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The Resistance of Farmer Groups in Protected Forest Management

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Abstract

The use and utilization of forests by most people who live on the edge of the forest is something that has been done for generations. One of the forests managed by the community is Gunung Leco Forest in Nagari Desa Baru, Pasaman Regency. However, this utilization cannot be carried out continuously because of the changing status of the forest from community forest to protected forest. This study aims to describe the form of social movements of farmer groups on the determination of forests into protected forests. This study uses qualitative research, data collection is done by in-depth interviews, observation and study of documents. The results showed that the farmer groups are still processing forests into oil palm plantations. They made a defensive effort by uprooting protected forest crossings sign which is installed in the forest, organizing the gardening period, cutting down the oil palm they had planted. To date no agreement has yet been reached to resolve this conflict.

Keywords: Resistance, conflict, protected forest

INTRODUCTION

The existence of forests in Indonesia is very important until now. There are three types of forests in Indonesia, namely conservation forests, protected forests, and environment and which is determined by the government as forest.

The forest management system aims to empower the community (increasing economic value, cultural value, providing benefits to the community manager, and the local community), without disrupting its main function (improving the function of the forest and the function of the area, utilization of the area, utilization of environmental services, utilization of timber forest products, utilization of non-timber forest products while maintaining the function of forest areas) (Feni Rosalia dan Yuni Ratna Sari)

production forests. Based on Law No. 5 of 1967, the definition of forest is a field of growing trees which as a whole union of living natural life along with its natural

The forest is one of the potential natural resources that still becomes a community support sector and the Government of Indonesia in forest development and gives tasks and authority to Perhutani to carry out planning, management, forest exploitation and forest protection. Basically every land in Indonesia must have inherent rights, as well as the state forest area managed by Perum Perhutani (Meliza Koesuma. 2014)

One of the forest areas in Nagari Desa Baru is a protected forest named Gunung Leco, Desa Baru surrounded by forest areas which status turn into protected forest status, limited production
forests, and forest concessions. They use protected forests to plant palm oil. So, there are pros and cons between the community and forestry.

The community cleared the land on Mount Leco with groups to make oil palm plantations. The aim is to increase their income, because to grow oil palm needs many years. Moreover, it can be used as the main income.

The use of forests as oil palm plantations carried out by the community will damage the protected forests in Nagari Baru Village, where the forest is a reservoir of more water and palm absorbs a lot of water. Communities that use forest land as plantations will damage the sustainability of the forest and can cause flooding.

Several studies have found, there is resistance from local communities against natural resources which include land, forests and other natural resources. Afrizal found that there was injustice for indigenous and tribal people in the use of land in their territories. For indigenous and tribal peoples, space is important for them. Space is their habitat, where they perform various purposes and self-markers. Case studies in the provinces of West Sumatra and Riau show that the use of space in their habitat for the development of palm plantations does not consider their existence and interests. From the point of ecological justice, this is an injustice for the customary law community. As a result, they oppose and against parties who take over land without regard to its existence and heed their interests. This is the basic motivation of resistance of indigenous and tribal peoples in defending or seizing land (Afrizal, 2012).

Perhutani conflict with the community also occurred in Blora. Conflict of state forest land in Blora can be divided into two kinds of root conflict problems. First, the conflict is based on the lack of people access around the forest, in order to be able to manage the forest. In this case, the entire forest area is controlled by Perum Perhutani (state forestry company) even though the forest area is in the village area. As a result, people around the forest do not have the opportunity to work on these forest lands. Most of the forest edge communities (most of them are landless farmers and farm laborers) live in poverty and are marginalized (Rokhmad, 2017)

Before the community used the forest to plant oil palm, the forest was a mountain which called Mount Leco. The mountain was full of thick and green trees. After the community cut down trees, to clear the land and burn the trees that have been cut down, the community planted oil palm. After the oil palm has been planted and grow for about two years, the district forestry comes to survey the sustainability of the forest including in Nagari Desa Baru, the forestry sees that some parts of the forest has been oil palm plantation.

Forestry forbids people from planting oil palm in the forest. Because it will damage the forest population. Forestry acts to cut down oil palm planted by the community, but the community rejects the forestry decision. The forestry decree the local government only acts after the forestry visits the forest in Nagari Desa Baru.

In 2014 the district government declared Mount Leco a Protection Forest, and the government provide regulations and stipulate Law Number 18 of 2013 concerning Prevention and Eradication of Forest Destruction. In 2014, the district government determined that Mount Leco was Protection Forest, while at the beginning of the Mount Leco opening in the past, there was no government to declare Mount Leco Protection Forest, the community had planted oil palm in the forest and there was already a price or yield value, the district government issued a Mount regulation Leco is a Protection Forest and the community must cut down the planted oil palm and replace it with jengkol trees.

The system of planting oil palms by the community is in groups where the number of group members is 18, while the total number of groups is 10 groups consisting of four jorong. Each group
member contributes capital to open land, until the purchase of oil palm seeds, and planting oil palm. The 10 groups have an area of 10 hectares per group with 18 members.

The community uses the protected forest for oil palm gardening. The protected forest in Nagari Desa Baru has an area of about 300 hectares. The community has cleared around a hectare of forest land which has been planted with oil palm. With land clearing carried out by communities around 100 hectares create conflict problems between forestry and community group members who planted oil palm, forestry did not agree the community planted oil palm in the forest, the community refused the forestry demand to cut oil palm.

Social movement theory developed under the banner of identity politics which got rid of class-based movements, especially classes in the countryside. James Scott hints that the rural movement is destined to continue to be local and fragmented accentuates forms of everyday lay dissent and avoid open confrontations with richer countries or classes (Fauzi, 2005).

When it is viewed from various conflicts, in the management of natural resources and the environment have interconnected social structures. The relationship can be seen from the position, role. Conflicts can arise because the government is in favor of one of the actors in conflict. The government sides with entrepreneurs and NGOs side with the people. Not infrequently the problem of environmental conflict becomes a political problem, so social movements are needed to solve it (Dwi Susilo).

Local community resistance against the state has also been carried out by the people in Muna Regency who assess the state to be detrimental to the community because of undemocratic forest management that causes social resistance from the people who live on the edge of the forest (Topo Jers).

Another study of resistance by local people was also carried out by Yusuf and Zuly. They found that the Orang Rimba also resisted the state in forest management in several forms, namely closed resistance or open resistance. The closed resistance becomes open when the closed resistance gets internal or external interference (Muhammad Yusuf & Zuly Qodir).

**RESEARCH METHODS**

This research uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. Qualitative research collects data by conducting detail interviews and observations of research subjects (Neuman, 2018).

Based on the results of research informants in this study amounted to 12 people, consisting of 3 guardian nagari staff, 2 forestry staff, 7 group of farmers who plant oil palm on Mount Leco. These people were chosen because they already answered the research objectives that the researchers were looking for and the information provided had led to relatively the same answers and the numbers already represented other informants. The following informant data in this study regarding Conflicts in the Use of Protected Forest as Palm Oil Plantation in Gunung Leco Nagari Desa Baru, Batahan District, West Pasaman.

Observations made are non-participant observations, namely the collection of data used to collect research data through observation and sensing. The method of data collection was observed to see the Conflicts in the Use of Protection Forest as Palm Oil Plantation in Gunung Leco Nagari Desa Baru, Ranah Batahan District. West Pasaman Regency.

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

**Causes Of Conflict**

Protected forest is a forest area that has the main function as protection of life support systems to regulate water systems, prevent flooding, control erosion, prevent sea water instruction, and maintain soil fertility. Forests are also a benefit for the needs or reservoirs of water to get clean water, forests must also be preserved.
Most of Nagari Desa Baru residents are Javanese and some are mandailing. Nagari Desa Baru is an area with a natural form of hills and lowlands. The average livelihood of new village fences is farming. Land cultivated by the community are rice fields and plantations by planting oil palm, corn, areca nut, peanuts.

The forest on Mount Leco in Nagari Desa Baru has been managed by the community for generations and is a spirit that has been passed down from generation to generation. The opening of the Mount Leco Forest began in 1955 by the people in Desa Baru. They opened Mount Leco by planting dove, durian, pepper, and jengkol plants.

But the community who managed the forest did not continue planting in the Leco Mountain Forest because of the considerable distance from their settlement location and the difficulty of the mode of transportation. This situation lasted until 2010. In 2010, the initiative of a group of people to re-open land re-emerged. The opening of the land in the Mount Leco Forest make other communities eventually also opened up land. The difference is that in 2010 people wereplanting oil palm not with pepper, durian, jengkol.

The system of planting oil palms by communities is in groups where the number of members of each group is 18 people, while the total number of groups is 10 groups. To open land and purchase seedlings for each group member. Therefore, farmer groups have planted oil palms in the Gunung Leco Forest since 2010.

In 2014 the head of the nagari Desa Baru forestry unit only asked the community, a group of oil palm farmers, to cut down their oil palms because the location of the planting had been designated as a protected forest area. Gunung leco became a protected forest just established in 2014. The use of land by the community of protected forest areas as oil palm plantations will make the area will become hot or arid, and the use of forest land will also trigger natural disasters such as floods, because there are no trees to collect rainwater while oil palm does not contain rainwater, even absorbing very much water.

Communities use protected forests for oil palm plantations for their reasons, in order to help their economy, according to them by clearing protected forest land for oil palm plantations will prosper their economy, on the other hand people who do not participate in clearing these lands will have an impact on communities who are not take part, because when it rains the paddy fields of the community will be inundated by rain water, overflowing irrigation water that flows into the community’s fields. This is where the conflict between the people who need Mount Leco to sustain their economic life with the forestry that sets the Mount Leco Forest into a protected forest. The people who do not participate in opening the Mount Leco Forest area into oil palm plantations.

Forestry Chairperson proposed new Desa Baru forest area to become protected forest due to the difficulty of accessing clean water for the community. It is hoped that by making the Mount Leco Forest a protected forest area so the the area for plantation will become more numerous.

Determination of being a protected forest unfortunately is not in consultation with the community and the guardian of the village, as a person who has the authority, so that there is a dispute. The village guardian of the Desa Baru proposed the Gunung Leco Forest area to become a community forest area so that the community could manage the forest and make the Gunung Leco Forest as a support for the economic life of their community.

This study found that the cause of the conflict was the first point, there was a coordination between forestry with the community and with the guardian of the village to determine the determination of the Mount Leco Forest as a protected forest. Second, there is community dependence on the oil palm products they have planted in Gunung Leco Forest. Third, conflicting interests in community welfare with clean water needs.
The authority implies that those who occupy high positions / authorities are expected to control their subordinates. This means they are powerful because of the expectations of someone different around them, not because of their own psychological characteristics. Authorities are not a general social phenomenon. They are subject to control and those who are freed from control which determined in society. Because authority is valid, sanctions can be imposed on the opposing party.

Dahrendrof distinguishes three main types of groups, the first is the pseudo group (guasi grou) or a number of position holders with the same interests, this pseudo group is a candidate for the second type of member namely the interest group. From various interest groups came conflict groups (Ritzer and Goddom. 2004). According to Ralf Dahrendrof’s interest in opening protected forest land for plantations, forest is a program that is maintained by the government of its sustainability, especially in Indonesia. The form of conflict that occurs is a group of farmers who refuse the requests from forestry, where the forestry orders the farmer groups to cut down palm oil that has been planted by farmer groups in Montain Leco and oil palm has already produced or has been harvested. The quasi group in this study is forestry representing the West Pasaman district forestry service

**Conflict Form**

Since 2014 with the determination of the Mount Leco Forest to become protected forest by forestry, the people who cleared the land on Mount Leco, especially farmers who planted oil palms, rejected the decision. Various forms of rejection were carried out both closed and opened. The closed rejection was carried out by formulating strategies of fellow farmer groups so that they would not cut down oil palm trees that had been cut down.

Resistance in the closed form is carried out by developing a strategy within the farmer group so that all members do not want to follow orders to cut down the oil palm trees that they have planted. They developed this strategy because they have spent a lot of money and a lot of energy to open and plant oil palm in the hope that they can support the economy in old age due to the long age of the oil palm.

Open resistance is inevitable because in 2019 forestry will come to oil palm plantations carrying sinso machines. Sinso is a tool used to cut trees. Their purpose in carrying a sinso machine was to ask the farmer group to cut down palm oil trees. Open resistance is also carried out by farmer groups to forestry. A fight also occurred and cut down trees in the Forest of Mount Leco. Forestry came to the leco forest in 2019 and brought a sinso machine to ask people who planted oil palm to cut down existing oil palm. Farmer groups in Gunung Leco at that time refused to cut down their palm oil.

The group maintains its oil palm plantations because the oil palm plantations have helped the group’s economy, and there is no more land for plantations to be planted by the group and even the groups are unable to buy land that is so expensive. For what groups are buying land, the land already exists to be planted on the Mount Leco relics of their ancestors.

The income that has been obtained by the group from the harvested oil palm fruit reaches 2 tons to 3 tons 3 times harvest for one month, the group’s economy is prosperous with the palm oil income that has been obtained and been harvested to get a yield of 3 tons to 2 tons every month.

The chairman of the forestry department said that he proposed mount leco as a protected forest due to the difficulty of clean water in Nagari Desa Baru, by making Gunung leco a protected forest, the water source in Nagari Desa Baru was easier. However, the conflict occurred because the forests in Mounteco could no longer be used as community development land. When the regulation was issued, Mount Leco Forest was growing oil palm. It was the livelihood of the community, especially farmers.

Conflict of protected forest in Nagari Desa Baru was also caused by the
occurrence of a group of oil palm plantations with forestry where forestry installed a protected forest crossing in front of the group’s oil palm plantation, where the group pulled out the bar which was established forestry in front of the oil palm group garden. To find out what are the conflicts that occur between the community and forestry, the researchers asked the community who planted oil palm in Gunungeco.

Another form of rejection by the farmer group is the removal of the protection forest crossing that was previously installed by forestry officials in the palm oil plantation area. Crossing occurs in 2018, in which the group removes the bar that is erected in front of the oil palm plantation, where the group pulls out because it does not like the crossing of the bar in front of the group's garden, there are five people who pull out the bar established by the forestry, one of which the head of the group and its members come earlier to the location of the oil palm plantation.

Actors of conflict in this research are guardian nagari, forestry, farmer groups and the general public. Wali Nagari proposes that the Gunung Leco Forest be a community forest so that the community can utilize the Leco forest as a community farm. Whereas forestry in the new village proposes to become a protected forest because it sees the condition of the people who have difficulty in getting clean water. If people stop oil palm plantations, it will be easy to get clean water.

Wali Nagari was summoned to the Forestry Service and Forest Service of West Sumatra Province. During the meeting several things were decided, including the people who owned oil palm were given relief to return the capital that had been spent and harvest the results of their palm oil. After the capital is released, the oil palm that has been planted is then cut down. But it is not permissible to plant oil palm in the new Gunung Leco Forest land. As a substitute, forestry allows the community to plant on Mount Leco with species of plants that will not reduce the water in the Mount Leco Forest such as jengkol, clove, pepper.

In Indonesia, resistance from local communities that developed into riots has been going on for a long time, since the government intervened in the agrarian sector. During the Dutch colonial era riots broke out between local residents and the government regarding land ownership and control in various places. On the island of Java the refusal occurred because people did not want to pay taxes on the results of their agricultural production. The same opposition was also made by the local population against the colonial government who seized their land for sugar cane farming to supply sugar production. As far as those related to indigenous communities (Afrizal, 2018)

The state apparatus as the party in conflict with the local community and the government occupies the position as a complainant by the affected community members. This event actually happened related to the role of the local government as an agent for resolving conflicts between the local community and the company. But what happens in this village is the conflict between the community and the government, namely forestry.

The escalation of conflict in Rempek Village has decreased from high escalation to moderate escalation caused by several factors, namely: a). Social factors where the community will get legality in managing forest areas through the Forestry Partnership program, b). Economic factors where community income will increase because the community has the opportunity to use wood forest products legally, c). The presence factor of the facilitator where the community gets information and understanding through the facilitator is Team 9 and the NGO Samanta who conduct intensive socialization (Fitria Mariatun et all, 2018).

Conclusion

It can be concluded that the community did not accept the decision given by the forestry, because they had produced, enjoyed the harvest, but the forestry wanted to cut down and replace it with trees. Whereas the Leco mountain was
originally by the ancestors and their parents originally opened the leco mountain as a gardening place, and now it is continued by his descendants to plant gardens again on the leco mountain, but his descendants did not plant what was planted, what was planted in the past was clove, and now planted is oil palm.

They do not allow forestry to cut oil palm, because the oil palm is already decades, it could be for their old age. The economy of the people who plant oil palm is helping their economy so much so they are able to send their children to college, with this oil palm their economy is prosperous and very helpful to them and even the group pulls out the protected forest bar in front of the oil palm plantation, the group pulls the bar and uproot it. This conflict resolution of forest management has not yet found an agreement and until now the community is still planting oil palm in the Mount Leco forest.

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