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## THE DYNAMICS OF TOBACCO COMMODITY GOVERNANCE ON FARMER WELFARE AND ECONOMIC RESILIENCE IN THE TEMANGGUNG REGION

Veni Aprisal<sup>1</sup>

Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Indonesia  
[veniaprisal2504@gmail.com](mailto:veniaprisal2504@gmail.com)



Putri Wulan Nahri<sup>2</sup>

Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Indonesia  
[putriwulannahri1@students.undip.ac.id](mailto:putriwulannahri1@students.undip.ac.id)

Ristya Rahma Azzahra<sup>3</sup>

Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Indonesia  
[ristyarahmaazzahra29@students.undip.ac.id](mailto:ristyarahmaazzahra29@students.undip.ac.id)

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### Abstract

Tobacco commodity management remains a serious issue, particularly in production centers such as Temanggung Regency. This study aims to examine in depth the dynamics of tobacco commodity management in Temanggung Regency and its implications for farmer welfare and regional economic resilience. This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach using literature review methods. The findings reveal that the tobacco trade is dominated by middlemen and factories, leaving farmers in the weakest position. The practice of high-interest debt, known as the *nglimolasi* system, structurally binds farmers and strips them of control over prices. Conversely, the increase in tobacco excise taxes in 2024, which generated national revenue of Rp216.9 trillion, did not provide protection for farmers. Meanwhile, the allocation of Rp16 billion from the DBHCHT in Temanggung was primarily absorbed by physical programs rather than capacity-building initiatives for farmers. The tobacco industry plays a crucial role in Temanggung's economy, contributing 22.47% to the regional GDP. The vulnerability of this industry directly impacts the region's economic resilience, with social and economic pressures intensifying as farmers' well-being declines.

**Keywords:** Governance, Tobacco, Farmers' Well-Being, DBHCHT, Regional Economic Resilience

## INTRODUCTION

Agriculture remains a crucial sector supporting the Indonesian economy, particularly in rural areas. Tobacco is one of the strategic agricultural commodities, particularly due to its link to the tobacco products industry (IHT). The tobacco industry makes a significant contribution to the Indonesian economy, particularly in foreign exchange and excise revenues, which are among the largest sources of state revenue. In 2024, the Directorate General of Customs and Excise recorded that tobacco excise revenues amounted to 216.9 trillion rupiah, equivalent to 95.8% of total national excise revenues. However, tobacco commodity governance remains complex and fraught with conflicting interests. This impacts farmer welfare and regional economic resilience.

Injustice and monopoly in the tobacco trade remain serious problems in the industry. The complex flow of the tobacco trade is often hampered by inequities in distribution. The opportunity for manipulation or mafia games by elites opens up. The main obstacles experienced by farmers are price uncertainty and transparency, dependence on middlemen, and lack of access to market and price information, placing them in the weakest position in the value chain. Research by Genilo & Sharif (2015) revealed that many tobacco farmers in countries such as Indonesia and Zambia report very low profits, often below the international poverty line. Similarly, research by Sofianto (2013) found that the long distribution chain from farmers to cigarette factories also reduces farmers' profit potential.

In terms of regulation, the tobacco excise (CHT) policy is the country's primary fiscal tool, simultaneously influencing the dynamics of the tobacco industry. Regulation of the Minister of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia Number PMK Number 198/PMK.010/2020 concerning the Increase in Excise Tariffs on Tobacco Products. The impact of a policy will have two sides, namely good and bad impacts. An increase in tobacco excise tariffs has a positive impact by increasing excise revenue. Meanwhile, the downside is that if the tariff is too high, it will open up opportunities for the circulation of illegal cigarettes and influence regional policies such as double tax burdens, which further burden farmers. Excise tariff increases that are not accompanied by protection for farmers risk weakening the sustainability of local economies, especially in major producing regions.

The Indonesian government's commitment to tobacco management is evident in the allocation of the Tobacco Excise Revenue Sharing Fund (DBHCHT) to support key producing regions. By 2024, the national DBHCHT allocation reached 4.9 trillion rupiah. However, the effectiveness of this fund's utilization remains a matter of concern, as while some have shown positive responses, it is not without challenges, particularly for farmer welfare. The DBHCHT allocation for farmers is used to assist with crop verification, but in reality, challenges remain related to standard technical guidelines from the central and regional governments, and farmers are often required to submit proposals in advance (Ratih et al., 2021). In many cases, the DBHCHT allocation is still used for physical activities (infrastructure) and has not directly impacted tobacco farmer empowerment or strengthened farmer institutions. The lack of farmer participation in planning and monitoring fund use also weakens program accountability and impact.

Temanggung Regency is one of the main tobacco production centers in Indonesia. Tobacco farming in Temanggung Regency contributes 31% of total tobacco production on Java Island and 26% of total tobacco production in Indonesia (Wijaya & Ritaningrum, 2023).

This achievement has earned Temanggung the nickname "Tobacco City." In 2024, the harvested area of Temanggung tobacco reached 14,087 hectares, with production reaching 9,438 tons. However, the welfare of Temanggung tobacco farmers currently faces several major challenges. The stagnation in farmer welfare in Temanggung is triggered by many factors, ranging from policies that are not pro-farmer to a changing community lifestyle that has become more individualistic (Nuryanti et al., 2018).

Given these dynamics, this study aims to examine the dynamics of tobacco commodity governance in Temanggung, particularly regarding the welfare of tobacco farmers. Successful farmer empowerment will determine the region's economic resilience. The laxity of policies that still favor companies and multinational *corporations* will permanently threaten the Temanggung tobacco industry, resulting in poor welfare for farmers and workers across all tobacco sectors. Tobacco control requires holistic and comprehensive interventions. This research also aims to formulate a direction for strengthening governance through a collaborative approach involving various actors. Efficient institutions will impact the performance of the tobacco industry in Temanggung.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a literature review method. (Literature Review) as the primary approach to examining the dynamics of tobacco commodity governance and its implications for farmer welfare in Temanggung Regency. This study employed qualitative methods with a descriptive qualitative design to analyze, identify, and deepen the results of previous literature studies. Literature reviews were chosen because they can provide a comprehensive understanding of relevant sectoral governance issues. According to Snyder (2019), literature reviews serve as the foundation for building new conceptual models or theories and are useful for mapping research results over time.

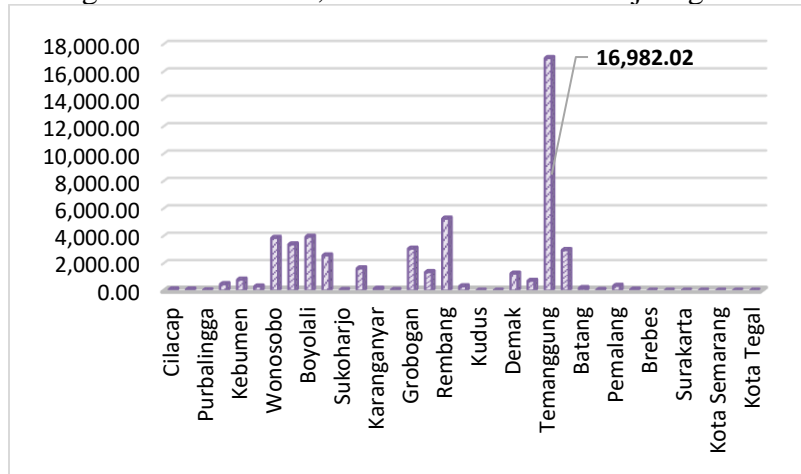
This research process encompasses several important steps, including determining the research focus and collecting literature from various sources, such as scientific journals, books, policy reports, documents, and official government websites. This study not only examines policies and historical changes in tobacco regulation but also examines their implications for farmer welfare from various perspectives. Similarly, Xiao and Watson (2019) also argue that the literature review serves as a mapping of previous information and a conceptual tool to offer new perspectives on complex issues. This approach allows researchers to develop a comprehensive understanding of how tobacco commodity governance affects farmers' conditions in Temanggung Regency and generate arguments based on secondary data.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Tobacco Commodity Trading System

Tobacco is a widely cultivated commodity in Indonesia, particularly in Central Java, the second-largest tobacco-producing province. Temanggung Regency is one of the tobacco-producing regions in Central Java, with 18,615 hectares of cultivated land spread across 20 districts. Temanggung Regency remains the dominant tobacco producer in the strategic Purworejo area (Purworejo, Wonosobo, Magelang, and Temanggung). Among cigarette

producers, Temanggung tobacco is known for its superior quality compared to tobacco produced in other regions in Indonesia, such as Madura and Bojonegoro.

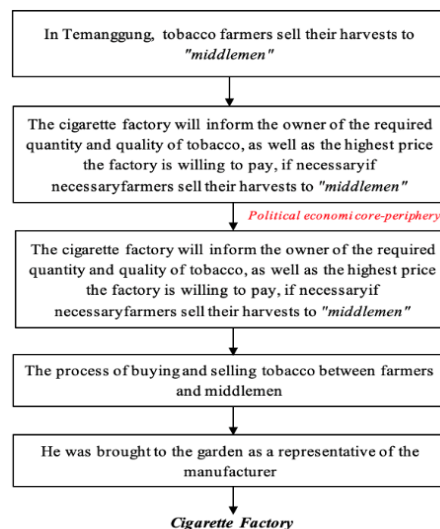


Source: BPS Central Java in Figures 2024

**Chart 1.**

**Tobacco Productivity in Central Java in 2023**

Tobacco plays a crucial role in economic growth in Temanggung Regency. Its significant contribution to the community has earned it a reputation as an elite commodity due to its high leaf price (Wijaya & Ritaningrum, 2023). Despite producing high-quality tobacco, farmers there do not always enjoy maximum yields. This is related to the complex tobacco trading system. To date, the tobacco trade in Temanggung, and indeed in Indonesia, remains unclear. Many farmers do not understand the tobacco trade mechanism, making them vulnerable to being trapped by middlemen or brokers. This leads to unclear pricing decisions, as they fall under the full control of middlemen and the cigarette industry, thus giving farmers a low bargaining position.



**Figure 2.**

**Flow of the Temanggung Tobacco Trade**

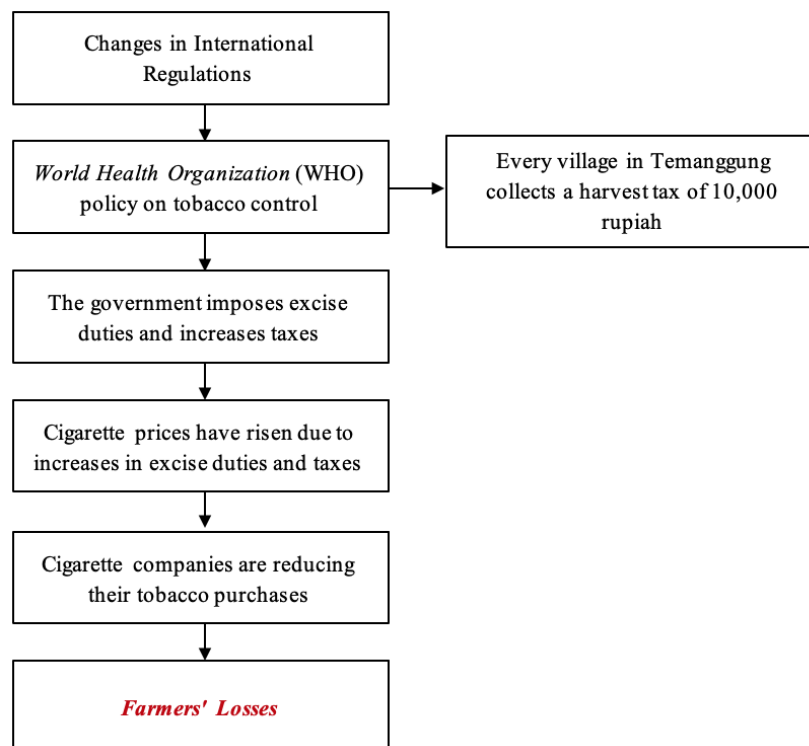
Source: Author's Analysis Results, 2024

The formation of a tobacco distribution chain with a pattern *core-periphery* in Temanggung. The core party makes decisions, and the *periphery* or the outskirts are tobacco farmers. Factories, cigarette companies, middlemen, bandols, and other companies are the parties *periphery* or the periphery that receive the results of the decision from *core* (Prasetyo & Samudro, 2023). In this case, tobacco farmers in Temanggung are the ones most impacted. Farmers have no bargaining power and cannot determine prices. They can only improve tobacco quality from season to season to increase the selling price. This phenomenon actually contradicts Indonesian law enforcement, Law No. 19 of 2013 concerning the Protection and Empowerment of Farmers. This law aims to protect, improve the welfare and empower farmers, including in terms of access to fair markets and protection against unfair trade practices.

In Temanggung Regency it is famous for its system *I'm a molasses* or the process of borrowing money from loan sharks or tycoons with a 50% interest rate (Setyaningsih & Iswari, 2024). With such a system, farmers are always tied to the tycoons, as the selling price of tobacco is determined by them. Farmers selling tobacco in Temanggung Regency sell it to intermediaries such as traders, collectors, middlemen, and tycoons, who then take it to graders as manufacturers' representatives. Each grader will build a network with intermediaries, whether exclusive or not. Farmers cannot determine the quality and price of the tobacco they produce. However, the determination of quality and price at the intermediary level in the trading system often differs from that made by graders as manufacturers' representatives. Farmers are fully responsible for all risks.

#### **Increase in Excise and Taxes**

Issues related to excise tax policy in Temanggung Regency are quite a concern because excise revenue from tobacco products has consistently increased from year to year. Based on data from the Directorate General of Customs and Excise, Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia, in 2012 the cigarette excise tax in Indonesia was 11% and then in subsequent years, the excise tax has always increased, with the highest excise tax rate in 2020 at 23%, but the excise tax experienced a decline in 2018 to 10.04%.



**Figure 3.**

**Flow of the Effects of the Increase in Tobacco Excise Tax on Farmers**

Source: Author's Analysis Results, 2024

The increase in excise tax was influenced by changes in international regulations, which were then passed on from international policy to the WHO, which stipulates tobacco control. According to the WHO, the Indonesian government established a policy related to the excise tax increase. According to the government, the increase in excise tax on tobacco is crucial because it has the potential to reduce the number of smokers and can limit cigarette use for beginners. From a health perspective, the tobacco excise tax is intended to reduce smoking-related deaths for both active and passive smokers, as stipulated in Minister of Health Regulation Number 28 of 2013 concerning the inclusion of health warnings and health information on tobacco product packaging.

The increase in tobacco excise taxes has had a negative impact on the tobacco industry. The increase in excise taxes will also lead to higher cigarette prices, opening the door to the emergence of more dangerous, illicit cigarettes. A study in African countries revealed that significant excise tax increases encourage the growth of the illegal or smuggled tobacco market. Many consumers seek out illicit cigarettes due to their significantly lower prices. Illicit cigarettes account for 40% to 50% of the total consumption of cigarettes in South Africa. This shift is facilitated by well-established informal networks with strong networks across Africa. As a result, the consumption of low-quality illicit cigarettes has increased, potentially negatively impacting regional economic activity (Lemboe et al., 2012).

Furthermore, tobacco farmers are significantly impacted by the increase in excise taxes. The increase in excise taxes is expected to improve the welfare of tobacco farmers. However, in reality, the regulation regarding the increase in excise taxes is a fiscal policy

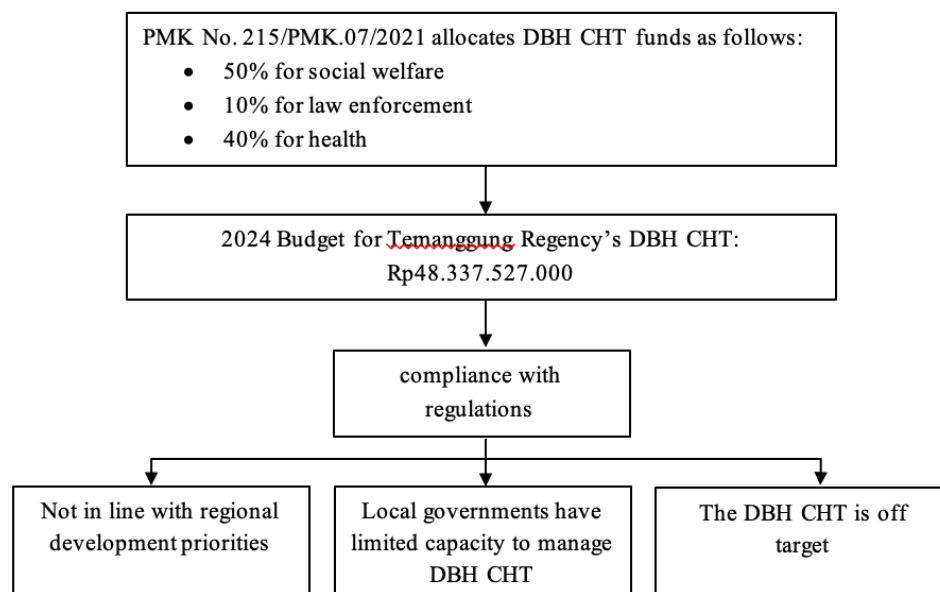
directly established by the government and outlined in a ministerial regulation, meaning there is no public involvement, especially tobacco farmers, in this regulation (Sabri et al., 2022). The increase in excise taxes also burdens tobacco farmers, as they face a double tax burden from both the central and regional governments.

Changes in excise rates on tobacco products mean that tobacco farmers as producers cannot do much when determining selling prices because the role of determining the selling price of tobacco is the cigarette industry through...*grader*. Research by Shofiyuddin et al. (2023) conducted in Tlilir Village, Tlogomulyo District, Temanggung Regency, revealed that the increase in excise rates significantly impacted farmers' income. In the 2019 planting season, farmers spent an average of Rp 19,184,782.7, revenue reached Rp 99,655,234.65, and average income reached Rp 80,860,902. Meanwhile, in the 2020 planting season, the average total cost incurred by tobacco farmers in the 2020 planting season reached Rp 19,399,188.7, the average revenue reached Rp 75,024,992.97, and the average income reached Rp 55,533,276. If seen, there is a significant difference in income between the average income of tobacco farmers during the harvest period before the change in tobacco excise rates and during the harvest period after the change in tobacco excise rates.

#### **Effectiveness of the use of Tobacco Excise Revenue Sharing Funds (DBH CHT)**

According to economists (McCleary, 1991), *Earmarking* is a government strategy in utilizing the budget for certain programs where the sources of income and expenditure are determined appropriately, and is one way to achieve efficiency in the use of the government budget (Sitepu, 2016). In Indonesia, the policy *earmarking* has been implemented since 2008 through the Tobacco Excise Revenue Sharing Fund (DBHCHT). Article 2 of the Minister of Finance Regulation No. 215/PMK.07/2021 concerning the Use, Monitoring, and Evaluation of DBHCHT explains that DBHCHT is used to fund programs/activities to improve the quality of raw materials, develop industry, foster social environments, disseminate excise regulations, and eradicate illegal excisable goods. The program in question is prioritized to support the National Health Insurance program at least 40% of the DBHCHT allocation received.

The use of DBHCHT is used to reduce the negative impacts of cigarettes, the impact of national tobacco policies with priority on tobacco farmers or cigarette factory workers. The implementation of DBHCHT use in Temanggung Regency is based on the Regulation of the Minister of Finance Concerning the Use, Monitoring, and Evaluation of Tobacco Excise Revenue Sharing Funds. With this regulation, regions that receive DBHCHT allocations, especially Temanggung Regency, are required to implement them according to the potential, characteristics, and conditions of Temanggung Regency. However, sometimes existing regulations do not match regional conditions.



**Figure 4.**  
**DBHCHT Implementation Gap Analysis Framework**

Source: Author's Analysis Results, 2024

Based on Central Java Governor Regulation (PERGUB) Number 1 of 2024, the 2024 budget allocation for the Regional Development Planning Agency (DBHCHT) for Temanggung Regency is the second largest in Central Java. Although Temanggung Regency is one of the largest tobacco producers, the revenue received from the DBHCHT is relatively small compared to regions with large cigarette factories. This results in limited funding for the implementation of DBHCHT-funded programs.

The allocation in accordance with Minister of Finance Regulation No. 215/PMK.07/2021 is still general in nature and does not provide details in describing the uses of DBHCHT allocation, thus impacting its implementation. This also limits the capacity of local governments to manage and implement programs funded by the DBHCHT. Often, the funded programs are not always aligned with the needs and local conditions in Temanggung Regency. One example of the misallocation of DBHCT funds is the construction of a public service building in the form of PSC 119, funded by 3 billion Rupiah from tobacco excise, as stated by the Temanggung Regent. This does not correspond to the needs of the local community, especially farmers, because it does not provide economic or social benefits for the community, especially tobacco farmers.

Health care is only charged to tobacco producing or manufacturing areas, because tobacco is the main ingredient in cigarettes, which causes...health impacts of tobacco consumption. Health problems resulting from the impacts of tobacco or cigarette consumption are not only felt in tobacco-producing or manufacturing areas, but can also be felt by active smokers. However, PMK No. 215/PMK.07/2021 states that the health sector receives 40% of the DBHCHT allocation. Its implementation in Temanggung Regency includes health renovations, such as at Temanggung Regional General Hospital (RSUD), community health centers (Puskesmas), and the construction of a lung clinic, funded by DBHCHT. This development aims to improve existing health services in Temanggung

Regency, but often these programs fail to consider long-term impacts, focusing only on short-term results without considering the sustainability and ongoing impact of the funds.

The DBHCHT allocation, which should be used to improve farmer welfare and productivity, is actually being spent on irrelevant development projects that don't significantly impact farmer welfare. Farmers in Temanggung Regency are still relatively poor and often in debt to loan sharks. Therefore, local governments must make efforts to address problems related to this use so that it is in accordance with needs and applicable regulations.

Therefore, optimization is needed regarding adjustments to the legal basis for the percentage allocation of DBH CHT, as stipulated in PMK No. 215/PMK.07/2021, namely 50% for public welfare, 10% for law enforcement, and 40% for health. The government and community need to implement collaborative governance, with the community also playing a role in decision-making to ensure that the chosen allocation aligns with local needs and priorities.

The DBH CHT allocated to regions should prioritize farmer welfare. Currently, the Temanggung Regency government has provided Direct Cash Assistance (BLT) from the DBHCHT in 2023. These funds are specifically provided to farm laborers in Temanggung Regency. This initiative was put forward by the Temanggung Regency Government to allow farmers to directly benefit from tobacco excise taxes. The BLT distribution to farmers opens the door for more targeted allocation of DBH CHT funds, tailored to their needs.

### **Implications for Regional Economic Resilience**

Regional economic resilience refers to a region's ability to withstand and recover from various shocks, whether economic, social, or environmental, without neglecting its basic functions. A region's economic resilience is largely determined by its economic stability, one of which is based on leading commodities, such as tobacco. Research conducted in South Africa found that tobacco significantly contributes to the regional economy by providing export revenue and employment for millions of people, enhancing economic resilience (Prowse & Pérez Niño, 2022). Similarly, a study in rural Mardan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, also argued that tobacco can boost a region's economy by increasing farmers' incomes, social status, expanding family ties, and providing employment opportunities that impact farmers' well-being (Rahman et al., 2019).

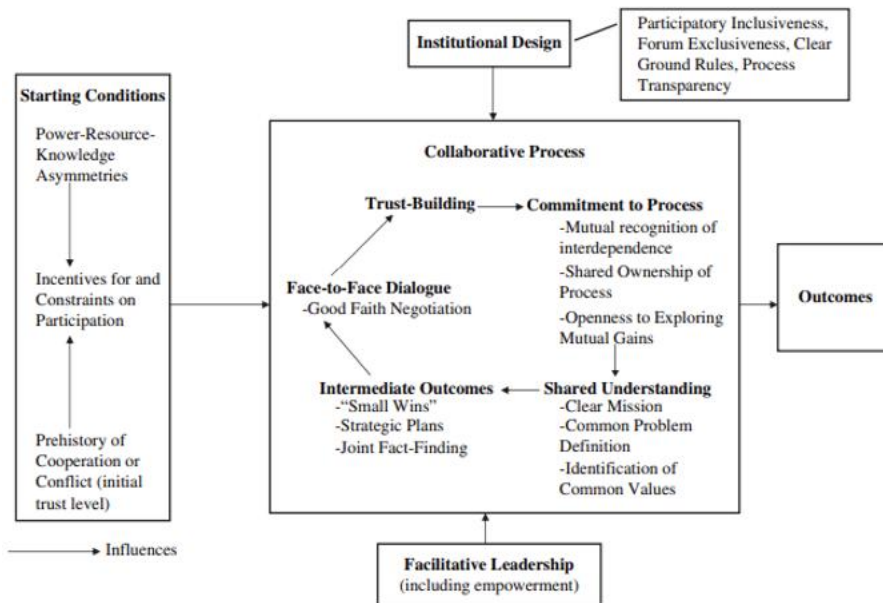
In Indonesia, specifically in production centers, tobacco plays a crucial role in the economic resilience of Temanggung Regency. Tobacco plays a significant role as a leading commodity and a contributor to GDP, distributed across the agricultural sector. Tobacco is a pillar of the local economy and has...*multiplier effect*. High tobacco production in this region. Temanggung Regency is known as a national tobacco production center, particularly the high-value srintil tobacco. Tobacco is a crucial commodity supporting the economy and the welfare of farmers in the region. By 2024, more than 14,087 hectares of land in Temanggung Regency were planted with tobacco, with a productivity reaching 9,438 tons, involving 43,112 farmers. According to data from the Temanggung Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2024, the agricultural sector contributed 22.47% to Temanggung's GRDP. Furthermore, the Tobacco Excise Revenue Sharing Fund (DBHCHT) received by Temanggung Regency in 2024 reached approximately IDR 16 billion.

Many Temanggung farmers depend on tobacco as a source of income. Therefore, with good governance, farmers' incomes can be maintained. If governance fails to adapt to

changes in regulations, costs, and global markets, the region is vulnerable to local economic crises, which will undermine regional resilience. The quality of tobacco governance impacts not only farmer welfare but also the economic and social resilience of the Temanggung region as a whole. When tobacco farmers prosper, social stability, purchasing power, and production continuity are guaranteed. However, when declines occur, for example, due to trade monopolies or excise policies, social pressures can arise that weaken regional resilience.

**Direction of Strengthening Governance through Collaborative Models**

The long-standing problems in the Temanggung tobacco trade system and price uncertainty have caused suffering for farmers, so collaborative governance efforts or strategies are needed to overcome these problems by establishing cooperation between farmers and other stakeholders involved.



Source: (Ansell & Gash, 2008)

**Figure 5.**

**Collaborative Governance Model**

According to Ansell & Gash (2008), collaborative governance is a process initiated by government agencies that involves government and non-government actors, who participate in joint decision-making, consensus-based policymaking, and reciprocal engagement. To create mitigation strategies for community groups affected by the lack of transparency and uncertainty of tobacco prices in Temanggung, this study investigates cross-sectoral collaborative policies. This study uses the theory of dynamic collaboration or the collaborative governance model (Ahsan et al., 2023). This collaborative governance model can be implemented in designing strategies for tobacco problems in Temanggung. Key Elements of the Collaborative Governance Model:

a. Initial Conditions (*Starting Conditions*):

Tobacco farmers in Temanggung have no bargaining power and cannot set prices, placing them in a vulnerable position compared to middlemen and cigarette factories. This situation leads to farmers' dependence on middlemen.

b. Facilitating Collaboration (*Facilitative Leadership*):

There is a need for a facilitator in implementing this collaborative governance model. This can be done by appointing a leader deemed neutral and trustworthy, either from the local government or a community leader in Temanggung Regency. This leader's role is expected to facilitate dialogue, mediate conflicts, and build trust among stakeholders.

c. Collaborative Process Design (*Collaborative Process Design*):

This process applies the principles of participatory inclusivity, consensus, and transparency.

1. Inclusivity: involving all relevant stakeholders in the decision-making process. All relevant parties, including farmers, middlemen, manufacturers, the local government, and NGOs, were involved in discussions to resolve the issue of tobacco price uncertainty in Temanggung. More detailed information on stakeholders from the Temanggung local government is as follows:

a) Temanggung Food Security, Agriculture and Fisheries Service: Responsible for agricultural policies and programs, including tobacco cultivation, development of superior varieties, and technical support for farmers.

b) Department of Industry, Trade, Cooperatives and MSMEs of Temanggung: involved in the regulation and development of the industrial sector, including tobacco processing factories, as well as supporting the development of stable markets and trade, and encouraging the formation of cooperatives or farmer associations as a forum to increase farmers' bargaining power in price negotiations.

c) Agricultural Research and Development Agency (Balitbangtan) Temanggung: providing scientific data and research on the latest agricultural techniques, as well as relevant market analysis to assist farmers and industry players.

d) Regional Financial, Revenue and Asset Management Agency: Responsible for taxation and tax incentives that may be given to the agricultural sector, including tobacco.

2. Consensus: Typically, decisions are made unilaterally by the more powerful parties, in this case, the middlemen and the factories. Therefore, this process must be changed by implementing a consensus-based decision-making process to ensure all parties feel represented and that no one is disadvantaged.

3. Transparency: The need for an open and transparent process to build trust in all stages of the process, including data collection, discussion, and decision-making.

d. Collaborative Process (*Collaborative Process*):

The most important stage in this collaborative governance model is the process, which is the core part.

1. Face-to-face interaction (*Face-to-Face Dialogue*):

Conduct regular meetings to discuss tobacco issues and seek joint solutions. Regular face-to-face meetings are organized to facilitate open and constructive dialogue between stakeholders (as previously described). These meetings provide an opportunity for all parties to express their views, discuss differences, and seek common ground to find the best solution to the tobacco price problem in Temanggung.

2. **Building Trust and Commitment (*Trust Building*) :**  
Building trust is a crucial step in initiating and maintaining collaborative processes. To foster trust between tobacco farmers, middlemen, cigarette factories, and local governments, transparent communication, consistent behavior, and a willingness to listen and understand each other's perspectives are key.
  3. **Joint Commitment (*Shared Commitment*):**  
All stakeholders must agree to participate in a long-term collaborative process. This collaborative process includes actively participating, providing necessary resources, and working together to achieve sustainable solutions.
  4. **Common understanding of the problem:**  
To develop effective solutions, stakeholders must understand the root causes of tobacco price uncertainty. Stakeholders can develop a deeper understanding of the factors influencing tobacco prices and their impact on each party through in-depth discussions and open information exchange.
  5. **External medium term:**  
To assess the progress and success of the collaborative process, it's important to establish measurable medium-term goals and outcomes. For example, reaching an immediate agreement on a stable price mechanism for one planting season, implementing a crop diversification strategy, and establishing a mechanism for providing superior seeds or conducting joint agricultural management training.
- e. **Results and impacts**
1. **Price Stabilization Agreement:** An agreement on a more stable price mechanism can be achieved through constructive negotiations and discussions between tobacco farmers, middlemen, processing factories, and local governments.
  2. **Agricultural Diversification:** Strategies used to diversify crops and other agricultural products have been successfully implemented. Farmers have begun shifting some of their land to other crops that are more stable or more profitable. Diversification increases income sources and reduces tobacco dependence.
  3. **Strengthening Farmer Institutions:** Growing or revitalizing farmer cooperatives or associations can strengthen farmers' bargaining position in price negotiations and give them better access to markets and other resources.

## CONCLUSION

The issue of tobacco commodity governance in Temanggung Regency demonstrates structural inequalities that implicate farmers economically and institutionally. These farmers lack the power to determine prices due to a long-standing trade system, the dominance of middlemen and manufacturers, and their limited access to market information. Although Temanggung is known as a national tobacco production center, farmers' welfare remains low. In an effort to increase state revenue and control consumption, fiscal policies such as increasing tobacco excise rates have negatively impacted farmers. Furthermore, there is a tendency for Tobacco Excise Revenue Sharing (DBHCHT), intended to improve their welfare, to be misallocated and not aligned with appropriate empowerment programs. This situation demonstrates the need for governance to be more equitable, collaborative, and participatory. The local government must enhance the institutional role of farmers and ensure

their involvement in planning and monitoring the use of DBHCHT. A collaborative governance model involving farmers, government, industry, and civil society can be a strategic approach to building a transparent, accountable, and sustainable tobacco trade system. To improve the welfare of Temanggung tobacco farmers and strengthen the region's long-term economic resilience, only an inclusive and justice-oriented approach can be implemented.

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