

FARMER ORGANIZATION IN UPLAND INDONESIA

Satyawan Sunito
Department of Social-Economics
Faculty of Agriculture
Agricultural University Of Bogor
Campus IPB – Darmaga
Bogor – Indonesia

Prepared For The International Seminar
Policy Research for Sustainable Upland Systems
May 31, 2001
Manila – The Philippines

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a shortened version of a report with a same title written for ICRAF by Satyawan Sunito and Saharuddin, both are staff member of the Faculty of Agriculture, Bogor Agricultural University. This paper is based largely on written documents, discussion with NGO's and in the case of Lampung (Sumatra) field visits the village communities was done. The development process, the form and character of farmer organizations in Indonesia are heavily influenced by the region where it belong.

In this context the rural upland of Indonesia can be roughly divided in dense populated region represented by Java; and scarcely populated regions, which are synonym with regions outside Java, commonly called as the Outer Islands. In the dense populated Java where the production of rice, the national staple food is concentrated government intervention in and control on the rural areas has had already a long history. Farmers groups were formed by the government for the control of technology, process of production and farmers political activity. Only recently under the initiative of the NGO's more independent farmer organizations have been developed to strengthen farmers position toward the market, against dependency upon agrochemical, in the fight against soil degradation. In the scarce populated Outer Island upland farmers live in more homogenous communities and traditional law still govern daily life and define the boundary of the community resources. However since the 1970th large scale investment in forest timber exploitation, plantation and mining have marginalized these rural communities in the Outer Islands. Recently indigenous community based farmer organizations supported by NGO's emerge to claim the rights on their ancestors land. Participatory mapping of ancestors land and the development of community based natural resource management became mechanism to strengthen their claim. The differences between farmer organization in Java and that from the Outer Island tend to diminish. Confronted with land scarcity and problems with land rights the farmer organizations in Java extent their activity to include advocacy for land rights.

In this more politically colored agenda of both farmers organization in Java and the Outer Island, networking and horizontal integration became an important strategy.

I. THE RURAL UPLAND OF INDONESIA

The objective of this chapter is to highlights important socio-economic character of the uplands of Indonesia. It must be bear in mind that the shier extent and complexity of the Indonesian archipelago in terms of its ecosystem and socio-cultural character will redeem this kind of description as gross over simplification. To reduce somewhat the overgeneralization, the field of analysis will be divided in dense populated areas and sparse populated areas. The dense populated areas will be over represented by Java, with some references of other localities such as West Sumatra. Whereas the less dense or sparse populated area largely refers to outside Java, which further will be called the Outer-Islands.

a. The Rural Upland Of Dense Populated Area

The permanent occupation of the highlands of Java for human settlement and agriculture started in 1850 following the deforestation of the highlands for large-scale plantations by the Dutch. Farmers from the dens populated areas in the lowlands followed closely the estate companies to open forest for them selves (Nibbering, 1997) Until the turn of the 20th century the population of Java did not exceed the number of 40 million. However the upward moving population to look for new farming land in the upland reflexes an already high

agricultural density. In 1930, with a population density in Java of 360 persons/Km², the colonial government already drew a policy of transmigration of Javanese to the Outer-Islands. It must be understood that the high agriculture density was dictated by the Dutch colonial land-use policy that favors large-scale plantations instead of the peasant economy. After fifty years and the population density doubled to 600 persons/Km² in 1980, a Dutch irrigation specialist wrote that Java already shows signs of overpopulation. With the assumption that there will be no radical measures to tackle the fast population increase and soil erosion and no policy replacing fuel wood as source of energy, then the same specialist wrote that Java will experience large-scale starvation, hunger, naked poverty, population decline and social anarchy (Thyssen, 1982:147-154).

Although the above prediction did not materialize, the above observations demonstrate the seriousness of the condition in Java. Soil erosion and land degradation will be most serious in the upland, as the consequence of the colonization process of the uplands by land hungry farmers. An example of population and agriculture expansion in two water-catchment areas – the Citarum in West Java and the Solo in Central Java – will add more understanding on the development of the uplands in Java.

I Made Sandy (1987:172-174) described the expansion of agriculture land on the Cimanuk water catchment in West Java. The water catchment area stretches from Ciremei mountain (3078 m.) to the Indramayu region on the North Coast of West Java. The conversion “downward” of swampland into rice fields and “upward” of lowland tropical forest crossing the 250 meters asl. was reached in 1857. It took further 85 years before the uplands to 500 meters asl. were completely converted to agriculture land in 1940. But it took further only 29 years until all the forests up to approximately 1000 meters asl. had been converted to agriculture in 1969. I Made Sandy wrote that only around the summit is still forested, surrounded by damaged and unproductive soil.

The expansion of population and agriculture land at the upper catchments of the Solo River gives another example of upland colonization and degradation in Java. From 1880 to 1970 the population of the watershed area rose from 2 million to 7 million with a population density of 700 person/Km². From 1880 to 1938 the rice field expanded with 37%, while in the same time the dry land fields expanded with 205%. It must be taken in mind that dry land agriculture constitutes the dominant form of upland farming system. An important factor that facilitates the expansion of dry land agriculture in general is the introduction of cassava in 1825. The consequence of this expansion of agriculture in the upper watershed areas of the Solo has been the high degree of erosion. Measurements demonstrate that during the rainy season of 1970/1971 the Solo river took with it 8.6 million tons of soil, which is equivalent with the loss of land 4000 hectare large and 17 cm. deep (Soedarma, 1987:297-299). Lacking an overall study on the socio-economic and ecological development of the uplands in Java, one has to rely on case studies to build an impression of the development of the uplands.

b. The Rural Upland Of Scarce Populated Areas

The field of analysis outside Java – one of its main characters is its scarce population - is much more complex due to the differences in ecosystems, demographic and ethnic composition, government and private sector activities and the interaction between these factors through time. As a consequence this part can only dwell on this matter on a very general terms.

One of the main land use character of the Outer-Indonesia is low percentage of land under cultivation annually and the predominant of shifting cultivation. However the development process of Sumatra and Kalimantan - both are prominent part of the Outer-Indonesia - have been quite different. Sumatra experience much earlier large-scale conversion of the upland landscape, which goes as far as 1860 when the Dutch colonial government launched the Forced-Cultivation in West-Sumatra. Forest in the uplands was cleared for the cultivation of coffee. Almost at the same time Dutch planters started opening tobacco plantations in the hilly area of East Sumatra, which reach its hay-day at the end of 19 century. In the last quarter of the 19-century Dutch foresters and agriculture scientists already expressed their concern on the heavy erosion as the consequence of the plantations activities. Karel Pelzer noted that in 1920 the hills of Deli, Langkat and Serdang - the centra of tobacco plantations in East Sumatra - had to be abandoned because the soil turned unproductive. The same author added that ". Local farmers never succeed in producing such destruction, despite generations long of land use in the same area. Disintegrations of political authority of the Dutch and their clientele the local political rulers of the small kingdoms in East Sumatra - resulted in plantation land occupation, and the occupation reserve land. The end result is fast degradation of soil. (Pelzer, 1982: 4,20).

Expansion of large plantation continues after 1970th. Together with logging concessions and forest plantations it stands as a powerful competitors against farmers for land and other natural resources. In most cases farmers became the losers in this competition. In contrasts with Sumatra the large scale exploitation of land and forest in Kalimantan started just in 1970th. With no less consequences for the nature as well as for its indigenous community. In 1990 there were 301 large scale forest concession holders in Kalimantan alone, exploiting 52,9% of the total forest under concession in Indonesia (YAE, 1992:259) Large part of the logged over forests areas have been converted afterwards into plantations and transmigration sites. A logical consequence of this large-scale land and forest exploitation is the increasing conflict with the indigenous communities that claim much of the land and forest as their ancestor's land, on which they depend their lively hood.

The above characterization of the dense populated and scarce populated rural (upland) areas of Indonesia are far from a complete picture. However, it is hoped that together with the coming part – The Political and Economic Context – it will give some understanding of the background that helps to shape the form and character of the farmer's organizations since the last decade to the present.

c. The Farmers Community

Although this study limit it self to upland farmers who dominantly practicing dry land faming, the environment settings of the local organizations mentioned in this study differs greatly from one to the other. In Java the environmental setting range from upland ex (coffee) plantation area in East-Java to the Southern Limestone Mountain in Central Java characterized by hilly topography and scarcity of surface water. In the more fertile upland regions the dominant crop under dry land agriculture are seasonal crops – maize, cassava, dry land rice, ground peanuts – which are harvested for the market as well as for own consumption. Whereas in the limestone marginal lands, maize and cassava are the main seasonal crops. In this agriculture poor region seasonal migration to urban areas plays an important role. However with the transportation revolution, urban areas become easily accessible from any place in Java, a so become important in peoples economic activity.

Communities in the Outer Islands mentioned in this study (Sumatra, Kalimantan) are all native tribe people, with strong bindings with the land they live on. Low-density population in most cases, with Lombok as exception. Most of these communities still rely on some sort of shifting cultivation, combined with permanent tree gardens with commercial tree crops and harvesting non-timber forest products. Without exception all these communities experienced conflict on land rights with the government as well as with logging and plantation companies. The community in Lombok mentioned in this study live in villages near what was production forest in the past but at present has the status as protection forest. The area can be counted as dense populated. The community lives from seasonal crops that they farm for local market and from tree crops. The Lombok case can be placed socially and economically in between the dense and heterogeneous villages of Java and the scarce populated and socially homogenous village communities in Sumatra and Kalimantan.

In general land tenure in central and east Java is based on a combination of communal/village managed land and individual ownership. The use right of communal lands being rotated among poor farmers. In Sumatra and Kalimantan land belongs to the tribe or clan, and members have the use right that can be inherited. However, individual land ownership and certification already made incursions in this traditional land tenure.

II. THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

The 30-year of New Order Government (1967-1998) definitively shaped the political and economic context for the development and the character of Farmer Organizations (FO) of today. In Java where the bulk of the rural population live and where political consciousness the most developed, the thrust of the New Order government policy toward the rural population are suppression of political rights and the forceful introduction of new agricultural technology. The result is what can be called “economic growth without social reformation”. Outside Java, where most of the exploitable natural resources are, the government policy is to attract as much as possible domestic and foreign investments by ignoring the indigenous rights on the same natural resources.

The different mechanisms through which state power was exercised, and in certain sense still, are described hereunder.

1. In the era of the New Order the Basic Agrarian Law of 1960 (Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 1960 Tentang Peraturan Dasar Pokok-Pokok Agraria), was implemented with the exclusion of all its progressive aspects. The law was implemented with the overemphasizing the principle of state sovereignty on all the natural resources within the national boundary¹. Bypassing local community rights on local natural resources at will. The law was implemented also by ignoring the chapters on the regulation of the maximum and minimum landownership (Section I/Chapter 7; Section II/Chapter 17), which has been enacted in a separate law (Undang-Undang No. 56 PRP Tahun 1960 Tentang Penetapan Luas Tanah Pertanian). This whole question on landownership that is known as the Land reform question was regarded a political taboo in the New Order era as it wrongly associated with communism and the banned Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia/PKI).

¹ The Basic Agrarian Law stated that land, water and space, including all the natural resources, at the highest level of meaning are under the authority of the State as the organization of the people's sovereignty. This state sovereignty has to be exercised for the achievement of general welfare, within a free society in a law-abiding State (see The Basic Agrarian Law Chap. I section 1-2)

In other words the agrarian law was implemented in a way that guarantee a favorable investment climate at the expense of the poor, landless and politically marginal in general. In Java villages loss their best land with minimum of compensation to large investors for industrial parks, real estate and recreational projects. Subtle and naked intimidation toward the rural people became the hallmark of this process of land grabbing. Land accumulation by rural and urban elite went without restrictions. In the Outer Inndonesia, large concessions were granted to domestic and foreign companies for timber logging activities, plantations and timber estates, by ignoring the traditional rights of local communities. Depriving the local communities of their resources for agriculture land, non-timber forest products, hunting and mining².

2. The Law On Village Administration of 1979 (Undang-Undang Pemerintahan Desa No. 5 Tahun 1979) standardized village administration for whole Indonesia and at the same time deprives the village relative autonomy toward the state. Following this law, the formerly relatively autonomous village government and village representative institutions were integrated into the state bureaucracy as the lowest level government administration. This government structure is situated within a strong controlling system. At the village level the village head and its staff are flanked by the BABINSA (Bintara Pembina Desa/Village Supervisory Officer) responsible only to the sub-district military command. Above the village level, political authority is centralized in the hands of the so-called TRIPIKA (Tri Pimpinan Kecamatan/The Three Sub-district Highest Authority) consisted of the sub-district military command, the sub-district police command and the administration head of the sub-district. Active or already retired army officer occupies many strategic government positions in all levels.

3. Through the Presidential Instruction of 1978 and 1984 the formerly thriving rural cooperative movement, many as part of political party activity, was disbanded and become centralized within a single organization known as the Village Cooperative Unit (Koperasi Unit Desa/KUD).

4. The Floating Mass policy of the New Order government band all political activities and organizations from the village. Leaving the rural population without any political means in defends against the state apparatus and supra-village economic powers.

This institutional context became a fertile soil for all sorts of corruption and nepotism that aggravate further the condition of powerlessness of the rural population in general.

The rapid growth of the NGO movements in the last decade of the New Order help to wrestle some room of autonomy and to create channels of communication with the democratic and environmental movement in the national and international scene. There are many field of activity where farmers and NGO meet, cross-fertilize and became a learning process for farmers in organized activity. Conflict on land and other natural resources between rural communities and government and/or private sector is one. Another is the problem of the dependence of farmers on agrochemicals that became a heavy financial burden, especially during the economic crisis, not to mention the health and the environmental hazard. The problem of the marginalization of the indigenous communities or the *Adat*³ communities, due to the alienation from their land, forest, sea and other natural resources, is another field of activity where local communities and NGO's collaborate. There are also other important factors, such as the colonization of frontiers areas, where the indigenous communities mostly live, by land hunger farmers from dense populated areas.

² Many tribal communities in Indonesia – such as in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi - have been active in gold mining already for generations.

³ *Adat* is traditional local law. *Adat* community (*Masyarakat Adat*) can be described as communities where traditional local law still exert an important influence in the daily life of the community members.

For the sake of categorization one can say that out of the first area of activity, conflict on natural resources, develops farmer organizations that focusing their activities on advocating rights. From the second field of activity, the farmers domination by agrochemicals and market, emerge farmers groups that are active in organic farming and other activities in sustainable agriculture. The third field of activity, the claim of ancestors land rights, became the experimenting ground for concepts as community forest and community natural resource management. However as turnout later, many farmers groups or organization cannot by put in one box, they combine many activities instead. Which is a reflex ion of the interrelation of factors in the agrarian scene, and at the other side there is the process of scope expansion and deepening of the activities of farmer organizations.

To the present the most real effect of the downfall of Suharto for the rural people is the freedom to organize and to express ones idea and aspirations. The bourgeoning farmers organization lately is proof of that. On the other side, on the policy front there are also changes that can have positive effect for the rural people: 1) Within the context of village institution there is now more likely a democratic institution in the form of Badan Permusyawaratan Desa / BPD, a village parliament the member of it are elected by the people to whom the village administration is responsible. The BPD replace the former Lembaga Permusyawaratan Desa / LMD, which is more a consultation body and headed by the village head. 2) In the context of local autonomy there is more room for local initiatives; 3) In the new Basic Law For Forestry (Undang-Undang Pokok Kehutanan) local community right on forest resources is recognize; 4) Other laws related to land resources, such as The Basic Agrarian Law and The Basic Law For Mining, are being redrafted through public consultation. It can be assumed that the result will be more positive for the local community.

From a lower level there is the example of the reformulation of the credit programs for the rehabilitation of water catchment area and for small-scale tree gardens. Where the former credit programs with uniform procedures and uniform conservation techniques are replaced with programs where more room is given for local initiative and specificity. Probably in the level of daily live of the rural people there is still not much changed. But some of the preconditions are there. The result will be determined by the process of dialog between the organized farmers and the policy framework that is already being in the process of positive change.

III. CHARACTERISTICS OF FARMER ORGANIZATIONS

a. Characteristics Of Farmer Organizations

The characterizations of the Farmer Organizations in this part are mostly based on written documents and discussion with NGO's working with farmers in the uplands. In the case of Lampung (Sumatra) visits were done to the village communities. Information was gathered also from the workshop of farmers and farmer's organizations that was held in the Bogor University of Agriculture in August (?) 2000.

There are different factors that have set the condition for the emergence of FO's. The two previous chapters already give some indications of these factors. In the case of Java the main factors are the ones that have to do with the agrarian structure and the high agrarian density:

the land scarcity, soil degradation and the weak economic and political position of the farmers. Whereas in the case of the Outer Islands the most prominent factors behind the emergence of FO's is the increasingly marginalization of the local communities *vis a vis* other social categories in regarding the access to economic resources. Especially land, forest and other natural resources, in other word the basic lively hood of these local communities. These "other social categories" are: companies holding large scale land, forest and mining concessions; transmigrants in their transmigration schemes; spontaneous land hunger migrants; and absentee land owners from the city. This process of marginalization of local communities happens in coincidence with the increasing strength of civil society movements in the international and national (Indonesia) scene in the field of environment protection, indigenous (local) community rights and human rights in general. Finally there is the community development concept where the organization of farmers into farmers groups is thought to be instrumental to boost participation in development and to the empowerment of farmers. This concept became entrenched within government development programs, although in a much diluted form.

In almost all cases of farmer organization (FO) that are encountered in this study initiatives from outside the farmers community prove to be important. The external agents are the different government offices, non-government organizations (NGO's) and private companies. However different agencies have different motives to initiating and/or supporting FO. The different motives have direct relationship with the form of organization, mechanism and activities employed to reach the objectives. In the case of government and private companies the motives are the same that is using the advantage of FO for the efficiency it offers in the management of community development schemes. These schemes are mostly focusing on certain rural development activity, such as subsidized credit schemes, diffusion of technology or soil conservation and reforestation projects and development of public facilities. Organizing farmers in groups become part of the approach, to facilitate the handing down new technology, the efficient distribution and management of credit, distribution and execution of certain tasks, etc. The technology that is introduced, the commodities that are propagated and the whole philosophy behind the development schemes are to integrate the farmers into the regional and national economic setting. Within the context of the former government security approach, farmer groups became instrumental for the guidance and setting the boundaries for farmer activities.

In the case of NGO's as the main initiative taker, a distinction has to be made between motives behind the growth of local farmers organizations in Java and the Outer Island, such as Sumatera and Kalimantan. In Java, local farmers organizations have been established through the initiatives of NGO's in the context of community development. However, in contrast with the case of government and private company, the basic philosophy of the NGO's is the empowering of farmers. That is to strengthen their politic and economic bargaining position and independence toward market powers. This can be observed from the technology that the NGO's try to develop with the farmers, such as integrated pest management, the production of organic pesticide and organic fertilizers. Another activity to boost farmer independence is the development of quality seeds on village level. The organization of women farmers plays also an important role in the integration of women in the social and political live outside the realm of the household.

Interestingly, after initial activities in the field of farming system and economy, many local farmers organizations and NGO's in Java are confronted with property rights questions or questions on access to land resources. Many farmers in upland Java are confronted with legal

title of the land that they farm. Conflict rise when local people that for many years, even tenth of years farm on forest state land or on abandoned plantations are summoned to leave. There are also cases of claim and reclaim of land between local people against private companies that based their claims on legal documents. There seems to be a process of convergence in issues confronting local farmers organizations in Java and in the Outer Islands such as Sumatra and Kalimantan.

Outside Java, the dominant motive behind farmer's activism is conflict on natural resources. Local organizations that sprung up have strong primordial character, tied together by the same ancestors land. Activities that are organized by these local farmer organizations and the supporting NGO's are in conjunction with this conflict situation. Emphasis is given to activities that strengthen local claim to land and forest, such as participatory mapping of the ancestors land. The development of a natural resource management concept and the developing of a sustainable farming system supplement this activity. Both activities must convince the government of the righteous claim of the land and the feasibility of its local management.

An activity widely employed by local farmer organization as well as by NGO's – in Java as well in the Outer Islands - is networking with fellow local organizations and NGO's working on the same issues. There is also a process of integration into loosely organized associations. A concrete example is the association of Integrated Pest Management Field School alumni. Which members are mostly the more active farmers in their localities and leaders of local farmer groups. This people became bridges between farmer groups and NGO's. There are also regional associations of farmer groups of different strength. One of the strongest farmers associations is the North Sumatrans Farmers Association; an association that already active at national level, held congresses and publish statements and books on agrarian reform. But there are also regional associations of farmer groups that are much more loosely organized, such as the SETAN BALONG (Serikat Tani Banyumas Pekalongan), and SETAN GUNDUL (Serikat Tani Gunung Kidul). The chosen acronym for this association typically means "the devil of the pond", and the second acronym means "the bald devil". At the level of association the activity is focused on representing local aspirations on economical and political questions. *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat* (The alliance of Adat Communities) is another association that represents at least part of the local *Adat* community organizations based on tribal association, mainly in Sumatra and Kalimantan. As in the case of the development of local farmer organization, here to in the case of horizontal integration of farmer's organization into associations, the support of NGO's is essential. The integration of local based farmer organizations into larger associations and networking with NGO's and other supra village institutions are motivated by issues outside the production sphere, such as pollution, price of farm products and conflict on land and other natural resources.

The above described motives and mechanism that are shared by farmers in the lowland as well as in the upland. However, upland farmers have its own typical characteristics. As the producers of the national staple food the lowland dominantly rice farmers are regarded strategic by the government. Already from the 1970th these farmers have been organized in farmers groups to facilitate the introduction of new technology and to imposition of a strict control of the production process. In contrast to the lowland farmers, the upland farmers is still relatively free from this heavy intervention of the government. A condition that gives a relatively free playing field for the NGO's. After the downfall of Suharto regime the political control in the lowland des-integrated and with that the past differences between the lowland and the upland in regarding government control for a large part has been disappear.

Table 1 (Appendix I) presents on a concise way the differences between farmer organizations in dense population region (Java) and in scarce population regions (Sumatra, Kalimantan) with Nusatenggara Barat (NTB) as an intermediate case.

b. Achievements of Farmer Organization

An account on achievements of local farmer organization in the context of this study is necessarily very general in character. Achievements vary between farmer organizations, in field of activity, in scale as well in quality. Moreover it is not always easy to separate between achievements and the Farmer Organization as the vehicle. In many cases the FO itself is part of the achievement. From the scarce field evidence and secondary material, the many aspects of the achievements of farmer organization are summed up hereunder:

Experience in organization work: which entail experience in groups activity in identification of problems, looking for solutions, managing funds, setting up programs such as training, conflict management etc. All of which in the past were supposed to be the working field of the village government, not of the farmers.

Increasing knowledge in agriculture techniques (in Java especially in sustainable farming systems: integrated pest management, compost, organic pesticide, quality seed production, terracing; outside Java in agroforestry)

Knowledge in research methods: farmer – expert collaboration in developing quality seeds, research on pest management, mapping of local resources.

Net working: with fellow farmers, with associations at the regional and national level, with academicians. Farmers take advantage of this net working for the increase of their knowledge and for their economic and political bargaining power.

Access to resources: recognition of peoples land claims; the recognition of ancestors land and the setting up of Community forestry; access to state forest land (Social Forestry in Java) and the establishment of agroforestry; credit facilities for terracing of and tree planting in farmers land.

Political consciousness: farmers are trained to take a critical stand towards and analyze existing condition.

Natural Resource Management: the recognition of ancestors land is integrated with a system of natural resource management.

Some aspects of achievements necessarily are interconnected, such as the numbers 1 (organizational experience), 2 (increasing knowledge of agricultural techniques) and 5 (access to resources). Almost all FO experienced some degree of those achievements. Other achievements are more specific to certain category of FO's, such as recognition of ancestors land rights and systems of natural resource management.

An example of achievement in knowledge, in organizational aspect as well as in networking can be observed from an "adversarial" in an integrated pest management bulletin "*Si Semut*" (The Ant) from April 2000:

INTERESTING INFORMATION

For fiend, if you are interested and like to learn the production of rice seeds please learn directly from the farmer group "Ngudi Makmur", village Nijo, Banyuurip, Klego, Boyolali - Central Java.

Of course for free!

Si Semut, No.13, April 2000:8

An example of achievement in the sphere of environmental consciousness and net-working is demonstrated by the initiative of the Badhe farmers group together with a supporting NGO to publish a comic-book depicting the experience of people in Badhe (Boyolali/ Central Java) in halting pollution of their river. An example of achievement in political empowerment of farmers groups can be observed in the case of farmers of Pagak, South Malang (East Java). This farmers group in collaboration with an NGO organized practical training in agrarian law for their members. The same group together with law experts made an investigation on the legal status of the land they farm, which is in a legal conflict with the Marine Corps.

IV. TYPES AND TRENDS OF FARMER ORGANIZATIONS

a. Types Of Farmer Organizations

As already mentioned a to strict categorization of farmer organization in upland NRM is not realistic. The typologies organization described hereunder should be interpreted as ideal types. In reality a farmer organization can evolve from one type to another, or a product of combination of categories. This dynamic aspect will be discussed further when it came to the trends.

This study will suggest four types of farmer organization, based on the engine that moved farmers to strengthen and to certain extent formalized their internal cooperation. The **first type** is the so-called Government & Private Company Led Farmer Organization. These are farmer organizations that have been formed in the context of government programs, or government programs that have been launched through private companies. Example of the later is the obligation of timber logging companies to set up a community development scheme. This scheme focused on the diffusion of sedentary agriculture and the physical restructuring of the settlement according government guidelines. The **second type** is the so-called NGO Led Farmer Organization. These are farmer organization formed by NGO in their mission to empower rural people. The strategy followed is a combination of diffusion of (alternative) technology, organizational skill and knowledge of law. It must be added that in recent years the integration of women in all aspects of activities gets a strong attention.

The **third type** is the Farmer Led Organization. These are farmer's organization that came up in the struggle of farmers for land rights or against external disturbance or interventions, such as pollution of their land or waters and threat of eviction from their land. There is not much said in this study on this category because of its more political character rather than environmental. But as will be seen, farmers organization of other type can evolve toward this type or organization internalize some qualities of this type. A **fourth type** is the Local Adat Community Led Organization. These are farmer organization based on traditional institution in a community still largely governed by traditional laws and norms.

b. Trends Of Farmer Organizations

As the table II (Appendix II) indicates, examples of farmer organizations cannot be easily put in one box. The arrows show the evolution of one type of farmer organization into another type, or the combination of characteristics of two or more types. For example, under the Social Forestry program in Java farmer organizations are formed under leading of field officers of the State Forest Company, even though NGO's are involved. But further in the process the role of the NGO become more dominant and the ties between the farmer organization and the State Forest Company became loser (A). There is the success story of cooperation between a large tree plantation (Hutan Tanaman Industri / HTI) with the local *Adat* community (B). Another typical phenomena is the evolution of an formerly farmer organization under initiative of NGO into a more or less independent organization that has its own network and alliances, with a more politicized agenda than formerly the case (C). There is also farmers organization initiated by NGO's to fight back existing environment degradation by reenacting traditional values and norms regarding man – forest interaction (D). This is also the approach taken by farmer's organization of the *Adat* community's background, in their effort to establish a community management system for the natural resources they claimed.

Although there is always the rhetoric of participation, the approach of government program is always strongly top-down. Not only because the restriction of timetable, set targets, budgeted regime and standard procedures. Sectoral interest, corruption and nepotism add to the need of a top-down approach. Only recently there is a trend on the part of government programs to give more room to local specific character and initiatives. With the democratization process and pressure of local organization, government or private companies intervention in development programs will decrease. So to the types of farmer's organization those are developed only to facilitate government programs. As already described there is a tendency of NGO Led Farmer Organization to evolve into a more politically engaged organization. A logical process of an organization that widens its horizon of interest and activity from technicality of production into relation of production.

As can be observed, Local *Adat* Community Led Organization will have to reach out to other organizations, such as NGO's, universities, political parties, as to take advantage of their expertise and influence. Not to say to other organization of the same type. This process will raise this type of organization out of their strict localities, into the national political scene.

There is still the question whether these trends will result in a better management of the uplands. The answer maybe yes, because all of this horizon widening trends serves the ultimate objective, which is access to land and other resources. However, different people will define natural resources differently. What is ancestral land for the one maybe public goods for another. And this others are mostly also resource hungry people. Thus, the

struggle of farmers in the uplands for land rights and its more productive and sustainable use depend very much upon the development of other sectors and regions.

V. ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

a. The Question Of Approach

Programs for the rehabilitation of Natural Resource Management of water catchments area in Indonesia already have a long history, involving large-scale programs, supported by huge amount of financial aid and overseas technical support. That is also the case with programs to halt shifting cultivation in the large island Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Irian. More recent examples are the large-scale subsidized credit scheme for water catchments, scheme for small-scale forest gardens and natural silk program. All these programs aims to overcome the further destruction of the uplands. The result however is not convincing. Most of this large scale programs suffer from all the diseases of large bureaucracy, such as: enormous overhead cost; systems of sub-contractors for material deliveries that are invested with corruption; standardized concepts and systems of delivery; target oriented; no place for local aspiration and local knowledge; male bias. In most of the cases the termination of the program, means also the termination of all activities. In other words, there is the question of sustainability. Besides the question of approach, there is also the question of policy bias. Concentration of government programs is still on rice production and distribution. This policy bias absorbed much funds and energy. It is still to be seen if the heavy flooding and land slides that the past rainy season has brought to many parts of Indonesia will forced part of the attention to the uplands.

Against the above-mentioned centralized approach, there is the highly decentralized approach orchestrated by local stakeholders. Where cooperation between farmer's organization, local NGO's and in certain cases research institutions together developing strategies to answer soil conservation problems within the context of local socio-economic condition. In most cases the result is an integral approach combining sustainable agriculture, marketing, the struggle for secure land rights and the strengthening farmers organization through information and networking. What is the chance of this decentralized approach in tackling the environment degradation in the uplands? Much more of this "movements" is maybe the answer. Instead of poring money into large centralized programs, much more support should be given to strengthen this kind of local initiatives.

b. Internal Factors Affecting Local Organization

There is the assumption that the more homogenous a community is in terms of socio-cultural aspects or in economic aspect the more likely a farmer organization in that community will sustain pressure. It is observed that many indigenous (local) communities have a natural resource management system. However, the traditional management system works in a context of dominantly subsistent economy and depends for a large degree on natural rehabilitation in a condition of no shortage of natural resources. The question is if this management system can adapt with the rapid and massive changes, in aspects such as the intervention of logging companies, the influx of land hunger migrants, the introduction of new commercial plants and crops, the forced introduction of centralized government system, the fast increasing needs beyond subsistence, etc. The examples show that in a homogenous

Adat community some external support is still essential for the relative success of an organized activity. At the other side, there are examples enough of success full local organization in less homogenous communities. Which means that there is a continuum degree of social homogeneity, based on different factors such as economy, ethnicity or a common view. Another internal factor is the type of land tenure.

c. External Factors Affecting Local Organization

Point one already dwells on some external factors, the nature of outside intervention affecting local organization. Accessibility is another factor. The more accessible the rural community is, the more chance it will come under stricter control from the government. Less accessible rural community will have larger room to move, also in the sphere of organizational activity. Urban – Rural continuum is also another factor. The more close a rural community to urban centers, the more socially differentiated will be the community (less homogenous), which affect internal solidarity and organizational potential. So, accessibility and urban-rural continuum will strengthen each other. External pressure or threat is capable to mobilize internal solidarity and so the organizational potential of a community. Which has to do with the forming of a common view among the community members.

d. Networking Between Farmer Organization

As already mentioned, many local organization and NGO's are very conscious on the strength of networking. Net working provides information and supporting system. The process of networking extents horizontally between local organizations and NGO, but also vertically connecting local organizations and NGO's with institutions of more extensive leverage.

At present local farmer organizations participate actively in this process of networking, although the initiative is still in the hand of the NGO's. However, more young farmers can be observed taking actively in conferences far outside their homes village. A couple of factors are responsible for this human resource development besides the support of NGO's. First, the information revolution has freed the village from isolation. Second, the government control – especially strong in village level – has been relaxed since the reformation. Probably these young farmers will be the first generation politically active farmers in Indonesia after thirty years of absence.

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APPENDIX