occurs when more than one individual is required to contribute to an effort in order to achieve an outcome. People living in rural areas and using natural resources engage in collective action on a daily basis when they: (a) plant or harvest food together; (b) use a common facility for marketing their products; (c) maintain a local irrigation system or patrol a local forest to see that users are following rules; and (d) meet to decide on rules related to all of the above. Effective collective action can be achieved only if external policymakers impose government or private ownership. It is true that appropriately designed property rights systems can help individuals overcome collective action problems, but such system need not always be externally imposed or involve government or private ownership.

There are at least 3 characteristics participant attribute which conducive to overcoming collective action problems such as (Ostrom, 2004): (1) Government agencies frequently complain that local population do not perceive collective action problems as either relevant to their concerns or within their abilities to address. In regard to the conservation of wildlife, for example, residents living around a reserve frequently find themselves paying high costs and receiving few benefits for the presence of the wildlife reserve. If people's crops are eaten, their animal are threatened, and even the lives of their children are at risk, they will need to see substantial and tangible benefits from the establishment of a park before they will see any reason to engage in collective action to preserve wildlife; (2) the degree of autonomy a group has to take collective action on its own or within a nested institutional setting, and this factor can depend on the macro political-institutional environment in which individuals find themselves; and (3) related to the way users of a resource view both the future and each other. If users have a high discount rate in regard to a particular resource--- that is, they view exit as a reasonable short term option--- there is little motivation to put in extensive time and effort to create a sustainable, long-term governance system.

Ostrom (2004) also stated that overcoming collective action problems is always challenged. There are four factors enhance the likelihood that local users will move toward devising institutions for sustainable development: (1) the flow of resource units, such as fish, water, or forest products, is relatively predictable; (2) resource are scarce but not entirely destroyed; (3) reliable and valid indicators of the condition of the resource system are available locally at reasonable costs; and (4) the resource system is moderately sized.

5. LPF program implementation on the PHBM / CCFM areas

There are 3 phases of the LPF programs such as (see annex 1): (1) Base line studies (year-1 LPF program implementation), it is engaged by some activities (such as: livelihood

survey, resource and resource use analysis, PHBM agreement analysis, and PHBM institution analysis); (2) Intervention program prepared by local community and UGM team (year-2 LPF program implementation); and (3) Monitoring and evaluation program (year-3 LPF program implementation). The area of action research based on LPF program can be seen in figure 1. The framework of LPF is illustrated in Annex 1.

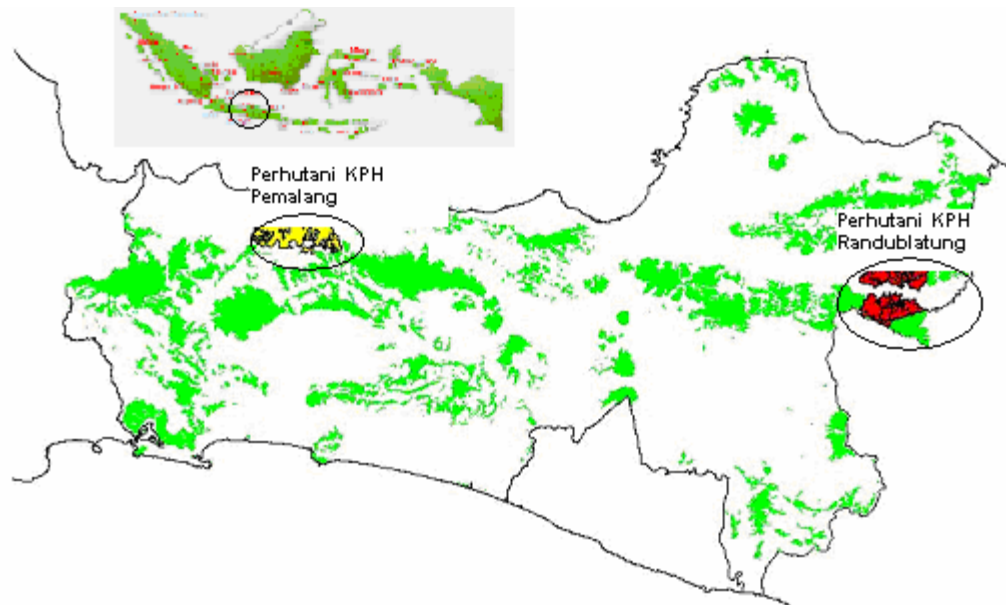


Figure 1. LPF program locations in Perhutani, Central Java Province



Figure 2. Working group meeting facilitated by LPF team and Critical Land in Randublatung

5.1. Socio economic condition: Year-1 LPF program implementation

A base line study was carried out on four villages such as: (1) Tanggel and Gempol villages (Forest District of Randu Blatung) and (2) Gelandang and Surajaya villages (Forest District of Pemalang). The results of base line studies regarding socio economic condition can be illustrated as below:

5.1.1. Gelandang village

Total population in Glandang village is 2.810 people. Around 87% inhabitants of Glandang are farmers. There were 5 forms of field in Glandang, those are Rancah field, "Bengkok desa" field, field of block Jaganalan, dry field and GG field. Form of these fields shows the status of ownership of farm. Bengkok desa field and GG field represent the field owned by government but used by members of village government during the period of their held position. Dry field, Jaganalan group field and Ranch group field are farmer owned (non government property).

Besides field groups, there were also a group of garden and state forest. In fact these Garden groups are the form of non irrigated dry field that is used by society to plant tree crops as like a form of people forest or community forest. It is cultivated for teak plants and fruit crops like jack fruit, orange, etc. Garden groups located in of south Manful (the width is 25 ha), group of garden of Kirin and Speed garden.

Most of the state forest area (managed by Perhutani) located in around of Gladang village is deforested because of forest plundering (illegal logging). At the moment, the forest land has been used by villagers for the agricultural activity without permit from Perhutani. Since July 2004 PHBM program was established in Gladang. Based on PHBM, the area of state forest allowed to be managed by the Gladang community legally. Total area of forest under PHBM agreement is about 350-400 ha.

Community dependence to the state forest resource was very high. When forest still good condition, people went to forest to take firewood, teak leaf, and log, and forest products like traditional medicine and use the forest land for "tumpangsari" (taungya system). Almost 90% of villagers entered the forest and doing cultivating trees and crops. Tumpangsari activities in Glandang has been started since 1986, where each of forest farmer got the "baronan" (forest lots) for 0.25 ha. In terms of PHBM program implementation, all crops harvested in the forest lots belong to people, and the timber (teak) will be shared 25% for group of LMDH and 75% for Perhutani.

According to village statistic information the average of land ownership for each person in Gladang was 0.125 ha. But according to respondent of the survey, the average land ownership per person was 0.22 ha. Around 75% of inhabitants had less than 0.6 ha of land, although 87% people of Gladang were farmers. Their land ownership was very little so that why people lived depend on forest land. The income from their own land was not enough to cover their household needs.

From the survey data, figure out that 56% family earnings came from agricultural activities (rice field, garden, and forest farm), 15.8% earnings come from selling labor service (worker and farm worker), 10.1% trading, selling firewood 0.8%, carpenter 3.24% and farm worker 3.7%. As shown in respondent data (40 people) the average of respondent

earning Rp 3,856,350². If the family member has 4 people, per capita earning for a year was Rp 964,087.5.

5.1.2. Surajaya village

A total inhabitant in Surajaya village is 7,644 people (1,941 KK/head of family). About 82.47% inhabitants of Surajaya are farmers and 13.83% are farm workers, and about 4% inhabitants worked in non agricultural sector. Because the majority of the villagers were farmers, it is important to describe farming system. Agriculture which was done by community was agriculture at rice field and dry farming, either in their farm own, land of village and land of state forest. Rice field cultivated for the paddy and dry farming cultivated for cassava, wood, and sugar cane. Crop of sugar cane developed in cooperation with the cooperation of sugar cane farmer.

Total existing of state forest in Surajaya village was 545.7 ha. From the forest the villagers fulfilled their daily needs like firewood, cattle food, leaf of teak, wood, medicine plants, and cultivated land of the forest for the paddy, vegetables and cassava. Since 2004 PHBM program was built in Surajaya, and total area of state forest under PHBM agreement is about 545.7 ha. This area allowed to be utilized by a group of people for the crops and trees plantation. All crops harvested belong to people, and the timber (teak) will be shared 25% for group of LMDH and 75% for Perhutani.

According to village statistic data, the average of land ownership of community in Surajaya was 0.29 ha, but according to respondent data survey, the average land ownership was 0.29 ha consisted of 0, 11 ha for rice field, 0. 12 ha dry field and 0.06 ha home garden. Based on the survey (40 respondents) known that around 85% inhabitants were farmers consisted of 57.5% farmers and 27.5% were farmer workers. Under scenario of PHBM program each farmer gets additional land from state forest about 0.125 ha. People will get the income from their own land and can also get money from state forest land.

Source of community earnings as result of survey i.e., 24, 78% family earnings came from agricultural activities (rice field, garden, and forest land), 8.06% earnings came from activities as farm worker, 21.42% working in non agriculture, service and commerce 30.8% and from firewood 6%. From forestry activities (firewood and teak, leaf) give contribution 8, 33% to earnings of farmer. From respondent data shows that average of respondent earnings was Rp 4,659,163 per family in a year or about Rp 1,164,790 per capita per year. Other economic potency in Surajaya is trade activities and firewood. Activities of firewood exploitation were very important to be organized by LMDH and cooperated with the merchant. Cooperation between LMDH and merchant was important for the progress of PHBM in the future for Surajaya community.

² 1 \$ US = Rp 9,000

5.1.3. Tanggel village

Total inhabitants in Tanggel village are 4,860 people. About 46% inhabitants of Tanggel are farmers. State forest area is about 2,560.18 ha and all of the area was for location of PHBM program. The relationship among inhabitants and forest was very close. This relation was shown by 93% respondents in survey joined in activities such as in planting, firewood and other usage. The kind of exploiting of forest resource are exploiting of teak stump, teak felling, firewood taking, teak leaf taking, shepherding and grass taking, medicine plant taking, and farm taking for the activities of tumpangsari for 0.5 ha.

Negative relation between Tanggel villagers and the forest has started since 1998. The increasing of activities of forest plundering by some people was happened. Teak with the age 40-60 year and more have been cut down without permit since 1999 -2001. In 2001-2004 Perhutani had succeeded to depress the forest plundering by illegal wood operating in sub village with cooperation with local police. The idea of PHBM program was socialized by Perhutani and then accepted well by Tanggel community, especially because of the system of teak benefit sharing. Since 2003 PHBM program was built in Tanggel, and total area of state forest under PHBM scenario is 2,560.18 ha. This area allowed to be utilized by a group of people for the crops and trees plantation. All crops harvested belong to people, and the timber (teak) will be shared 25 % for group of LMDH and 75% for Perhutani.

According to survey done by LPF team in UGM, the illustration of Tanggel community can be made. Average of land ownership of community in Tanggel was 0.4 ha (respondent data). From this data, land ownership was not enough to fulfill their family needs. Source of community earnings from resulted of survey states that around 32.5% of family earnings came from agricultural activities i.e. Rice field, garden, and forest land, service activities (driver) 11.9%, crop of fruit (orange) 13.9%, building labor 6.8%, taking teak in state forest 14%, and farm worker 2.6%. From respondent data (40 people) was known that the average of respondent earnings is RP 6,003,775. If the family member were 3 people, per capita earnings in a year were RP 1,500,944. The description of this earning source is interesting to be analyzed because actually many of PHBM activities were on agriculture activities and forestry but only 2.6% of inhabitants worked in forest activities. PHBM activities can be failed in planting because just a small number of the community participates in the empty land planting. The good potency in Tanggel village was orange because almost 14% community earnings came from orange. PHBM activities will be better if to be related to cultivate the orange fruit in Tanggel village. Respondent honestly said that 14% of their earnings came from teak plundering. These attitudes represent negative potential in Tanggel village. The PHBM program must able to minimize the wood theft activities. Society was interested with PHBM program because they got teak benefit sharing.

5.1.4. Gempol village

Total population in Gempol Village is 3,134 people. About 38.46% of the villagers are farmers, and 40.47% villagers are farm worker, meaning that 79% of inhabitants worked in farming sector. Therefore it is important to describe about their agriculture. Agriculture was done in their owned field, state forest, and dry river field (gowok field). In state forest, cultivation activities used tumpangsari pattern.

Forest exploitation was done intensively because this village is located in the middle of forest whose transportation is difficult. The kind of forest resources which Gempol society use were firewood, traditional medicine crop, teak; leaf of teak, seed of sengon, kesambi, secang, and lamtoro, charcoal of wood, hidden digging wood, land for agriculture, exploitation of gowok field, taking honey from forest and shepherding.

In Gempol village found a lot of teak which had been felling down and hidden in the ground for several decades ago. This teak cannot be claimed as property of Perhutani because located at Gempol village administration or out of the state forest. There was no conflict about this digging teak.

Negative relationship of Gempol society with the forest has started since 1997. The increasing of activity of forest plundering by thief was happened in Gempol. Teak in the age of 40-60 year had been cut without permit in 1997-2001. In 2001-2004 forest plundering could be depressed because Perhutani often did operation of illegal wood in sub village cooperated with police.

PHBM program was established since 2002 and this program was accepted by community in Gempol. The LMDH of Gempol has been developed until sub village level to make the PHBM program success. The wide of state forest to be packed into program PHBM in Gempol was 2,605 ha.

According to base line survey done by LPF team in UGM, that was found out that the average of land ownership of community in Gempol was 0.25 ha (respondent data). About 94% respondents in Gempol were farmers. From this data, land occupation by the people was not enough to fulfill their family needs.

Source of community earnings from resulted survey stated that 12.16% family earnings came from agricultural activity and 21.6% came from farm worker activity. Earnings from service and trade were 26.5%, earnings from wood sale 18.5%, firewood 2.85%, livestock 2.25%, and earnings from sale of fruit only 0.54%. It is clear that activities of Gempol community depend on Forest.

From respondent data (40 people) was shown that that the average of respondent earnings was Rp 8,602,037. If the family members were 4 people, therefore, per capita earnings per year were Rp 1,720,407. The description of this earnings source are interesting to be analyzed because actually many of PHBM activities purposed for agriculture and forestry activities but farm worker activities contribute 21.6% of inhabitant earning. Activity of PHBM can succeed specially cropping area because a lot of society will

participate in the empty land cultivation. Earnings from dig wood are 18.5%, and hopefully society is not depending to this wood again.

5.2. PHBM policy at various levels

Year-1 LPF program implementation also analyzed the policy supporting for PHBM program. PHBM program was created by Board of trust of Perhutani as stated by regulation No.136/KPTS/DIR/2001 in March 29, 2001. PHBM is a system of forest management which executed under collaboration scheme among Perhutani and village community, or Perhutani and village community with other stakeholder involved, acted by production sharing system. Hopely common interest of stakeholders to reach sustainability and utility of forest resource can be realized optimally and proportionally. This regulation should be implemented in whole Java Island, there is no exception.

PHBM program was accepted by Central Java Province Government and most of regency was also engaged to implement PHBM activities. The Governor of Central Java Province has issued special regulation, even a guide to support Communication Forum of PHBM (CF-PHBM). To do effective CF-PHBM Head of Regency of Pemalang and Randu Blatung were also issued policy to support CF-PHBM at Regency level, sub-district level, and village level.

CF-PHBM is a stakeholders forum composed by many representative persons come from different institutions such as person from Perhutani, government organizations are related, local informal leader, and head of village. The function of CF-PHBM as follows: (1) to evaluate PHBM implementation and gives advices to Perhutani; (2) to reduce gap among stakeholders; (3) to set up a process of conflict resolution among member of LMDH.

During 3 years PHBM was carried out, the role of CF-PHBM was not running well at district, sub-District, and village levels. Why it doesn't work well? Most of stakeholders stated are: (1) there is no working plan at all level of CF-PHBM; (2) there is no financial support for CF-PHBM activities; (3) lack of coordination and initiation.

5.3. Intervention phase : Year-2 LPF program implementation

Year-1 LPF program implementation was focused on an understanding of social economic mapping at village level. Year 2 LPF program was focused on the priority program formulations which should be done by working group within LMDH. Some activities were encouraged in the year 2 LPF intervention are: (1) community problems identification; (2) formulating problems by local community; (3) problems priority should be solved; (4) problem solving strategy; (5) create common working group. All five interventions had been done by workshop. There are two priority possible importance programs related to the collective action done by LMDH at four villages (Glandang, Surajaya, Tanggel, and Gempol) such as: (1) Forest resource collaboration management; and (2) LMDH development.

Second year 2005 LPF intervention program was started by socialization to the village community and other related stakeholders such as Perum Perhutani staffs, government institutions related to the program in Pemalang and Randu Blatung District. In the four villages, LPF program concept socialized started to the village headman, LMDH, communication forum of PHBM, and other institutions. Socialization was begun on March 2005. Generally people in all villages understood the mission and target will be reached by LPF program, and they want to participate as much as they can do. The group of LMDH felt that they really need help from this program.

In the intervention stage, it begun with a workshop on community common vision development, then identify some problems and prioritize it and hence formulated the appropriate strategy to solve those problems. All those things aimed to realize the expectation of community vision and forming working group to support strategy chosen. Workshop participants were attended by all elements exist in four villages such as: village government, BPD, LPMD, communication forum of PHBM in village and sub district level, forest user group, salt mining labor, sugarcane farmer group, head of sub district office, village women organization, Perhutani, cattle raising group, water management group "Darma Tirta", religious group leader, community leader, and other institutions related.

All kinds of workshop carried out by LMDH and other stakeholders at four villages have taken conclusion as elaborated in table 1.

Table 1. Statements and agreements within LMDH and other stakeholders at village level

Workshop Agenda	Statements and agreements in each village			
	Glandang	Surajaya	Tanggal	Gempol
Community vision	With natural resource management which is supported by high quality of human resource, we realize the community welfare in Glandang village, physically and spiritual"	Natural resource cue management in Surajaya village should be considered as source of village prosperous, justice, democratic, efficient and professional to give guaranty	With the spirit of togetherness among related multi stakeholders to manage natural resources toward forest sustainability to reach fair, wealth, and prosperous community"	With the collaborative spirits among stakeholders to manage human resource and natural resource development by targeted to realize justice and prosperous Gempol villagers.

		that the success full of develop mint just for community, welfare in Suraja ya village		
Identified problems by Community	1. Forest, 2. transportation, 3. Education, 4. Agriculture, 5. Clean water, 6. Economy, 7. communication	Sustainable forest, transportation, PHBM, agriculture, education, communication facilities, health facilities, economy opportunity, and social	Clean water, infrastructure, forest management, knowledge for management, Farming, capital, communication	1. Forest management 2. Infrastructure 3. Human resource development 4. Job and welfare 5. Capital 6. Marketing channel 7. LMDH empowerment
Problems priority	Forest security, road building, build Islamic school, irrigation system, capital, LMDH meeting, communication services	Raising people awareness, budget for road construction, LMDH planning, valuing crops planting, education awareness of parent, construct cable telephone,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religiousness • Forest management • Clean water • Road • Farming (agriculture) • Employment • Irrigation • Health • Communication means 	1. Transportation road 2. Enhance capability of human resource 3. There have to good interrelationship among stakeholders 4. Forest management 5. Providing work opportunity

				6. Capital 7. Agriculture marketing
Problem solving strategy	Create participatory forest management planning, road constructed by government, drinking water from PDAM, needs capital for production input, establish a group of water user, build classroom from government project, Improve capacity of LMDH	Reject illegal logging, job opportunity from Perhutani, making forest planning through participatory process, proposed asphalted road, transparent budget from Perhutani, partnership sugarcane plantation, build secondary school	Religious teaching, PHBM System, Forest Security conducted by community, make rain water reservoir, Partnership, Workshop and training, Build dam, use all sources of water, Send proposal to government, Unit of health and integrated service health, Community health centre	1. Integrated program among stakeholders, propose proposal to local government and Perhutani; 2. Extension, training, moral education by religious leader 3. Forest security, maintaining forest increment, better coordination
Common working group	Established	Established	No working group	No working group
Working group agenda	Sustainable forest, institutional, economy, agriculture, and education	Sustainable forest, education, health, transportation, communication services, people's economy	Not	Not
LMDH focus agenda	Participatory forest management planning at	Participatory forest management planning	Participatory forest management planning at LMDH, LMDH	Participatory forest management planning

toward collective actions and related with forest resources	LMDH, LMDH development, allocation budget of production sharing	at LMDH, LMDH development, allocation budget sharing	development, allocation budget of production sharing	at LMDH, LMDH development, allocation budget sharing
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6. Collective actions in LMDH

This paper is focused on the kind of collective action which have been formulated and also overcome by board of LMDH. There are six collective action activities will be elaborate such as: (1) Participatory forest management planning; (2) LMDH protocol; (3) Timber production sharing; (4) Budget allocation from timber production sharing; (5) Small loan scheme.

6.1. Participatory forest management planning

Working group in Glandang, Surajaya, Tanggel, and Gempol needs to develop their knowledge on forest planning process. Training model was used to transfer knowledge about participatory planning process. Participatory planning process has been chosen as a strategy to do this training. It is collaboration program among LMDH in Forest District of Pematang and Randu Blatung. The training has been attended by group of LMDH, village government, communication forum of PHBM, forest farmer organization, and of course some staffs of Perhutani (Mantri, Mandor, and field supervisor).

Background of this training is to support PHBM planning system that should be arranged by stakeholders who are involved in the program. Perhutani is not allowed to do constructing PHBM planning by himself only. The planning of PHBM should be prepared by Perhutani, LMDH, and other stakeholder. Other objective of this training is to enhance capacity building of LMDH, community and field staff of Perhutani, and also to do planning synchronization among Perhutani scenario and LMDH scenario. Hoped that the training will give all stakeholders understanding and awareness that participatory forest planning is important, and also technical and Perhutani's policy must be known by community and other stakeholder.

After participatory forest management planning training done, then LMDH in each village continue with their planning agenda in the area of village-administered forest compartment for 10 years planning of 2005-2014. Initial planning made by group of LMDH with refer to the potency data, if there is problems on that forest data, the planning should be corrected and changed.

Forest planning made by LMDH and other stakeholders in all villages should be made according to vision, mission, and program, activities, executing organization, budget and

policy supporting. To make all stakeholders understand about PHBM planning, that planning will be presented by LMDH team in the next participatory planning workshop at Forest District of Pemalang and Randu Blatung. Under this scenario we expected that the final PHBM planning at all villages would be accepted by all stakeholders (Perhutani, local government, community, etc).

The document of this planning had been presented in the workshop by LMDH in Pemalang and Randu Blatung, and in the end of 2005 the document planning is already recognized and legalized by Perhutani. Interesting point from this planning process that is Perhutani gives the opportunity to the LMDH team to arrange planning in appropriate ways, transparent, democratic, and adopt bottom up process. All forest management activities under scenario PHBM will follow participatory planning document. This document consisted of all activities of forest management and year of activities (land use pattern, area for planting and harvesting, thinning, maintaining land, farming system, and social benefits pattern). This kind of forest planning model occurred due to role of LPF program intervention.

6.2. LMDH protocol

Before the LPF program intervention done, the LMDH organization already exist and it is formed initiated by Perhutani. The attribute of LMDH organization such as internal regulation, who are members of LMDH, timber benefits sharing allocation, were not regulated. That is why the team of LPF program tried to do empowering of the LMDH organization in Tanggel, Gempol, Glandang, and Surajaya. The protocol of LMDH organization is needed. The LMDH protocol is a set of rules regarding to how the LMDH should be organized, membership system, rights and responsibilities of LMDH member, LMDH financial system, budget allocation, benefits sharing system, social responsibility of LMDH, and benefits of LMDH for their members.

LPF tried to facilitate the group of LMDH to make protocol system through participatory process. Representative persons were invited to follow series of discussion and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) which is prepared by LMDH committee. After at least four times meeting, the protocol of LMDH accepted by members of LMDH. Everything condition which is related to the performance and LMDH actions should follow protocol, and the action of LMDH activities should not be performed if that is not regulated by LMDH protocol. That's why the collective actions of PHBM by LMDH should be recognized and legalized by the protocol. For instance, members of LMDH has rights to get income from timber benefits sharing (from Perhutani), and also members of LMDH allowed to plant agricultural crops in the forest land area.

6.3. Timber benefits sharing

There is a scenario in PHBM that LMDH will receive 25% of money come from total revenue of Perhutani. About 75% from total revenue belong to Perhutani. Three villages are Tanggel, Gempol and Surajaya already got the benefits sharing from Perhutani, and only

Glandang is not get the sharing yet at the moment, because there is no forest area is harvested so far. Typical area of PHBM in Glandang that most of the forest area under critical condition, dominated by empty land and young teak forest. Even though Glandang situation was not so happy, but Perhutani gives the opportunity to Glandang to get some capital loan for their LMDH member's economic development. This capital allowed to be used for raising goats, agricultural production inputs, etc. Total timber benefits sharing from Perhutani to the villages can be seen in table 2.

Table 2. Budget of LMDH come from timber production sharing system of Perhutani

Budget benefits sharing (years)	Villages (Rp)			
	Glandang	Surajaya	Tanggal	Gempol
2003	-	-	-	17.715.145
2004	-	11.000.000	51.322.045	203.579.387
2005	-	29.000.000	80.795.217	793.329.805
Total		40,000,000	132,117,262	1,014,624,337

Note. 1 \$ US = Rp 9,000.

6.4. Budget allocation from timber benefits sharing

The sensitive one within the LMDH is related with how board of LMDH going to be used the budget of timber benefits sharing from Perhutani. The LMDH protocol regulates how the benefits sharing should be allocated for all stakeholders, social solidarity budget, and village development, and also budget for forest security, and cross subsidies for social development. It is kinds of collective actions should be done by LMDH and other stakeholders.

The contents of LMDH protocol different among four villages because they have also different social and culture situation. That the reason why the contents and couple of money to be allocated are different among villages. This different can be elaborated in each village.

Budget allocation from benefits sharing for LMDH Surajaya can be illustrated in the table 3.

Table 3. Budget allocation in LMDH Surajaya

Year	Amount of budget (Rp)	Allocation for (%)	Allocation for (Rp)
2004	11,000,000	Operational cost (10)	1,100,000
		Salary LMDH board (20)	2,200,000
		Village government (30)	3,300,000
		CF-PHBM village (10)	1,100,000

		Social cost (5)	550,000
		LMDH cash (25)	2,750,000
2005	29,000,000	Operational cost (10)	2,900,000
		Salary LMDH board (20)	5,800,000
		Village government (30)	8,700,000
		CF-PHBM village (10)	2,900,000
		Social cost (5)	1,450,000
		LMDH cash (25)	7,250,000

Table 3 shows that there is no different policy in terms of LMDH allocating budget of benefits sharing between year 2004 and 2005. Budget for additional income of forest user group was nothing, although we know that forest farmers as actors who built forest plantation. As far as operational cost is concern, we still hope that some budget can be used for supporting collective actions among LMDH Surajaya and Perhutani. This budget will be used for forest security patrol, forest protection, and village development.

Budget allocation from benefits sharing for LMDH Tanggel can be depicted in the table 4.

Table 4. Budget allocation in LMDH Tanggel

Year	Amount of budget (Rp)	Allocation for (%)	Allocation for (Rp)
2004	51,322,049	Capital for business (50)	25,661,045
		Village social cost (20)	10,264,410
		Operational cost (20)	10,264,410
		Salary LMDH board (10)	5,132,205
2005	16,159,043 (20%) budget for cross subsidies to other institutions related (not accepted by LMDH, but collected in KPH Randu Blatung)	Cross subsidies (10)	8,079,522
		LMDH association at KPH (1)	807,952
		CF-PHBM at Sub-district (1.5)	1,211,928
		Monitoring & evaluation (4.5)	3,625,785
		CF-PHBM at village (3)	2,423,856
	64,636,174 (80%) Benefits sharing accepted by LMDH and	Capital for business (50)	32,318,060
		Village social cost (20)	12,927,234
		Operational cost (20)	12,927,234

	managed by LMDH	Salary LMDH board (10)	6,463,617
	80,795,217		
Total			132,117,266

There is different budget allocation between LMDH of Tanggel and LMDH of Surajaya. In the Forest District of Randu Blatung, kind of LMDH association was formed, monitoring and evaluation of PHBM activities, and cross subsidies, are created to make various collective actions more get support from multi stakeholders. Around 20% of budget allocation belongs to LMDH Tanggel used for other supporting of collective action activities. Only 80% of budget benefits sharing are managed and used for LMDH Tanggel activities directly. In LMDH Tanggel, however, we are seeing that there is no attention from LMDH and LMDH association regarding to increase forest farmer's earnings. Very clear we see that within the scheme of benefits sharing allocation, there is no allocation budget for the poor forest farmer directly.

Budget allocation from benefits sharing for LMDH Gempol can be depicted in the table 5.

Table 5. Budget allocation in LMDH Gempol

Year	Amount of budget (Rp)	Allocation for (%)	Allocation for (Rp)
2004	203,579,387	Capital for business (40)	81,431,755
		Village social cost (20)	40,715,878
		Operational cost (15)	30,536,908
		Incentive for success team (5)	10,178,969
		CF-PHBM at village (5)	10,178,969
		CF-PHBM at Sub District (3)	6,107,382
		Salary LMDH board (12)	24,429,526
	Total		203,579,387
2005	793,329,805	LMDH association at KPH (1)	7,933,923
		Cross subsidies (10)	79,323,981
		CF-PHBM at Sub District (1.5)	11,899,947
		CF-PHBM at village (3)	35,699,841
		Monitoring & evaluation (4.5)	23,799,894
		Forest user /farmer (2)	15,866,596
		Capital for business (40)	317,331,922
		Bio-Physical environmental (20)	158,665,961

		Operational cost of LMDH (18)	142,799,365
		a. Salary for LMDH board (8)	
		b. Operational cost of success team (3)	
		c. Public services for LMDH (7)	
	Total 2005		793,329,805
	Total		996,909,192

In the Forest District of Randu Blatung, kind of LMDH association was formed, monitoring and evaluation of PHBM activities, cross subsidies, and saving the budget for capital business, are created to make various collective actions more get support from multi stakeholders. Around 20% of budget allocation belongs to LMDH Gempol used for other supporting of collective action activities. Only 80% of budget benefits sharing are managed and used for LMDH Gempol activities directly. In LMDH Gempol, however, we are seeing that there is view attention from LMDH and LMDH association regarding to increase forest farmer's earnings. Around 2% of benefits sharing will be utilized for increase forest farmer and poor people earnings directly.

When we comparison between policy created by Forest District of Randu Blatung and Pemalang, both district have different policy intervention for budget sharing allocation. Forest District of Pemalang less intervention rather than Randu Blatung. In Pemalang most of budget sharing managed by LMDH, but in Randu Blatung only 80% budget was managed by LMDH. Crucial question is why only budget from LMDH should be used for other external LMDH activities? Why there was no budget from Perhutani to support collective actions? It is not fair at all. How do we believe that PHBM program pretend to be solved the poverty in the rural area?

7. Closing remarks

Collective action can be defined as voluntary action taken by a group to achieve common interests. Members can act directly on their own or through an organization. In the context of natural resources management, even deciding on and observing rules for use or non use of a resource can be considered collective action, and it can be instituted through common property regime or through coordinated activities across individual farms (Dick and Gregorio 2004). Common interest of LMDH is to improve the quality of teak forest, environment restoration, and increase earnings of the forest farmers. These common interests are focused already, but those interest still less attention from Perhutani and LMDH. Forest farmers do not get more benefits from budget benefits sharing. For the next,

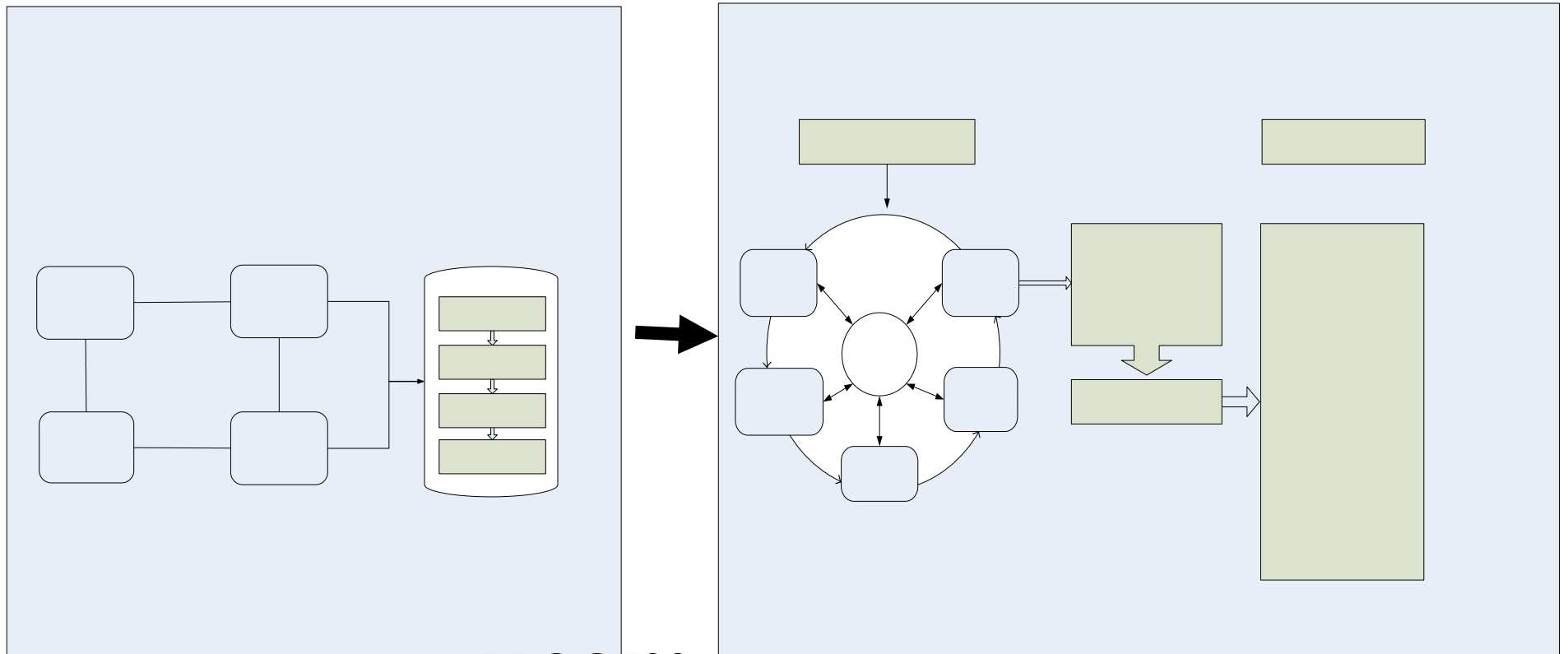
therefore, collective action in PHBM program has to enhanced and able to do poverty alleviation. PHBM program is still challenge in term of collective action

Collective action in PHBM program more complicated, because there are multi stakeholders are involved. Each stakeholder (LMDH, Perhutani, CF-PHBM, local government, village government, forest user, etc, have to give their contribution and create serious agenda to improve quantity and quality of PHBM at forest level and social welfare of villagers. Preparing participatory forest management planning and LMDH protocol which were facilitated by LPF program, become a good example in collective action model for kind of collaboration work of teak forest plantation management in Java. Budget allocation planning within the LMDH should be contributed to the farmer's income.

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Annex 1. LPF Program Implementation Process toward collective actions



YEAR 1 PROCESS

SITE LEVEL IDENTIFICATION

POLICY ANALISYS

LIVELIHOOD

AGREEMENT

PHBM

