

Agroforestry in landscapes under pressure:

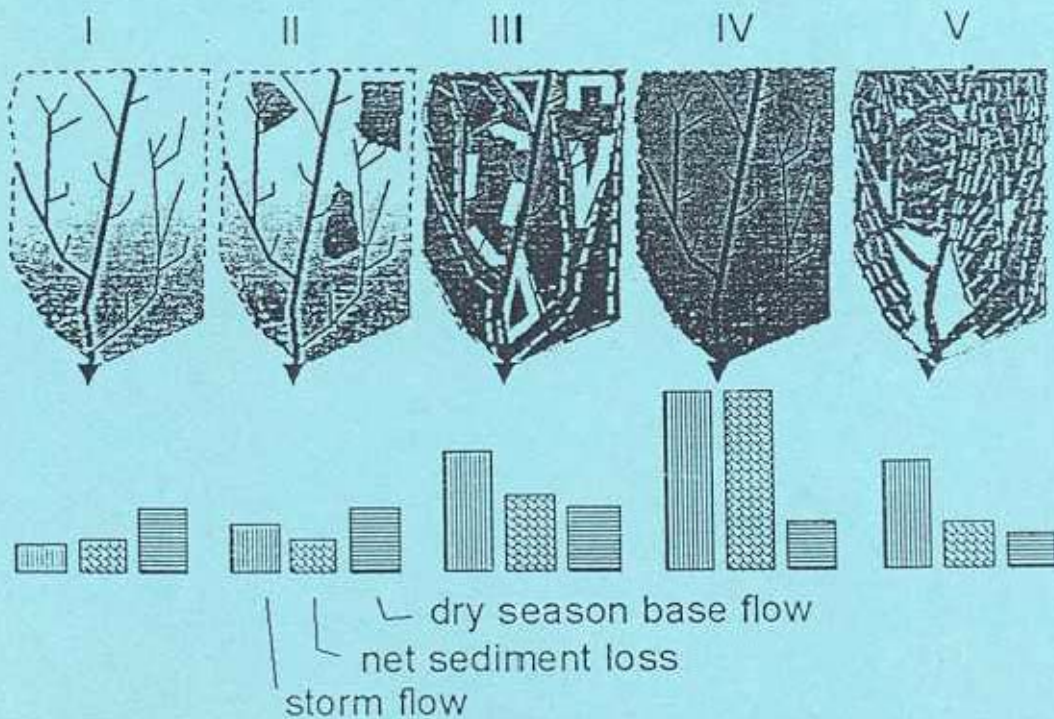
Lampung research planning trip

June 17 – 21 1998



ICRAF

S.E. Asia
P.O. Box 161
Bogor 16001,
Indonesia



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Lampung research planning trip . 17 – 21 June 1998**

ICRAF S.E. Asia working document

Edited by Meine van Noordwijk and Hubert de Foresta
ICRAF-S.E.Asia
P.O. Box 161
Bogor 16001, Indonesia
e-mail ICRAF-Indonesia@cgnet.com

With contributions from

Beckey Elmhirst
Hubert de Foresta
Kurniatun Hairiah
Genvieve Michon
Pratiknyo Purnomosidhi
Fred Stolle
Thomas Tomich
Jerry Vanclay
Meine van Noordwijk
Gregoire Vincent

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Agroforestry in landscapes under pressure: Lampung research planning trip

Introduction

Most of ICRAF's research in Indonesia has focused on Sumatra so far, with additional efforts in Kalimantan and occasional involvement elsewhere. Within Sumatra work has concentrated on *Jambi* province (central Sumatra) and *Lampung* (the southernmost province of the island). The main objective of the study trip to Lampung 17-21 June 1998 is to strengthen the linkages between research sites in Lampung and to take further steps, in cooperation with Indonesian partner institutions, in developing a landscape-ecological context for our work on profitability and environmental effects of land use (including agroforestry).

Lampung is sometimes described as 'North Java', indicating its nature as a transition between the densely populated island of Java and the rest of Sumatra, where population densities are below or around the national average. The spontaneous movement of people between Java and Lampung, and additional efforts by the government during various periods in this century are indeed key to an understanding of landscape dynamics. Only a minority within the province can claim Lampungese descent.

ICRAF's research involvement in Lampung has two foci so far and we would like to add a third one:

1. **Krui** on the west coast, across the mountains of the Bukit Barisan range, where a relatively narrow coastal strip has had a long history of settlement but relatively little immigration over the last century. Here a very interesting form of agroforestry has developed, which in fact helped in crystallizing scientific insights in the whole phenomenon of 'agroforests'. More than 15 years of research by Orstom/Biotrop/Icraf and national partners (united in the 'team Krui') has helped in obtaining government recognition for the value of this land use system, culminating in the signing by the Minister of Forestry of a decree creating a special class within the state forest land, where local communities can maintain and develop their environmentally benevolent practices. Current activities are following up on the implementation of this decree. Research on the ecological interactions within these agroforests, focused on a better understanding of management options which include timber harvesting, and patch-level rejuvenation as alternative to the field scale slash-and-burn methods practiced elsewhere.

In this part of the trip we will focus on how the success on the policy front can be utilized elsewhere, for example in situations where local institutions are not as strong and the land use systems not as obviously benevolent as in Krui. We're looking for the next challenge. The forest ecological and modeling work in Krui is increasingly integrated with the work on rubber agroforests (with Jambi and West Kalimantan as the main sites). How can we add further value to this part of the research program? The Krui agroforest concept has offered new insights in 'domestication' issues, as it is a prime example of how 'non timber forest products' such as the damar resin can make the transition into managed production systems, which include timber harvesting; how do domestication of agroforests as ecosystems and domestication of trees interact?

2. The **ASB peneplain benchmark area in North Lampung** was chosen for characterization and diagnosis studies in the first and second phase of the Alternatives to Slash and Burn project, as representative of the landscape degradation stage which can follow after the initial forest conversion if unsustainable land use practices, based on intensive food crop production, are pursued on soils which are not sufficiently fertile. The benchmark area has allowed us to study the interactions between four groups of 'actors':

- the *indigenous Lampung people* who live along the rivers, still have their semi-permanent food crop production on flooded river banks, but two decades ago gave up on the extensive shifting

cultivation of the lowland peneplain; along the rivers old 'jungle rubber' gardens exist as this is on the margin of Sumatra's rubber belt; recently there is a renewed interest in rubber production, especially on the eastern side of the benchmark; as a whole this group now aims at livelihood strategies outside of agriculture (see migration studies by Elmhirst later on)

- **government sponsored transmigrants**, mostly re-settled from forest reserves in the southern part of the province, where they settled as spontaneous migrants from Java on soils which were good enough to support coffee; the lowland peneplain soils have not been suitable for their crop-based systems and only in depressions and valleys where paddy rice fields could be created has agriculture become a major sustenance of livelihoods; otherwise off farm labour has had to provide the income which kept people here; a substantial number of transmigrants have left the area, in the first few years and recently as conditions got worse (e.g. 11 out of 30 households interviewed 4 years ago had left the village when a repeat survey was done in 1998 - see article by Elmhirst later on),
- **spontaneous migrants** who settled on their own accord, despite the hardships in the area; this category includes the second generation of government-sponsored transmigrants for whom there is no land in the village; spontaneous migrants have to obtain land from the local population and tend to use agricultural systems intermediate between the local and Javanese food-crop based system, with a greater emphasis on tree crops,
- **large-scale operators** such as the initial logging company, followed by illegal sawmills depleting the remaining trees from the landscape, plantations establishing industrial timber plantations and sugarcane, largely based on labour from the transmigrant communities.

The characterization and diagnosis has significantly increased our understanding of the problem - but has also made clear that there are no easy answers. Especially the failure of the plantation model linked to surrounding smallholders ('nucleus estate smallholder plasma'), has made people weary of any new (similar) scheme. The main hope is in the gradual improvement of road access to the area and development of a wider array of tree crops, including oil palm, rubber and *Paraserianthes falcata* woodlots. A government sponsored scheme to introduce cattle has brought some relief. Efforts to plant fruit trees have had little success, however, as the long dry season of 4 years ago and last year killed many trees.

On the edge of the benchmark area the Biological Management of Soil Fertility (BMSF) research site managed by Brawijaya University has maintained long term soil fertility trials and supported process level research on organic matter and nitrogen dynamics, comparing farmer's practice with systems with increased organic inputs (hedgerow intercropping, improved fallows, leguminous cover crops). ICRAF has been a partner in this research over the past 5 years. Although scientifically rewarding and contributing to the formulation of general agroforestry models such as WaNuLCAS, the main conclusion has been that sustainable forms of food crop production are possible but require too much labour to be interesting (even at current wage rates). Even extensive farmer's practices leading to a cassava/*Imperata* cycle do not give returns on labour at the minimum wage level (as prevailed before the monetary crisis). Moreover, these extensive systems are in fact a form of mining, exhausting the soil and reducing the number of options for future land use. As current funding for the BMSF site will end by mid 1999, we have to seriously consider whether and, if so, how research should be continued here.

The ASB benchmark area has been selected as one of the sites for a new proposal to the Global Environment Facility (GEF) for rehabilitation of *Imperata* grasslands which the Central Research Institute for Food Crops (CRIFC) is preparing on behalf of the ASB-Indonesia consortium. In the proposed project a distinction is made between situations where first of all issues on land or tree tenure between the Ministry of Forestry and farmers will have to be resolved, and situations where (subsequently ?) access to markets and lack of suitable land use alternatives appear to form the main bottleneck.

The ASB benchmark area would fall into this second class. ICRAF's survey of light regimes in early

tree-based systems in relation to *Imperata* biomass (see below) shows that rapid canopy closure is essential for a low-labour input transition into tree crops.

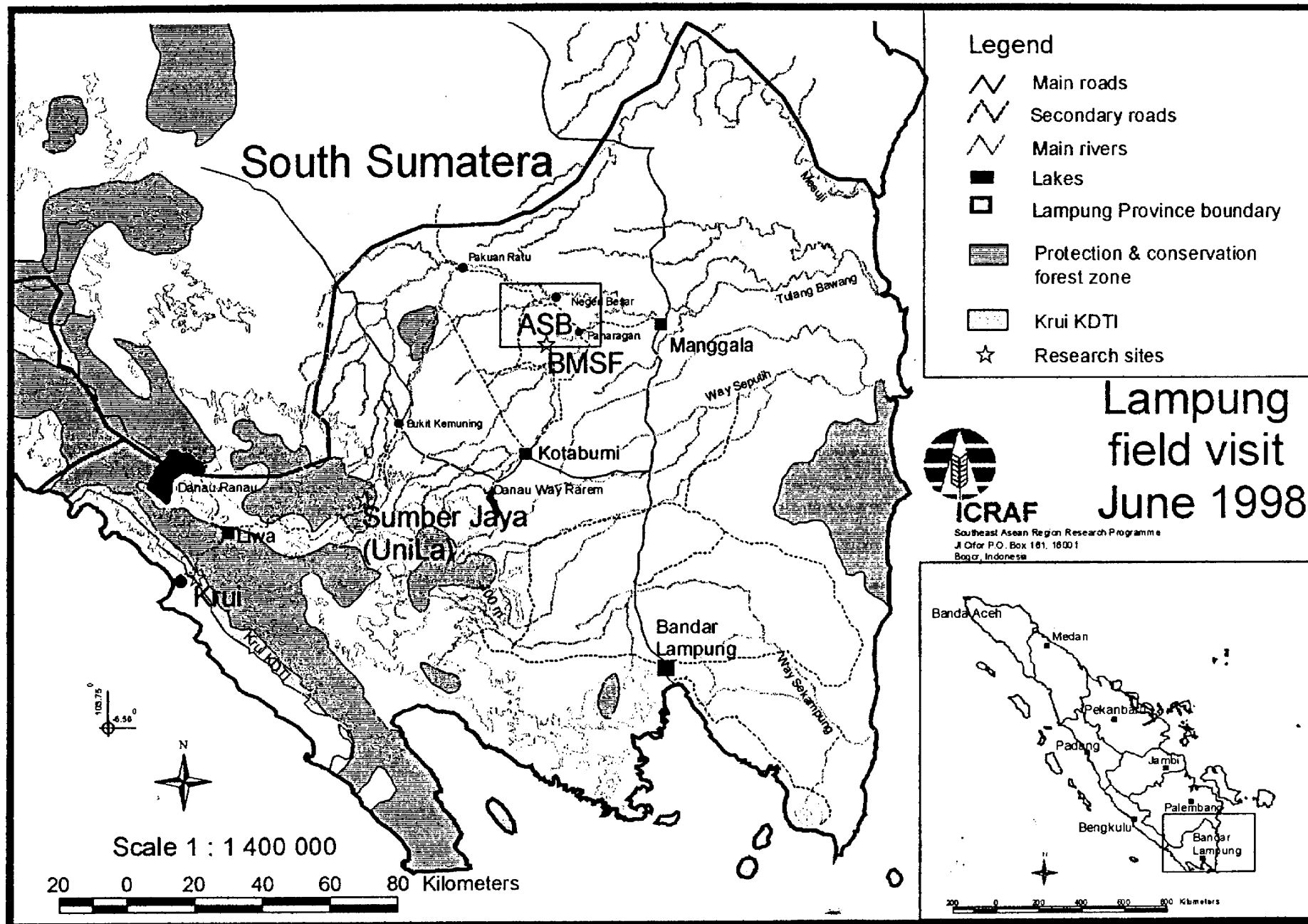
In this part of the trip we thus look for new insights in how to proceed in this area where the natural resource base has been under serious pressure indeed. Can land-based sustainable livelihoods indeed be found? Or is out-migration to industrial areas or better endowed parts of Sumatra the only option left?

3. Watershed protection: Sumber Jaya

In addition to these two study areas and research sites, ICRAF and partners are planning to have a serious look at the issues of watershed degradation and rehabilitation in the foothill/ mountain zone of Lampung. This is a zone of major conflicts between migrants who are attracted by the fertility of the soils (allowing for coffee production), but who get into conflict with forestry officials who try to maintain this zone as 'protection forest'. This site, together with Mae Chaem in Northern Thailand and Manupali in Mindanao, the Philippines, are the 3 areas which will be the focal point for our regional program's research on policies and technologies to address environmental externalities at the landscape level.

The policy-driven agenda will require new biophysical insights into landscape level processes on soil and water conservation, as current plot-level insights can not be easily scaled up. The Sumber Jaya area, halfway between Krui and the North Lampung ASB benchmark seems to be eminently suitable to take up on this challenge (see further notes below). In this part of the trip we will have to consider what our priority targets should be, how to tackle the issues and who can be our partners. The University of Lampung, in cooperation with a Japanese University, has established a research site in Sumber Jaya, as well as in the lowland peneplain of the Tulang Bawang river. CIFOR is interested in the people - forest interaction under circumstances such as these; can research in Sumber Jaya be used in that frame as well? For the new research consortium on 'Managing Soil Erosion and Conservation' (MSEC, coordinated by IBSRAM) the Sumber Jaya area and the Tulang Bawang watershed of which it is part, may form a good opportunity to connect with research elsewhere in S.E. Asia.

In summary, our Lampung study tour will take us to three parts of the province, Krui, Sumber Jaya and the ASB North Lampung Benchmark area, where we are in different stages of research and development activities. We hope to travel there with some 20 colleagues from a range of institutions and hope to return to Bogor with fresh inspiration on how to proceed!



Ecological zones in Sumatra

Most of Sumatra is in the humid tropics. Oldeman *et al.* (1979) classified climatic regions in Sumatra according to the number of humid (> 200 mm of rain) and dry (< 100 mm of rain) months. Climate zones A (> 9 humid months, <2 dry), B (7-9 humid, < 2 dry) and C (5-6 humid, 3 dry) cover most of the island; drier climate zones D (3-4 humid, 2-6 dry) and E (<3 humid, up to 6 dry) occur especially in the N. part.

Five major ecological zones can be distinguished in Sumatera, according to Scholz (1983), with boundaries running from N.W. to S.E. approximately parallel to the coast:

1. a narrow Western coastal zone, the lower slopes of the mountain zone on the S.W. side, with various soil types; climate zones A and B;
2. a mountain zone, dominated by andosols and latosols of reasonable to high soil fertility; climate zones A and B and small patches of D and E;
3. a narrow piedmont (foothill) zone, the lower slopes of the mountain range on the N.E. side, dominated by latosols and red-yellow podzolics; climate zone B;
4. a broad peneplain zone, almost flat land with Tertiary sediments, deposited in the sea; at present its altitude is less than 100 m above sea level and it consists for about 10% of river levees and floodplains with more fertile alluvial soils and for 90% of uplands with a gently undulating landscape and mostly red-yellow podzolic soils; climate zone mostly B, with zone C in the S.E.;
5. a coastal swamp zone with peat and acid sulphate soils; climate zones C, D and E.

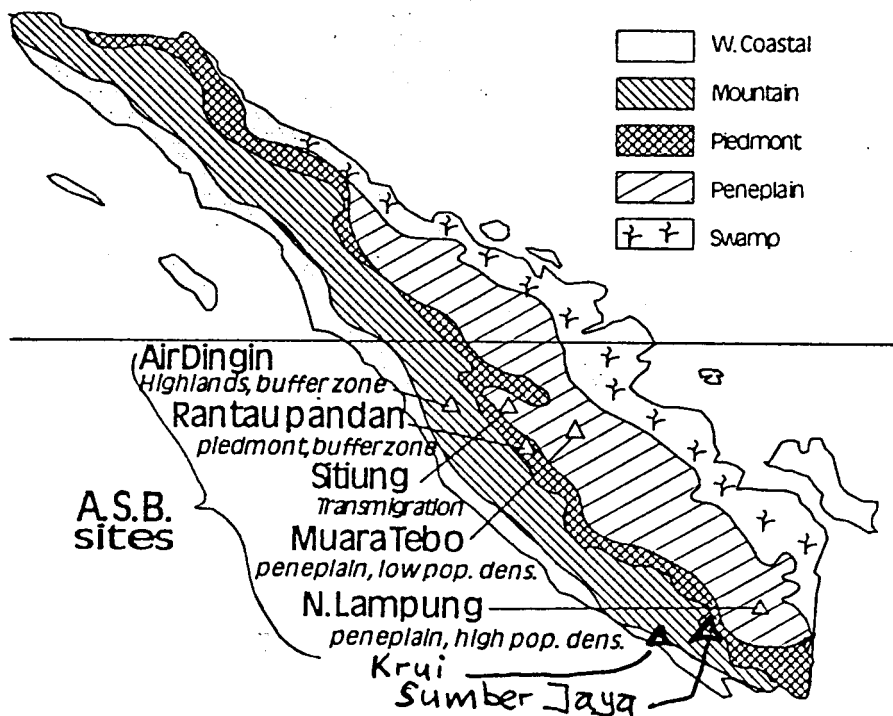


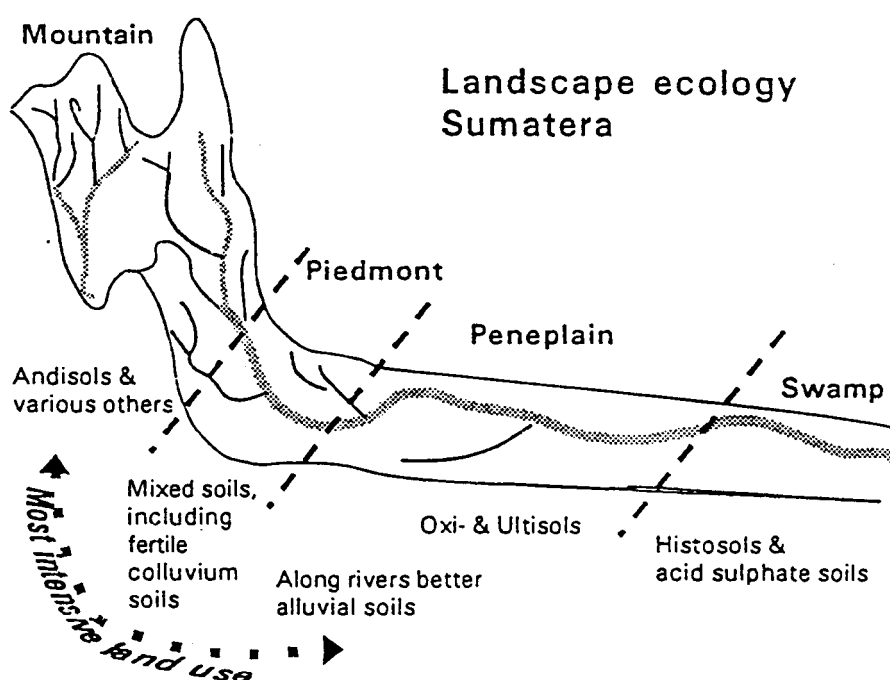
Figure 1. Ecological zones in Sumatera (after Scholz, 1983)

The zones 1, 2 and 3 contain the most fertile soils and have been inhabited for long periods of time. The coastal swamps and the peneplain were inhabited sparsely as human population was traditionally concentrated along the river banks on relatively favourable sites. Since the beginning of the 20th Century, population density in S. part of Sumatera increased by transmigration from Java. Initially sites in zone 2 and 3 were chosen, but in the last three decades also less favourable sites on the peneplain, in zone 4, became inhabited. The peneplain is a current focus of development due to its large area and low population density. The soil constraints are serious, but are largely of a chemical/biological nature; physically the soils generally has favourable conditions (good drainage, no serious erosion problems).

The ASB peneplain benchmark area in North Lampung is representative of the southern (climate zone C) part of the peneplain (ecological zone 4). Lampung province now has the highest population density of whole Sumatera and the lowest percentage forest cover (20% according to FAO/MacKinnon, 1982), which is restricted to forest reserves and national parks except for some patches in the N. part of the province. The province is now closed for new transmigration from outside, but within the province people are still moving, partly due to the enforcement of forest reserve regulations.

References

- Oldeman L R, Las I and Darwis S N 1979 An agroclimatic map of Sumatra. Contr. Centr. Res. Inst. Agric. Bogor. 52: 1-35
- Scholz U 1983 The natural regions of Sumatra and their agricultural production pattern. Sukarami Research Institute for Food Crops (SARIF), Bogor.



Practicalities

Program for field visit June 17- 23, 1998

Date/Time	Schedule
Wednesday17 June	Depart early morning (5 a.m.) from Tugu monument Bogor (see detailed individual pick-up arrangements) for Halim airport (Jakarta) Flight MZ 1662 7.00 -> 7.55 to Tanjung Karang = Bandar Lampung = Branti
8.30 – 9.00	Briefing at airport?
9 – 11	Transsumatra Highway to Kotabumi, older transmigration settlements and Lampungese villages
11 – 12	Lunch at Lembur Kuring restaurant in Kotabumi
12 – 17	Road to Liwa
18 – 19	Dinner at Ojo Lali restaurant
19.30 – 20.30	Evening program: Introduction to ICRAF's regional program, Lampung field trip, Policy research agenda and activities in Krui
	Overnight in: Permata Hotel, Jl. Raden Intan 53, Liwa ; tel. 0728 – 21022 / 21292
Thursday 18 June	Visit agroforest field sites in the Krui area; meet with villagers and officials concerning implementation of newly recognized rights to sustainably manage damar agroforests.
6.30 – 7.30	Breakfast at Permata hotel
7.30 – 8.30	Liwa – Krui – Pahmungan village (2 km from Krui)
8.45 – 9.15	morning walk to the study site through mature damar agroforest
9.15 – 10.15	visit of Pahmungan permanent study plot (tree population dynamics and damar resin production in mature agroforest)
10.15 – 10.45	walk back to Pahmungan village
10.45 – 11.00	visit of a damar trader warehouse
11.00 – 12.30	proceed by car to Rata Agung (about 60 kms north of Pahmungan village).
12.30 – 13.30	lunch at Mama Neneng
13.30 – 14.30	visit of recent "ladang" (2 years after slash and burn of secondary vegetation)
14.30 – 15.30	visit of older "ladang" (coffee-pepper plantations) on their way to damar agroforests

15.30 – 16.30 discussion about participative mapping of land-use done by 8 village communities in the Krui area, coordinated by ICRAF partners LATIN and WATALA (NGO's).

16.30 – 18.30 Travel back to Liwa

Evening program: discussions of follow up to Krui work, introduction to watershed research activities

Overnight in Liwa

Friday 19 June	Visit degraded areas of the Way Seputih, Tulangbawang watershed area (Sumber Jaya) and discuss new ASB research approaches to assess the biophysical (erosion and hydrology) and economic impacts of land use change. Visit to research site, managed by Lampung University
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6.30 – 7.30 Breakfast

7.30 – 7.45 Check out from hotel

7.45 – 9.30 Road to Sumber Jaya

9.30 – 10.00 Meeting new trip participants in warung ... in Sumber Jaya

10.00 – 12.00 Visit to research site Brawijaya University/ University of Lampung

12.00 – 13.00 Lunch

13.00 – 15.00 Visit to surrounding watershed area

15.00 – 17.00 Road to Kotabumi

18.00 Dinner

Evening program: Discussions on new watershed initiatives, introduction to ASB benchmark area

Overnight in Kotabumi:

Cahaya Hotel, Jl. Jendr. Sudirman 25, Kelapa VII, Kotabumi. Tel 0724 – 21652 / 22460

Saturday 20 June	Visit the ASB benchmark site to review the agroforestry field experimental work, and the ASB studies on land use change and its effects on above- and below-ground biodiversity, ecosystem carbon stocks, greenhouse gas emissions. Visit to BMSF research site managed by Brawijaya University.
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6.30 – 7.30	Breakfast
7.30 - 7.45	Check-out from hotel
7.45 – 9.30	Kotabumi – Way Abung – Way Rarem irrigation canal – Surakarta – Mungamayang sugar cane factory – BMSF research station
9.30 – 11.00	Visit to BMSF (Biological Management of Soil Fertility experiments
11.00 – 12.30	Enter ASB benchmark: BMSF – Negara Jaya (= SP1 = transmigration village) – Negeri Besar (= Lampungese village on the river)
12.30 – 13.30	Lunch
13.30 – 15.30	Kaliawi Indah (SP4 = spontaneous migrants))- Tegal Mukti (SP5 = transmigrants) – Panaragan (Lampungese): exit from ASB benchmark
15.30 - 18.00	Panaragan – Menggala – Bandar Jaya – Branti
18.00	Dinner
	Evening program: Research planning for ASB benchmark, Evaluation of research planning trip
	Overnight in Bedagang II Hotel, near Branti Airport

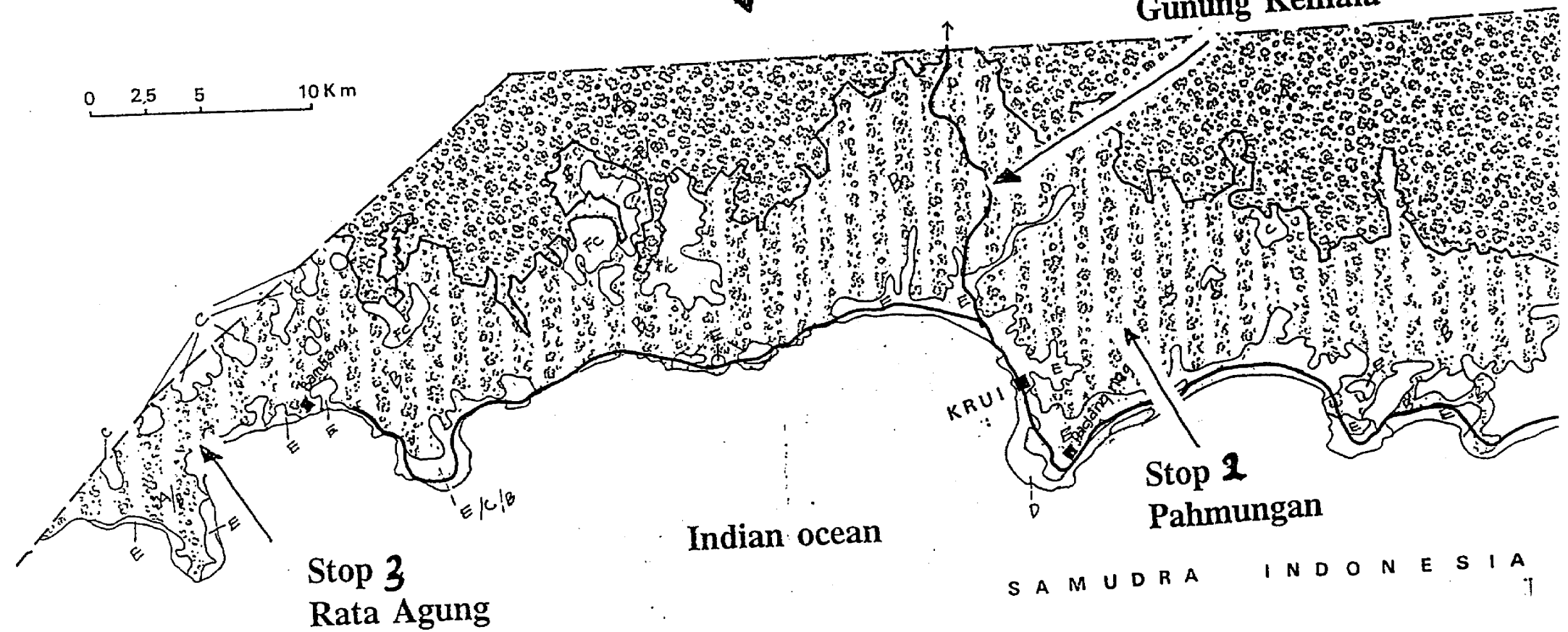
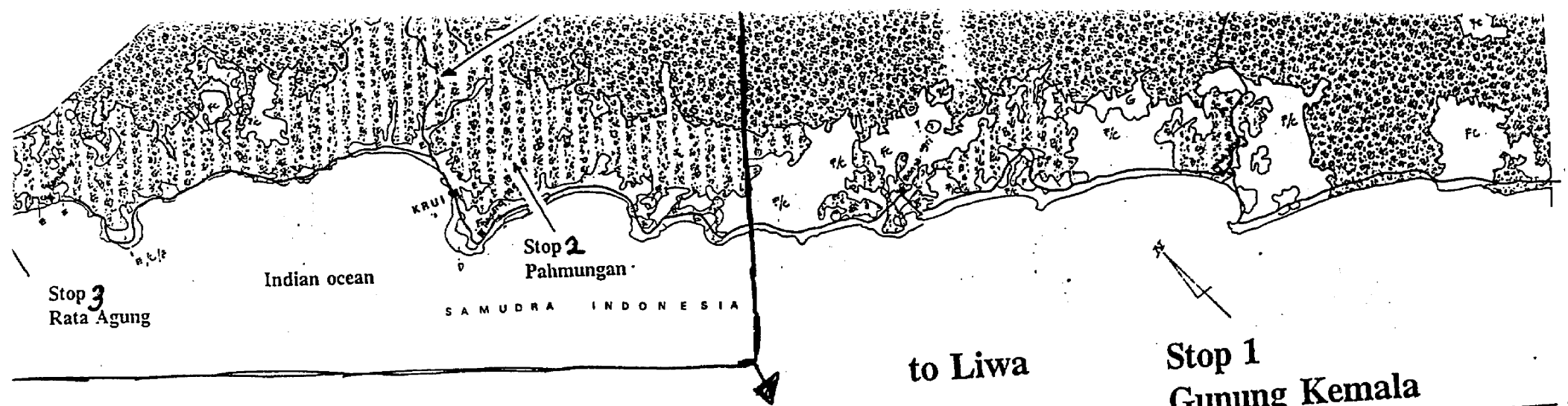
Sunday, 21 June	Return to Jakarta
	MZ 3700 to Cengkareng airport (!!!) 8.30 – 9.30
	12.00 Back in Bogor

LIST OF PARTICIPANT EPMR FIELD TRIP TO KRUI AND TULANG BAWANG LAMPUNG
17 – 21, JUNE 1998

PARTICIPANTS	INSTITUTION	ADDRESS
1. Dr. H.P.M. Gunasena	Director, Postgraduate Institute of Agriculture University of Peradeniya	Peradeniya, Sri Lanka Tel./Fax.: 94-8-388318 27 Park Avenue Dangolla Kandy Tel. 08-25167 32469 E-mail: congress@pgia.pdn.ac.lk
2. Dr. Peter Dart	CIRM University of Queensland	School of Land and Food Faculty of Natural Resources, Agriculture and Veterinary Science St. Lucia, Qld 4072 Phone: +61 7 3365 2867 Fax: +61 7 3365 2965 Email: agpdart@mailbox.uq.edu.au
3. Dr. Sutjipto	Central Research Institute for Food Crops (CRIFC)	Jl. Merdeka 147 Bogor Tel.: 62-251-331718 Fax.: 62-251-312755
4. Mr. Juber Pasaribu	Central Research Institute for Food Crops (CRIFC)	Jl. Merdeka 147 Bogor Tel.: 62-251-331718 Fax.: 62-251-312755
5. Dr. A.N. Gintings	Director, Forest Product	Jl. Gunung Batu 5 Tel/Fax.: 62-251-313613
6. Mr. Dwiatmo M. MSc	Director, FRNDC	Jl. Gunung Batu no. 5 Tel./Fax.: 62-251-325111
7. Dr. Mien Kaomini	Researcher FRNDC	Jl. Gunung Batu no. 5 Tel./Fax.: 62-251-325111
8. Dr. Machfud	Researcher GIS FRNDC	Jl. Gunung Batu no. 5 Tel./Fax.: 62-251-325111
9. Dr. Muhadjir Utomo	Univ. of Lampung	Universitas Lampung Faculty of Agriculture Jl. Prof. Dr. Sumantri Brojonegoro No. 1 Bandar Lampung, Lampung, Indonesia Phone: 62-721-52673 Fax.: 62-721-702767
10. Dr. Pascal Perez	CIRAD	Sutimah Building Jl. Kemang Raya no.2 Jakarta Tel.: 021-719-9067/4601 Fax.: 021-7210401
11. Dr. Jerry Vanclay	CIFOR	Jl. Cifor, Situ Gede, Bogor Tel.: 62-251-622622 Fax: 62-251-622100 E-mail: J.vanclay@cgnet.com
12. Dr. Kurniatun Hairiah	Univ. of Brawijaya	Soil Science Department

PARTICIPANTS	INSTITUTION	ADDRESS
		Univ. of Brawijaya Jl. Mayjen Haryono 163 Malang 65145 Tel: 0341- 564334 or 553623 Fax.: 0341-564333 E-mail: soilub@malang.wasantara.net.id
13. Dr. Fahmudin Agus	Researcher, Centre for Soil and Agroclimate Research (CSAR)	Jl. Ir. H. Juanda no.98 Bogor Tel.: 62-251-638987 E-mail: f.agus@bogor.wasantara.net.id
14. Dr. Chalinee Niamskul (Participant MSEC workshop)	IBSRAM	6th Floor of Land Dev. Phaholyothin Road P.O. Box 9-109, Bangkok Bangkok 10900, THAILAND Tel.: (66-2) 561-1322-3, 579- 75900/4012/0900 Fax.: (66-2) 561-1230 E-mail: oibsrarn@nontri.ku.ac.th
15. Dr. Amado Maglinao (Participant MSEC workshop)	PCARRD	Director, Farming Systems PCARRD, Los Banos Laguna 4030 Philippines Tel. : (63-49) 536-0014/20 and 50024 Fax No. (63) 49-536-0016 or 03132
16. Dr. Jean Pierre Bricquet (Participant MSEC workshop)	ORSTOM/IBSRAM	
17. Kusworo	WATALA	Jalan Teuku Umar 58/64, Panengahan Bandar Lampung 34112, Lampung Phone (0721) 75068
18. Fathulah	WATALA	Jalan Teuku Umar 58/64, Panengahan Bandar Lampung 34112, Lampung Phone (0721) 75068
19. Rizal	WATALA	Jalan Teuku Umar 58/64, Panengahan Bandar Lampung 34112, Lampung Phone (0721) 75068
20. Suwito	LATIN	Jl. Citarum No.12, Bogor Baru Bogor-16152-Indonesia Tel./Fax: (62-251) 379143 e-mail: : latin@indo.net.id
21. Mr. Kukuh Sutoto	KANWIL KEHUTANAN	Departemen Kehutanan Kantor Wilayah PRDP Lmapung Jl. H. Jainal Abidin Pagar Alam Rajabasa Bandarlampung 35144 Tel.: 0721-703177 Fax.: 0721-705058
22. Dr. David Thomas	ICRAF Thailand	Chiang Mai University P.O. Box 267,CMU Post Office Chiang Mai 50202, Thailand

PARTICIPANTS	INSTITUTION	ADDRESS
		Tel./Fax.: +66-53-94-3799 E-mail: david@cmu.chiangmai.ac.th
23. Dr. H de Foresta	ICRAF-ORSTOM	Jl. Cifor, Situ Gede, Bogor Tel.: 62-251-625415 Fax.: 62-251-625416 E-mail: h.deforesta@cgnet.com
24. Dr. Greg Vincent	ICRAF-ORSTOM	Jl. Cifor, Situ Gede, Bogor Tel.: 62-251-625415 Fax.: 62-251-625416 E-mail: g.vincent@cgnet.com
25. Dr. Dennis Garrity	ICRAF	Jl. Cifor, Situ Gede, Bogor Tel.: 62-251-625415 Fax.: 62-251-625416 E-mail: D.garrity@cgnet.com
26. Dr. T. Tomich	ICRAF	Jl. Cifor, Situ Gede, Bogor Tel.: 62-251-625415 Fax.: 62-251-625416 E-mail: T.Tomich@cgnet.com
27. Mr. Jim Roshetko	ICRAF	Jl. Cifor, Situ Gede, Bogor Tel.: 62-251-625415 Fax.: 62-251-625416 E-mail: j.roshetko@cgnet.com
28. Mr. Martua	ICRAF	Jl. Cifor, Situ Gede, Bogor Tel.: 62-251-625415 Fax.: 62-251-625416 E-mail: msirait@cgnet.com
29. Dr. M. Van Noordwijk	ICRAF	Jl. Cifor, Situ Gede, Bogor Tel.: 62-251-625415 Fax.: 62-251-625416 E-mail: m.van-noordwijk@cgnet.com
30. Pratikno Purnomosidhi	ICRAF	LAMPUNG SITE



A policy breakthrough for Indonesian farmers in the Krui damar agroforests

Chip C. Fay, Hubert de Foresta, Martua T. Sirait and Thomas P. Tomich

In January 1998, Djamaloedin Soeryohadikoesoemo, Indonesia's Minister of Forestry from April 1993 to March 1998, signed an historic decree that established—for the first time in Indonesia—an official precedent for community-based natural resource management. Based on the minister's concept for a distinctive forest-use classification, 'Kawasan dengan Tujuan Istimewa' (KdTI), the new decree recognizes the legitimacy of community-managed agroforests on a significant area of State Forest Land.

This decree recognizes the environmental and social benefits of an indigenous land use system (damar agroforests), the role of indigenous institutions in ensuring the sustainability of this natural resource management system, and the rights of smallholders to harvest and market timber and other products from trees they planted. While the new KdTI area still is part of the State Forest Land, this classification is unprecedented in that:

- it sanctions a community-based natural resource management system as the official management regime within an area of the State Forest Land;
- it allows local people to harvest timber from within the State Forest Land;
- it allows limited harvesting of timber from within a watershed;
- it devolves the management responsibility of State Forest Land to a traditional community governing structure; and
- these rights are provided without a time limit.

The first KdTI area is in the heartland of the Krui damar agroforests in Lampung Province on the Indonesian island of Sumatra. Through a process developed by the Krui people a century ago, these agroforests begin with land clearing and planting of upland rice, which is followed by a succession of treecrops, including coffee, fruit trees, various timber species and damar (*Shorea javanica*), which produces resin as well as timber. Managed by a succession of farmers, these agroforests develop over a period of decades into complex, multi-strata agroforestry systems that replicate a number of forest functions, including biodiversity conservation and watershed protection. Satellite images indicate there are approximately 55 000 ha of these mature agroforests in Krui. The new KdTI area covers 29 000 ha of damar agroforests at various ages that fall within the State Forest Zone, with the balance being on private land.

At the invitation of the Indonesian Minister of Forestry, ICRAF and NGO partners the Tropical Nature Foundation of Indonesia, and the Family of Nature and Environment Lovers—Lampung worked closely with Forestry Department counterparts to identify and develop workable options for implementation of the Minister's KdTI concept in Krui. This effort benefited greatly from previous research on the ecological, social and economic functions of the Krui agroforests conducted by the Institut français de recherche scientifique pour le développement en coopération (ORSTOM) scientists, some of whom are seconded to ICRAF in Southeast Asia. Subsequently, a research consortium grew that includes the 2 Indonesian NGOs, the University of Indonesia, the Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) and the ICRAF/ORSTOM team. Results of research by this 'Krui Team' helped local farmers gain official recognition by documenting the myriad benefits of the damar agroforests as a resource

management system. Since 1995, the research consortium has been working with Krui farmers to literally place their agroforestry systems on the map and to articulate the environmental and economic benefits of their system. Research and community organizations produced numerous maps and detailed descriptions and analysis of the Krui agroforests. In March 1997, the consortium conveyed requests from village leaders to the Minister of Forestry to begin a dialogue with government about the status of their lands. In June the consortium helped organize field visits from key government officials as well as a 2-day workshop to present research results and discuss the status of the land. The results of these activities were reported to the Minister of Forestry and, 6 months later, the ground-breaking decree was signed.

At least 7000 families in the KdTI area will benefit directly from the decree's official recognition of their rights. If this pilot effort is implemented successfully, the KdTI prototype may be applied in numerous other locations in Indonesia, with benefits for hundreds of thousands of households through poverty alleviation, improved resource management and reduction of social conflict. Indeed, this can be viewed as an effort by Minister Djamaloedin to address human rights issues arising from conflict over forestlands as well as the pursuit of environmental objectives and poverty alleviation. Until this decree was issued, the Krui agroforests were at risk because of the uncertainty of farmers' tenure status in the State Forest Land. A forestry company held the government-awarded right to manage this area, including the right to harvest an estimated 3 million commercially valuable trees planted by local people, who could legally be fined or jailed for establishing and managing their agroforests. In addition, local farmers expressed growing concerns over the uncertainty of their rights on the damar agroforests they planted and are currently managing. Many damar farmers adopted a 'wait and see' strategy and chose not to plant damar and fruit trees until they would know for sure that they will be able to harvest the benefits of their work. This uncertainty clearly endangered the very future of a system that is renowned worldwide as a rare example of successful and sustainable system for management of forest resources by a local community. Thanks to this new decree, damar farmers and their agroforests in the KdTI area should now be safe from such threats.

The Krui experience has gained the attention of researchers working on similar problems as far away as Cameroon. African scientists visited the Krui agroforests as part of the activities of the Alternatives to Slash-and-Burn Programme and expressed interest in the way the new policy will implemented in the hope that a similar process can be explored in Cameroon.

Damar agroforests in Krui (West Lampung, Sumatra)¹

Kebun damar: between forest and garden

Driving westwards from the peneplain along the Sumatra highway -a mosaic of dry fields and pepper plantations- through the Barisan range -a succession of reddish hills extensively degraded by pioneer coffee growing- one suddenly enters another country: a land of trees that stretches all along the quiet descent to the Indian Ocean. The human mark on this forest landscape is not immediately obvious: some clearings bearing hill paddy, few patches of fallow vegetation. Elsewhere, a venerable jungle dominated by large trees.

The area covers some 100 000 ha divided between a long coastal plain -130 km from the provincial border in the North to the southern Cape Cina in the Sunda Straits- which widens from north to south, and a steep hilly and mountainous area culminating over 2,000 m high. It stretches over three administrative subdistricts².

Wherever possible, irrigated ricefields -and associated permanent villages- have been established along the coastal plain, but the rude topography and the relatively low quality of the inland soils have limited the possibilities of further permanent agricultural food production. The hills have long remained the domain of a classic agroforestry rotation: mosaics of temporary rice fields and coffee plantations with secondary, fallow vegetation. But for about a century or so, this traditional pattern of forest conversion to agriculture has evolved into a complex system of forest re-development: planting valuable fruit and resin-producing trees in their swiddens, Pesisir farmers have managed to create a new forest landscape entirely tailored to their needs. This man-made forest, though forming an almost continuous massif, is made up of a succession of individually evolved gardens, that the farmers name from the dominant tree species: the damar³ (Torquebiau 1984; Michon and Bompard 1987; Michon and Jafarsidik 1989).

Damar gardens in the Pesisir represent totally original examples of sustainable and profitable management of forest resources, entirely conceived and managed by local populations. Originality lies in the ecological mastery of the main economic resource, the forest tree, not through conventional domestication which usually concerns modification of plant characteristics to achieve adaptation to a cultivated ecosystem, but through an almost total reconstruction of the original forest ecosystem in agricultural lands. Success is due to the proven reproducibility of the system over the long term as well as to its economic results and to its social bases. Today, more than 80% of the damar resins produced in Indonesia is provided not by natural forests, but by the Pesisir damar gardens. Among the 70 villages scattered along the coast, only 13 do not own damar gardens⁴ (Dupain 1994). Productive gardens presently cover at least 50,000 ha (estimation based on field experience and satellite image analysis), the main center of cultivation being located around the city of Krui, where hills are almost totally covered with a mature damar forest. Yearly damar production was estimated around 8,000 tons

¹ The following article is made up of parts of the article "Formal recognition of farmer's rights as a pre-condition for the re-building of productive and durable community forests in Indonesia: the damar agroforests in Krui, Sumatra" (G. Michon, H. de Foresta, Kusworo, and P. Levang), under press for C.Zerner Ed.: People, Plants and Justice.

² Population density ranges from 100 p/sq.km in the central district where available space for agriculture is saturated for more than 30 years, to less than 20 p/sq.km in the south where land can still be easily appropriated. From the ancient times until recently, the main communication links with regional centers (Bengkulu, Teluk Betung, Batavia/Jakarta, Singapore) were established through direct maritime connections, and several small harbors were scattered along the coast, with an important market center at Krui, in the central district. Recently, the old road to the east, through the central Barisan range - and through the national park- has been rehabilitated, a provincial road to the north has been completed and another is being developed to the south.

³ "Damar" is a generic term used in Indonesia to designate resins produced by trees of the Dipterocarp family.

⁴ these are mainly villages territory of which lies on the sandy sediments of the coast and which specialized in coconut growing, as well as new transmigration villages in the south and several former "clove villages" in the north

in 1984 (Bourgeois 1984) and reached 10,000 tons in 1994 (Dupain 1994). New gardens are still being established in the northern and southern subdistricts.

Damar gardens can be analysed as a forest, and indeed, biologically, they constitute a forest in its own, a complex community of plants and animals and a balanced ensemble of biological processes reproducible in the long term on its own dynamics. For common observers, they can easily be mistaken -and they have often been- for a natural forest. But they definitely have also been established not as a forest but as an agricultural production unit on an agricultural territory. They are part of lands that are agriculturally claimed by local people, they are managed mainly as an agricultural enterprise. Occupying this vague interface between "agriculture" and "forest" -at least with the conventional perceptions of agriculture and forest that modern science has promoted-, they fully deserve the name of agroforests (Michon 1985; de Foresta and Michon 1993).

A tree plantation modelled as a forest

While damar trees are clearly dominant in mature gardens, representing about 65 % of the tree community and constituting the major canopy ensemble, damar gardens are not simple, homogeneous plantations. They exhibit diversity and heterogeneity typical of any natural forest ecosystem, with a high botanical richness, a multi-layered vertical structure⁵ as well as specific patterns of forest dynamics.

Plant inventories in mature damar agroforests have recorded around 40 common tree species, and several more tens of associated species, either large trees, treelets and shrubs, liana, herbs and epiphytes. Important economic species commonly associated with damar are mainly fruit trees: they represent 20 to 25 % of the tree community. In the canopy, durian and the legume tree *Parkia speciosa* associate with the damar trees. In the sub-canopy ensembles, langsat is the major species with, to a lesser extent, mangosteen, rambutan, jacktree, palms like the sugar-palm *Arenga pinnata* or the betel-palm *Areca catechu*, and several water apple species -*Eugenia* spp-, as well as trees producing spices and flavorings (*Garcinia* spp. fruits of which are used as acid additives in curries, *Eugenia polyantha* the local laurel tree). The last component -10 to 15 % of the tree community- is composed of wild trees of different size and of various nature, which have naturally established and are protected by farmers either because they do not present adverse effects on planted trees, or because of interesting end uses. These species mainly include bamboos and valuable timber species (Apocynaceae, Lauraceae, etc). Non-tree species characteristic of a forest ecosystem (Zingiberaceae, Rubiaceae, Araceae, Urticaceae) have colonized the undergrowth of gardens, where they contribute to maintain a favorable environment for the development of seedlings of the upper layers trees.

Management of mature gardens is centered around the harvest of resin and that of fruits. Labour allocated to routine garden maintenance is mingled with labour devoted to resin harvest, and the tempo of harvests is determined by labour requirements for wet rice cultivation. Work in the gardens is postponed at time of rice harvest or of ricefield preparation, so that tree gardening never competes for labour with subsistence agriculture.

Once established, the damar plantation evolves with minimum human inputs. The silvicultural process in damar gardens is not conceived, as in conventional forest plantations, as a mass treatment applied to a homogeneous, even-aged population of trees, but aims at maintaining a system which produces and reproduces without disruption either in structural or in functional patterns. Natural processes are given the major role in the evolution and shaping of the cultivated ecosystem. Global continuity is ensured through a balanced combination between natural dynamic processes⁶ prevailing

⁵ tree stands in damar gardens show a mean density of 245 trees/ha (record of all trees over 20 cm in diameter on eight 4000m² randomly selected plots) and a mean basal area of 33 m²/ha. These quite high figures, associated to a well balanced diameter class distribution, are really close to structural patterns found in natural forests [Michon, 1985 #16; Wijayanto, 1993 #18].

⁶ pollination, fructification and production, seed dispersion and germination, seedling and sapling development, gap colonization, water and nutrient cycling

in tree population and appropriate management of individual trees of economic species. As natural decay of planted trees is predictable, farmers can easily foresee and plan their replacement. The main task of the gardener is to regularly introduce young trees in the garden plot in order to constitute and maintain an uneven-aged pool of replacement trees. In a well managed garden, the size of the replacement pool ensures the sustainability of the productive stand.

2 / Between plantation economy and forest use: the economic and social values of damar gardens

Damar gardens have been established by farmers in a perspective of commercial production, and the economic management of the damar gardens is basically closer to that of an agricultural smallholder plantation than to that of a forest. However, some functions of the damar gardens still relate to the former harvested forests that complemented rice swiddens in ancient production systems.

Damar garden as an enterprise

Damar trees represent the main source of household cash income, and damar collection is far more lucrative than other agricultural activity in the region (Mary 1987; Levang 1992). Resin is harvested on a regular basis: individual trees are usually tapped from once a month to once every 2 weeks. A single villager can harvest a mean of 20 kg of resin a day. In the central subdistrict villages, mean harvests are between 70 and 100 kg per family per month. Resin sale represents a regular income allocated to day-to-day expenses⁷: purchase of additional foods, weekly costs for children schooling. Five days of work in damar gardens are usually enough to ensure a month subsistence for the whole family (Levang 1989; Levang 1992). For those who do not own permanent ricefields, the damar income also allows to purchase some rice and thus complements dry rice culture where it still exists. However, the damar income is usually not sufficient to raise important funds nor for hoarding.

The damar activity also generates a series of associated activities: harvest, transportation from the field to the village, stocking, sorting and transportation to wholesalers in Krui. Harvest, transportation and sorting are carried-out either by the grower himself or by members of his family, or by specialized agents who are paid employees. Independent entrepreneurs ensure resin stocking in the village. These activities raise significant additional income for the village⁸ and allow those who do not own a damar garden to benefit from damar production (Bourgeois 1984; Mary 1987; Levang 1992; Nadapdap, Tjitradjaja et al. 1995).

As in many other places in Sumatra, the contribution of the fruit component to household economy has been increasing in recent years because of the growing importance of urban markets and of the recent major improvements in the road network. For the last productive years, marketing of the major commercial fruits, durian and langsung, has allowed to multiply the global agroforest income by two (Levang 1992; Bouamrane 1996). However, due to high irregularities in fruiting seasons⁹, income from fruits cannot be fully integrated in household daily budget planning. It is still mainly used for exceptional or "luxurious" expenses¹⁰.

Damar gardens constitute one of the most profitable smallholder production system in Sumatra (Table 1, from (de Foresta and Michon 1997)). They globally ensure reasonable levels of life quality, including high-schooling of children which is given top priority in most villages of the area. In

⁷ In the 11 villages "less concerned" by the damar activity, resin production and processing makes-up 45% of the mean household cash income. In the remaining 46 "damar villages", it represents between 70 and 100%. The production of 1993 generated regional gross value estimated at Rp 6.5 billions (US \$ 3.25 million) for Pesisir farmers from the sale of the damar only, to which Rp 5.3 billions (US \$ 3.25 million) have to be added as additional value generated by trade and Rp 2.7 billion (US \$ 2.65 million) for related wages, which makes a total of Rp 14.5 billion (US \$ 7.25 million) of regional gross value for the whole Pesisir villages. To this should be added Rp 542 million (US \$ 271 000) of profit margins made by the 9 Krui traders (Dupain 1994).

⁸ the sale value of the resin itself represents only less than half (44,5%) of the total income provided by resin production in villages, related activities accounting for the largest share (Mary 1986; Levang 1992)

⁹ due to adverse climatic conditions, there has been no fruit season in the area from 1992 to 1994

¹⁰ house repair, purchase of furniture, chainsaw or satellite dish, wedding ceremonies, or any festive activity

addition, they can be managed -and used accordingly whenever needed- as a safety assets: a garden, or part of it consisting of several selected trees, can be "pawned" through special agreements called *gadai*¹¹ (Mary 1987; Lubis 1996) that allow any family to overcome difficult periods without resorting to selling trees or land¹², which is considered as one of the worse things that might happen to a family.

Indeed, in accordance with an agricultural conception of resource management, damar gardens also represent a patrimony. Born from a strategy of land property creation, fruit of a labour invested for a distant term, which will benefit mainly to future generations, the damar garden constitutes an inalienable lineage property (Mary 1987; Nadapdap, Tjitradjaja et al. 1995). In the very particular social and institutional context of the Pesisir, where families are defined mainly by their land assets, this notion of lineage patrimony defines the agroforest not only as the source of living of a household, but also as the land foundation of a lineage.

Damar gardens as a useful forest

On another hand, damar gardens fulfill a role equivalent to those of natural forests in forest villages economies.

Wild resources associated with damar trees support a whole range of gathering activities that are more typically linked with natural forest ecosystems -hunting, fishing, and harvesting of plant products- and provide important complementary subsistence resources for households. These include various non commercial fruits, vegetables and spices, firewood as well as other plant material and timber for housing purposes¹³.

Damar gardens also represent, as does any natural forest, a source of products that are potentially marketable commodities at a larger scale: timber, rattan, medicinal and insecticide plants can be harvested for sale whenever needed or if market conditions are considered as interesting¹⁴. As new markets are developing, some of the traditional subsistence products have actually emerged as new commodities. Timber presently stands as the major "new" commodity that might even revolutionize the management of damar gardens¹⁵ (Petit and de Foresta 1997). Damar gardens have taken over the essential role traditionally devoted to natural forests in household economy: a place opened to subsistence gathering and extractivism and used opportunistically, according to the family's immediate needs. This forest function also appears in some of the egalitarian social attributes of the gardens -through product exchanges, sharing and donations¹⁶- and open right for harvesting¹⁷.

¹¹"Pawnbrokers" (any villager with funds available can become a pawnbroker) may provide loans of several thousand rupiah for one garden for an undetermined period (at least one year). Tree production serves as yearly interest for the creditor, who for the whole period of pawning can use the garden for his own convenience, except for selling or transforming it. The agreement ends as soon as the gardens owner refunds all the money to the creditor or when he claims the profits made by the creditor are sufficient.

¹²bank credit is still uncommon and uneasy in villages.

¹³thatching material from palm and *Garcinia* leaves, rattan and other liana, fibers from tree bark, bamboo. For timber production, damar and fruit trees appear as important as wild species

¹⁴the most valuable but also less predictable extractive commodity in the damar gardens is rattan: rattan cane harvest is subjected to the profit/failure dynamics of local buyers, and rattan fruits once appeared as a valuable product. This important economic unpredictability constitutes the main impediment to the development of rattan harvesting into a real garden production.

¹⁵as other sources of timber in the area are vanishing, the economic potential of damar timber is increasing. However, timber harvesting and marketing regulations, taxes, bribes and police harassment, constitute major impediments to the development of timber production as an integrated production of damar gardens

¹⁶Poor people, and children for their weekly schooling needs, can harvest resin fallen on the ground, they are even allowed to collect resin from the lowest tapping holes. Valuable fruits are traditionally shared by the family, and, in season, distant relatives may come and join for a durian party or leave with a basket full of *langsar*, which is considered as a valuable practice for keeping family cohesion

This creates important networks of reciprocity that act as a counterpart of merchant networks created through agricultural activities, and that help maintain a social balance between well-endowed people and resourceless.

In replacing natural forests by damar agroforests, villagers' aim was to amplify commercial strategies linked to the forest ecosystem. This is a widespread dynamics all over Indonesia: slash and burn practices are usually not targeted to staple food production only, but, primarily, to the establishment of income-generating agro-ecosystems (Pelzer 1978; Scholz 1982; Dove 1983; Weinstock 1989). Here, and this is one of the main originalities of the land conversion process in the area, though converting natural forests into a commercial plantation, Pesisir farmers also managed to restore a whole range of economic products and functions originally offered by the forest. Forest conversion did not go along with a radical process of biological simplification, rather it restored plant and animal diversity through cultivated, preserved and spontaneously established species. Specialization did not entail economic reductionism, rather, it restored the whole range of economic choices present in a natural, untransformed ecosystem. In a perspective of integrated conservation and development programme, this preservation of existing and potential economic diversity might appear as important as that of biodiversity.

Building on forest resource: species domestication or forest reconstruction? or how the control of a forest resource leads to appropriation of a forest

Damar story in the Pesisir constitutes a highly original example of spontaneous appropriation of a forest resource -the damar tree- by local farmer communities. It was achieved as the wild resource itself was vanishing (Michon, de Foresta et al. 1995; Michon, Foresta et al. 1996). If human history is rich in examples of natural resource appropriation through cultivation to achieve domestication, the originality of the damar example is that, while cultivating this particular forest resource, villagers have achieved the global restoration of a forest in the middle of agricultural lands (Michon 1996). Biologists will argue that the damar agroforest is far from a natural, pristine tropical forest: though close to it, damar gardens can not totally replace the natural forest ecosystem. But they represent a rather integral forest resource, which is, for local people, much more significant than a natural forest which escapes more and more their control and conservation of which is, for long and for external institutional reasons, out of their concern.

How cultivation techniques evolve into forest appropriation strategies

Reconstruction of a forest by Pesisir villagers was not planned as such. Rather, it appeared *a posteriori* as the consequence of a particular cropping system minimizing labour input and maximizing the use of natural production and reproduction processes of an artificial ecosystem dominated by trees. In that sense, it is the choice of particular cultivation techniques and patterns more than the initial selection of a given forest tree, that allowed true forest appropriation.

Technical appropriation of the damar resource: overcoming biological constraints, using biological advantages

The main ecological disadvantages of the selected forest species are typical of Dipterocarps: difficult natural regeneration, due to irregular and occasional flowering, lack of seed dormancy, and necessity of mycorrhizae association. But one important advantage has to be mentioned: unlike many Dipterocarp species, *Shorea javanica* appears to be rather light-tolerant, that made it suitable to cultivation in plots already cleared for agriculture.

Villagers solved the regeneration problem through a technology of "assistance storing of seedlings" (Michon and Bompard 1987; Michon and Jafarsidik 1989). The establishment of small nurseries, where the seedlings can be kept for several years and used whenever planting material is

¹⁷Useful garden products such as firewood, sugar palm sap, small fruits, medicinal plants, can be collected in privately-owned gardens by whoever needs and asks for it

needed allowed to overcome fruiting irregularity and lack of seed dormancy. The mycorrhizae problem was avoided through a first phase of direct transplantation of seedlings from the forest to the plantation site.

Among other biological constraints is the long renewability rate of damar as a resource: it takes at least one generation -20 to 25 years- for a tree to attain a minimum tappable size. The economic consequence is that, for the first 25 years, a pure damar plantation would be of little, if any, use for the planter. This difficulty was solved through a strategy of crop succession starting from the ladang and planned over the medium term.

Integration of a forest tree in a farming system: the "ladang way"

Expansion and success of damar cultivation are indeed closely related to swidden agricultural practices (Michon and Bompard 1987; de Foresta and Michon 1994). It is through the *ladang*, and through its traditional crop succession structure that damar trees have been restituted in the landscape. In the former dry land cultivation system, *ladang* were opened primarily for rice production, but some did not directly return to fallow. Instead, they were further transformed into either coffee or pepper plantation¹⁸. The first damar trees were introduced in these successional *ladang* gardens, amidst coffee bushes and pepper vines, where they found a suitable environment to establish and further develop. After the abandonment of the coffee or pepper stand, damar trees were strong enough to grow along with secondary vegetation and overcome competition of pioneers. The subsequent fallow was a mix of self-established successional vegetation and introduced damar trees, which fully developed until reaching a tappable size, some 20 to 25 years after the plantation, but no more than 10 years after the plot abandonment. Damar plantation soon became a success story: everyone started to plant seedlings in his own *ladang* garden. Through this very simple cropping technique, after two decades, a traditional fallow land had changed into a managed tree garden including damar trees as well as other introduced fruit species and self-established trees, bushes and vines.

This process of establishment still prevails today in area which are being converted. Ecologically, the whole development of these successive crop mixtures imitates natural forest succession¹⁹, with all its ecological benefits: soil protection, microclimate evolution in accordance with successive component needs. Technically, it reminds a classic agroforestry process of forest plantation establishment -taungya system-, in which young seedlings of economic tree species start to grow in favorable, controlled conditions: here, maintenance of the coffee/*Erythrina* stand secures good microclimatic conditions -shade and humidity- favouring transplantation success and provides weed control during the first 4 to 15 years following seedlings' introduction.

Economically, this vegetation succession process is of tremendous importance as it makes-up the basis of a succession of harvestable commercial products, thus reducing the unproductive time span of the plantation to some 5 to 10 years. Costs of labour devoted to damar establishment are mingled with those devoted to rice and coffee cultivation on swidden fields. Cultivation of commercial tree crops does not compete for labour with subsistence agriculture. On the contrary, it allows to maximize returns on labour inherent to the swidden system -vegetation cutting and field maintenance- successively through coffee and trees.

Pesisir villagers have succeeded in what most foresters dream, but fail: establishing, maintaining and reproducing, at low costs and on huge areas, a healthy Dipterocarp plantation. This is still a unique example in the whole forestry world. And the best part of the story is that this success is inextricably linked to shifting cultivation, this agricultural system hold in contempt by foresters. The acceptance of the wild tree as a cultivated tree crop and the subsequent expansion of the plantation

¹⁸coffee or pepper and *Erythrina* as shade tree or living poles were coplanted with dry rice and vegetables, the productive plantation was maintained for 4 to 6 years for coffee, and up to 15 for pepper, and then returned to fallow

¹⁹rainfed rice as the first grassy phase, coffee/pepper as the early pioneer tree phase, subsequent secondary formation with young damar and fruit trees, and damar/fruit trees associated to various wild trees, as the mature phase

were allowed by the particular structure of the swidden production system, and *ladang* was at the very heart of this success.

In achieving the switch from "natural and sometimes protected" status of the damar tree in traditional extractivism systems to its adoption as a new crop in the farming system, farmers have clearly re-invented the common process of resource appropriation through (agri)culture. Indeed the control of the damar resource, based on the mimicry of natural forest processes which adapts the cultivated ecosystem to the plant characteristics, runs opposite to conventional domestication processes which emphasize modification of biological and ecological characteristics to achieve adaptation of the plant to a cultivated ecosystem (Michon 1996).

Further appropriation of the forest resource: restoring biodiversity

The plantation process that usually associates damar with fruit trees and leaves pioneer trees establishing naturally in the *ladang* garden basically recreates the skeleton of a forest system. But the real appropriation of forest richness and diversity is achieved through the free development of natural processes of diversification and niche colonization. As in any secondary vegetation dominated by trees, the newly maturing damar plantation provides a suitable environment and convenient niches for the establishment of plant propagules coming from the neighboring forests through natural dispersion. It also offers shelter and feed to forest animals. In this natural enrichment process, farmers merely select among the possible options offered by the ecological processes: favouring resources, through introducing economic trees and protecting their development, or tolerating non-resources development and reproduction as long as they are not considered as "weeds". After several decades of such a balance between free functioning and integrated management, the global biodiversity levels are fairly high. As natural forests below 700-800 m asl are almost inexistant in the Pesisir, damar gardens constitute the major habitat for many plant species characteristic of lowland and hill dipterocarp forests that would otherwise have disappeared (Michon and de Foresta 1990; Michon and de Foresta 1995). The agroforest also shelters many animal species, among which some representants of highly endangered species like the Sumatran rhino or the Sumatran tiger²⁰ (Sibuea and Herdimansyah 1993; Thiollay 1995).

Seen from the planter's point of view, while the introduction of economic species in the damar agroforest is intentional, global biodiversity reestablishment is "accidental". But it is precisely this

²⁰In order to assess biodiversity levels, comparative studies have been conducted between agroforests and related primary forests for several fauna and flora groups, including higher plants (from ferns to dicotyledons), birds, mammals and soil mesofauna.

Soil mesofauna diversity levels (α and β diversity) are quite similar between forest and agroforest. None of the numerically important species of the forest population is absent in the related agroforest, however, because many species in that large group are rare species, results do not prove that all forest species exist in the agroforest (Deharveng 1992).

Bird richness in damar agroforests is 30% lower than in primary forest: respectively 96 and 135 species have been recorded in those two ecosystems. About 57% of the bird species found in the forest have not been encountered in the agroforest, whereas 40% of the agroforest species were not present in the forest surveys [Thiollay, 1995 #48]. Reduction of bird diversity can be related to biological factors (simplification of composition and vertical structure from forest to agroforest), but is probably mainly due to high hunting pressure (birds are caught for food, but also often to be kept in cages in the village or sold to outsiders, as bird keeping is more than a hobby in Indonesia).

As far as mammals are concerned, almost all forest species are present in the agroforest. Densities of Primates populations (macaques, leaf monkeys, gibbons and siamang) in the agroforest are quite similar to those observed for natural forests. Footprints of the rare Sumatran rhino have been recorded in the agroforest, less than 2 km from villages. This represents the first record of rhino in this part of Sumatra and allows to draw hypotheses on the usefulness of agroforests for the conservation of endangered animals as an important adjunct to protected forests (Sibuea and Herdimansyah 1993).

Global flora richness is reduced to approximately 50% in the agroforest. However, results have to be dissociated by biological groups, as they can be very different from one group to another. The largest loss occurs for trees (agroforest diversity merely represents 30% of the original diversity levels), which is quite understandable as economic intensification, and therefore selection operates mainly on trees. Epiphyte and liana richness in the agroforest is at least 50% of forest richness, whereas for undergrowth plants, it is much higher in agroforests than in natural forest (2 to 1), which should be related to the common abundance of this group in secondary forests as compared to primary forests.

“accident” -the establishment of diversified flora and fauna as in any silvigenetic process- which reconstitutes the real forest aspect of the agroforest. These combined processes -the intentional and the accidental one- are essential for several reasons: they restore resources that otherwise would not have been conserved purposefully because they do not appear as important economic resources. But they also allow to restore biological and ecological processes which are determining in the functioning and reproduction of the agroforest as a forest ecosystem. In that sense, even those components which are not economic -or potentially economic- resources are not neutral. Non-edible fruit trees in the agroforest help supporting populations of fruit-eating birds, squirrels and bats, which are essential natural pollinators and dispersers of economic fruit species. Focusing on resources, one should not forget those “functional” resources which are not -and will never be- valued as commodities but are nevertheless essential: restoring diversity, either economic or biological, is meaningless if ecological processes are not maintained.

Damar gardens are certainly an interesting example of agroforestry association. But in the agroforestry context, they convey a totally new dimension: that of the association, not between trees and crops as in conventional agroforestry, but between the forest resource and the agricultural logic (Michon, de Foresta et al. 1995). It is above all the integration of forest resource management into the farming system which constitutes the success and the originality of the damar agroforest. Damar gardens offer new insights into the definition of technical, ecological as well as socio-economic and institutional bases for managing forest resources into farming systems. They open new perspectives for re-inventing forest common property resources through an original agricultural perspective. They also bring new insights to the open debate about natural resource management by local communities. As a development strategy, the establishment of damar agroforest represents an interesting example of forest product management for commercial purposes which did not protect the forest as a whole -it entailed a total transformation of the original ecosystem- but preserved most of its resources and retained an important part of its biodiversity. The transfer of the forest resource from the natural ecosystem to the agroforest did not imply only a transfer of resources, structures and economic vocations, but also a guaranty of the renewability of these resources, structures and economic vocations. And this is an essential lesson for foresters who rarely attempt to manage the forest as a global ecosystem but still pretend devising “sound strategies” for managing the forest resources as renewable ones. In that respect, the agroforest should be considered as an ecological model of forest reconstruction of great potential for reforestation and land rehabilitation programmes. But agroforest is more than a biological duplicate of the forest. In the present political, institutional and socio-economic context in Indonesia, which appears quite unfavorable to long term maintenance of the forest itself, the whole process of damar agroforest establishment and development appears as an extremely original strategy of re-appropriation of forest resources by local populations, or, more than forest resources, of the traditional “forest resource” of peasant economies in the forest margins of Indonesia.

Forest farmers and foresters: from conflict to alliance?

Damar farmers have never been involved in official decision-taking processes regarding the planned development of lands they have actually and efficiently managed for centuries. Neither have they been really informed of these decisions that obviously may have profound implications for their future. On the contrary, after having worked hard and believed that they were developing their lands for their children and grandchildren, they suddenly learned, usually through rumors more than through clear explanations, that these lands belong to the State and that the State has in mind “better” projects for their development. Unsurprisingly, this chronic disinformation has led to the multiplication of conflicts between farmers and government-sponsored agents, which commonly translated into cheats on one side and power abuse on the other side.

Episode 1: the reserved forest

The forest reserve (BoschWeesen, or BW as it is still known locally) was established by the Dutch administration in 1937. Its borders have been decided after consultation with local people, and were in these times located far from the agricultural territory of villages. The status of this reserve has been upgraded to National Park in 1991 (Bukit Barisan Selatan National Park). As an old constraint on their territorial development, villagers are well aware of its existence and of its borders. However, they do not really fully agree with the legitimacy of the Park for flora and fauna protection. This disagreement gained importance in villages where land shortage problems were acute, but it is basically more conceptual than factual. The fundamental grievance of farmers against the ideology - and practice- of conservation forestry is that it values the forest more than humans and will always give the preference to wildlife and plants, would this entail important problems for local people²¹.

Due to land shortage in several villages, encroachment of *ladang* and damar gardens in the forest reserve, especially along the Krui-Liwa road, started as far as 1955. In the late 1960's, a tacit agreement was concluded between farmers and the forestry authorities, allowing several dozens of families to open land in the reserve and establish damar gardens (Mary and Michon 1987). But police and conservation guards continued to regularly visit the farmers to get "reward" for this agreement. This continuous annoyance conducted many families to leave the area at the end of the seventies. Today, in the Park where no *ladangs* have been opened for more than twenty years, the canopy has closed and only the exerted eye will distinguish the damar islands in the forest.

Episode 2: the production forest

Between the reserved forest and the Indian Ocean, the government granted concession rights covering 52 000 ha to a logging company, HPH Bina Lestari (Kusworo 1997) in 1981²². This company had formal rights to collect timber all over the three Pesisir subdistricts. Damar farmers did not know that their territory has been given for logging, as the company only logged timber in the extreme north and in the extreme south and did not dare to harvest timber planted by local farmers in their agroforests; had they done it, this would not have been considered as illegal, and farmers would not have had any right to claim for compensation²³.

The HPH left in 1991 as the area was divided according to the first officially recognized TGHK maps into conversion forest (7500 ha) in the extreme south, protection forest in small pieces distributed all along the western border of the National Park²⁴, and production forest (about 42 000 ha). The management of the production area was given to the state-run company Inhutani V and rumors quickly arose of an Inhutani project of industrial forest plantation for forest "rehabilitation" with large-scale *Acacia* planting, about to start in 1992. This fortunately never materialized, and is not likely to happen since the latest development of the "Krui case" in the Department of Forestry. Between 1992 and 1996, the Forestry service materialized these maps by measuring the State Forest borders and by placing poles. During this period, damar farmers began to suspect that their lands were also claimed by the State. They were never directly informed of the legal consequences of their land being classified as Production or Protection Forest, and when they asked, the answer was always that nothing was changed, *at least for the time being*.

²¹Wildlife, especially elephants, constitutes another source of conflicts between villagers and the PHPA officers. For several years -in fact since the remaining production forest was logged-over and the related opening of roads attracted migrants who cleared large areas in the logged-over forest for coffee and pepper growing- elephants frequently come out of the national park, destroy the crops and attack farmers in their *ladang*, and now even in villages. Villagers require the right to carry guns in order to protect themselves, which is of course not accepted by the conservation guards.

²²the Pesisir area is known in the Department of Forestry as Bina Lestari's forest

²³Under the same situation in the province of Bengkulu, other private foresters have concieniously logged damar gardens belonging to local people

²⁴these pieces of Protection Forest have no other rationale than a compensation for other areas in the province where previously designated protection forest has been declassified to make way for public and private development projects.

Episode 3: recognition? or re-appropriation? ambiguities of the forestry support

Since 1992, new developments occurred that induced changes in the attitude of foresters regarding the Damar enterprise of Pesisir farmers. Among the conjugated forces that pushed these changes are: the joined efforts of local and international researchers and NGOs to promote the "Krui case" as an outstanding example of reforestation and forest management by local communities²⁵, the politically-correct switch in the Department of Forestry itself towards allocating more support to forest communities, the -timid- acknowledgement by regional authorities of potentially important social troubles induced by repeated right violations and power abuse. This translated into a better taking of the originality and the value of the Pesisir system into consideration at various levels of forest and regional administration.

However, this recent support may be a double-sided sword for damar farmers: while many foresters in Jakarta perfectly acknowledge the value and the validity of the damar garden system, they just seem to forget acknowledging that it arose and worked perfectly well without them for something like a century.

The new deal: one for all, all for one, against the planters?

Forests -as well as non-forest- lands in the Pesisir represent the last "wild frontier" in the already overpopulated province of Lampung. Due to the proximity to Jakarta and to the on-going road development, it is a tempting invitation for private speculators: estate developers and agro-industries. For the regional authorities, these potential investors represent highly interesting parties: besides being important tax payers -which farmers are not-, their investments would greatly increase the regional development index, and supposedly increase the level of industrial activities in the area (Kusworo 1997).

Since the early 1990's -after the completion of logging operations-, the district authorities have started allocating "private lands" as well as part of the logged-over forest lands²⁶ in the three Pesisir subdistricts to two oil palm companies: respectively 24,500 ha to PT Karya Canggih Mandiri Utama in the south, being developed since 1994, and 17,352 ha to PT Panji Padma Lestari in the north, starting in January 1996 -with an additional 4,500 ha in the south to the same company. Local farmers were not informed of these projects and started asking questions when they encountered field teams measuring land -among others, measuring their damar gardens and even their ricefields. They were not always given the right answer, however.

Local authorities specified that oil palm would be planted only on actually "empty" lands, though local farmers could also be invited to join with their own lands if they wish. They started campaigning to support the project, asking the village heads to speak highly of the economic merits of oil palm planting and to ensure farmers cooperation. But they also specified that no farmer should be compelled to give up his damar land for the company, that no damar tree should be felled without the consent of the owner. PT Karya Canggih Mandiri Utama soon applied its own conception of "inviting" farmers to join: after a formal convocation conveyed through the subdistrict head -*Camat*- to the village authorities, and given the subsequent lack of enthusiasm from damar farmers, they decided to use fake but positive farmers' signed approval in the place of true but negative ones, and started clear-felling damar gardens, under moon light as this is less visible than under bright morning

²⁵as a result of this joint effort, the prestigious National Kalpataru award for the environment had been given by the President of Indonesia to the "customary community of damar farmers in Pesisir, Krui" on June 5, 1997.

²⁶using the process of revision at the district scale of the TGHK as a way to declassify the targeted forest land.

light²⁷. Angry farmers started publicizing this blunt violation of their basic rights to the provincial assembly and to local newspapers.

Farmers in the northern subdistrict, aware of the hidden practices of the companies, started affirming and publicizing their resistance to the venue of PT Panji Padma Lestari even before it actually started measuring land (1996). The joint claims of farmers, NGOs and international research institutions asserting that replacing farmers' damar gardens by oil palm estates was neither ecologically defensible nor socially acceptable, and that the way this replacement was about to happen could clearly constitute a *cas d'école* of power abuse by economic and political elites, finally succeeded. In December 1996, the Ministry of Forestry asked PT Karya Canggih Mandirutama to suspend its activities and solve the current conflicts with local damar farmers, while in March 1997, the Provincial Governor asked PT Panji Padma Lestari to stop its activities.

Conclusion

The "agroforest framework" offers a good opportunity to escape the formal forestry context and to devise new forms of association between farmers, foresters and regional authorities concerning forest resources. Ecologically, economically, socially, the agroforest is not to be assimilated to a natural forest, and indeed, as long as this confusion between forest and agroforest is maintained, as long as local practices for management of forest resources in farming systems are ignored, the chances of survival of agroforests as a unique model of integral forest management will not cease to decrease. Agroforests, once recognized, open a totally new field for negotiations between foresters and local communities, a field favorable to institutional innovations where ancient conflicts could be solved-out without one or another party losing its face. In particular, it could allow to formulate new alliances between the conventional forestry sector and local communities, to propose new options for land or resource management and control, without destabilizing the existing forestry legislation. And it would be a pity not to take this as an opportunity to rethink, on a real field basis, the whole conventional context of forestry and agriculture.

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²⁷ farmers actually woke up and noticed that all their damar trees had been cut overnight.

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**Table 1: Mature Damar agroforest, mean production per hectare per year
 Pahmungan village, Pesisir Tengah, Lampung Barat, April 1995**

species	Density Trees/ha. > 20 cm DBH	Production	Traded	Labour man.days/year family level	Yearly income	
					Rp.	US dollar
Shorea javanica (resin)	145	1550 kg	1500 kg	50	1,500,000	682
Durio zibethinus*	25	625 fruits	600 fruits	10	420,000	191
Lansium domesticum*	15	600 kg	500 kg	10	250,000	114
Parkia speciosa	8	1200 fruits	1000 fruits	10	100,000	45
Baccaurea racemosa*	7	200 kg	50 kg	2	100,000	45
Artocarpus cempedak*	6	100 fruits	50 fruits	2	50,000	23
Other fruit trees (6 spp.)*	10	200 kg	50 kg	3	50,000	23
Standing volume						
Timber (all species used)	350 m3	5 m3	2.5 m3	0#	50,000	23
Total Labour (man.days)				87		
Mean yearly income					2,520,000	1146
Minimum income (no fruiting season)					1,650,000	750
Maximum income (fruit season)					3,840,000	1745

*: production every two years

*: production every three years

#: no family labour involved in timber harvesting