

INTRODUCTION

Two Centuries of Agrarian, Economic, and Ecological Shifts in the Northern Coast of Java (1812–2012)

Kosuke Mizuno

Indonesia has been experiencing democratization and decentralization since 1998. The country has been exposed to the free trade regime that started with ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA) initiated since the beginning of 2002. Economic growth has been constant at 5–6% per year, and, at the time of the Lehman shock, Indonesia recorded a relatively high economic growth, thus gaining investor confidence.

How have these changes impacted the social economy in rural Java? Throughout the '70s and '80s there had been numerous studies on social economy in rural Java. Among other things, these have discussed the effects of the *Bimas-Inmas-Insus* program, the green revolution in Indonesia (for example Collier et al., 1973; Hayami and Kikuchi, 1981). Also discussed were, besides the impact of the introduction of HYVs (High-Yielding Varieties), the development of the nonagricultural sector (for example Alexander et al., 1991), and the implications of these changes in the long-term (Husken, 1988).

However, similar studies on rural Java have declined since the middle of the 1990s, as researchers turned their attention to oil palm and acacia planting in Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Papua, and their impact on deforestation and the welfare of local farmers (for example Cramb and McCarthy, 2016).

Thus, this is as good a time as any to inquire into the current socio-economic conditions in rural Java. How has top-down rural development approach taken during the Soeharto era, especially during the *Bimas-Inmas-Insus* program (mid-1960s to the 1990s), changed after the introduction of decentralization, the recognition of local knowledge and biodiversity, and people's initiatives of the *Reformasi* era?

During the Soeharto era the TRI (*Tebu Rakyat Intensifikasi*), which was designed to plant sugarcane and rice in ricefields, was implemented; farmers were obliged to join the program. On the other hand, a huge subsidy was supplied through the KUD (*Koperasi Unit Desa*). Sugarcane was planted in ricefields, so farmers planted rice after the sugarcane harvest.

However, per the Letter of Intent with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the TRI program was abolished and the agricultural subsidy via the KUD was largely reduced, eventually drying up. How had these drastic changes impacted the agriculture and rural economy?

The studies in this book attempt to answer these questions via socio-economic research in villages at the Pemalang District (*Kabupaten Pemalang*) where the authors had carried out fieldwork focused on household surveys in 1990.

These studies also intend to locate the socio-economic changes from 1990 to 2012 in the long-term context of socio-economic changes in rural Java since the 19th century.

Since the middle of 1990 to date, some studies on rural Java have been conducted. For example, studies on the middle class in Indonesia (Klinken and Bereschot, 2014) have included the study in Java Island such as that in Pekalongan, which showed resistance to reform or the persistence of patrimonialism in the Pekalongan construction sector (Savirani, 2014). Other studies have paid attention to migration. Syafitri pointed out the importance of

the education and poverty variable in the migration from East Java (Wildan, 2016). Nooteboom (2019) showed that migration has become an essential part of the village economy, and it does offer a way out of agriculture (however, living in a village has been increasingly seen as a positive option). The village provides a crucial lifeline and is an important frame of identification, both culturally and socially.

Afforestation has been studied from the viewpoint of the economic analysis of *sengon* (Siregar et al., 2007). Community forest programs (Maryudi, 2012) in Java have also been discussed in relation to poverty alleviation. Studies in upland villages in West Java have emphasized the importance of agroforestry in the rural economy after the economic crisis. Democratization and decentralization have also promoted formal and informal initiatives to develop the economy of agroforestry (Mizuno and Mugniesyah, 2016). Amarawat et al. (2016) showed the agrarian changes in rural Java using the data of the Agricultural Census in 2013 compared with data in 1963, 1973, 1983, 1993, and 2003: The trend was for larger landholdings (1.0–1.9 hectares) to increase, while smaller landholdings (especially those less than 0.1 hectare) fell. The development of nonfarm activities promoted income inequality. Nooteboom (2015) showed the consequence of inequality on the level of self-sufficiency. Accumulation of cattle, education, trade, and migration were ways for upward social mobility among the people.

While these studies are valuable, no single one could comprehensively answer the questions above.

The studies in this book are designed to answer these questions based on a systematic socio-economic survey of 1,000 households in the northern coast of Central Java and comparing the results with a previous 500-household survey in the same area conducted in 1990.

The Comal project conducted in 1990–1992 (hereafter the First Comal Project) was led by Prof. Hiroyoshi Kano, Center for Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo (IOC-UT); Dr. Joko Suryo, Center for Regional and Rural Development Research at Gadjah Mada University (P3PK-UGM); and Prof. Frans Hüsken of the Center for Asian Studies Amsterdam (CASA). The

project's results were published in an English edition (Kano et al., 2001), an Indonesian edition (Kano et al., 1996), and a Japanese edition (Kano, 1994).

Based on these and fieldwork conducted in 2012 (explained later), the present study (hereafter the New Comal Project) attempts to show the socio-economic changes that took place in 1990–2012 and locate these changes in the historical context since the 19th century. The New Comal Project follows the changes in 1990–2012 in population, agricultural production, arable land, and activities of the nonagricultural sector, which the First Comal Project had analyzed. In addition, the New Comal Project tracks changes in forest and forest management, as well as those in irrigation and land use, which were not studied in the First Comal Project.

The New Comal Project is also joint research of three countries—Japan, Indonesia, and the Netherlands—represented by Prof. Kosuke Mizuno, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University; Dr. Pujo Semedi, Faculty of Cultural Science, Gadjah Mada University; and Dr. Gerben Nooteboom of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Amsterdam. Prof. Hiroyoshi Kano, the project leader of the First Comal Project took part in the current research as a member of Japanese team.

The New Comal Project attempts to answer the questions mentioned above by taking into account studies on rural Java since the end of the 1990s.

IMPLEMENTATION OF FIELDWORK

The New Comal Project concentrates on household surveys in six villages in *Kabupaten* Pemalang. These villages are *Desa* Pesantren (Pesantren Village), *Kecamatan* Ulujami (Ulujami Subdistrict), *Desa* Susukan, *Kecamatan* Comal, *Desa* Cibiyuk, and *Desa* Karang Tengah, *Kecamatan* Ampelgading, *Desa* Wonogiri, and *Desa* Karang Brai, *Kecamatan* Bodeh.

These are the same villages in the First Comal Project where fieldwork was conducted.

The first database of the New Comal Project is van Moll & H. 's Jacob, *De Desa-volkshuishouding in Cijfer*, 2 vols., Den Haag; Algemeene

Syndicaat van Suikerfabriekanten in Nederlandsch-Indie, 1914—the result of a comprehensive survey conducted in 1903–1905 among 2,899 households, in 24 of 92 villages found in Comal District that covered the area extending for 165 km². The district in the colonial era was *kewedanaan*, which was located between regentschap (and somewhat similar to the present district, *kabupaten*), and onder-district (somewhat similar to the present subdistrict *kecamatan*). Hereafter *Kewedanaan* Comal will be called the “old Comal District,” while *kewedanaan* will be referred to as the “old district.”

The second source of data is the result of the First Comal Project’s 500-household census survey and 200-household socio-economic survey. This project had chosen 6 villages from 28 villages that were surveyed in 1903–1905 as part of a census survey. Two villages, Pesantren and Karang Tengah, were chosen for the socio-economic household survey.

The New Comal Project conducted a socio-economic household survey among 1,000 households in 6 villages chosen via random sampling.

The old Comal District studied by van Moll & H. ‘s Jacob had a population of 84,005, or a population density of 510 persons/km² in 1904. The old district had a sugar factory, an extensive sugarcane plantation with efficient irrigation, and a high population density.

The area of the old Comal District expanded to 225 km² in 1988. Eroded sands and earth washed down Comal River, bringing about deforestation and forming alluvial land, estuary, in the coastal area. On the other hand, population grew to 251,290, with a population density of 1,117/km². Population growth at the time was 0.57%, somewhat lower than 1.00% for the entire Java Island.

The old Comal District eventually became known as *Kewedanaan* Comal, but the administrative unit was abolished in 1963. In the area equivalent to the old Comal District (or *Kewedanaan* Comal), there were 4 subdistricts (*kecamatan*) and 69 villages (*desa*) in 1990, and 4 subdistricts and 71 villages in 2012. The average population per *desa* was 913 in 1904, which increased to 3,642 in 1988.

The population in 2012 stood at 304,484, and the area expanded to 226 km². The population density increased to 1,349 persons/km². Population

growth rate decreased somewhat to 0.35% per year, which was less than that of the entire Java Island (0.51%).

The number of villages rose to 71 in 2012, and the population per village became 4,294.

Table 1. Changes in population, population density, and area of rice fields (*sawah*) in old Comal District (1904–2012)

Year	1904	1988	2012
Areal (km ²)	165	225	226
Population	84,005	251,290	304,842
Population density (person/km ²)	510	1,117	1,349
Number of villages	92	69	71
Population per village	913	3,642	4,294
Yearly population growth rate (%)	1904–1988 0.57		1988–2012 0.35
Population growth for the entire Java Island per year (%)	1900–1988 1.00		1988–2010 0.51

Sources: For 1904 and 1988, Kano et al., 2001. For 2010 and 2012, *Kabupaten Pemalang, Kabupaten Pemalang Dalam Angka*, Pemalang, *Kabupaten Pemalang* 2013, and Badan Pusat Statistik, *Statistik Indonesia*, 2013, Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik. 1900, Boomgaard, P. and A. J. Goodszen, 1991, “Population Trends”, 1795–1941, in *Changing Economy in Indonesia*, Vol. 11 Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute

If we see the population for the four subdistricts, *Kecamatan* Uljami, where Pesantren Village is located, had a population density of 1,826 persons/km² in 2012. *Kecamatan* Comal, where the Dandels road connects Jakarta

and Surabaya in the southern part, had the highest population density at 3,300 person/km². On the other hand, *Kecamatan* Ampelgading, where the Dandels road crosses, there was Karang Tengah Village with 1,227 persons/km²; and *Kecamatan* Bodeh, located in the southern part of old Comal District with a hilly landscape, had the lowest population density of 619 persons/km².

We can follow the population density changes since 1961. Table 2 shows the population growth rate from 1961–1990, 1990–2012, and 1961–2012 for 4 *kecamatan*.

Table 2. Yearly population growth of 4 subdistricts for 1961–1990, 1990–2012, and 1961–2012 in old Comal District (%)

Subdistrict (<i>Kecamatan</i>)	1961–1990	1990–2012	1961–2012
Ulujami	0.73	0.30	0.55
Comal	0.73	0.48	0.62
Ampelgading	0.75	0.38	0.59
Bodeh	0.59	0.31	0.47

Source: The same as Table 1

Of the 4 subdistricts, the highest population growth rate was recorded at *Kecamatan* Comal, which was crossed by the main road, the Dandels: The average annual growth rate during 1961 and 2012 was 0.62%. The second-highest growth rate was recorded at *Kecamatan* Ampelgading where there is a main road. The lowest growth rate was found at *Kecamatan* Bodeh, at 0.47% per year.

In all subdistricts, the average yearly growth rate decreased from the years 1961–1990 to 1990–2012. For example, at Ampelgading, the yearly growth rate of 1961–1990—0.59%—fell to 0.31% for the period 1960–2012.

Table 3 shows the population, population growth rate, and population density of the six villages surveyed in the New Comal Project.

Table 3. Yearly population growth rate and population density in the 6 villages surveyed in the New Comal Project

	1961–1990 (%)	1990–2012 (%)	Population in 2012 (person)	Population Density in 2012 (person/ km²)
Pesantren	0,89	0,54	9,345	1,989
Susukan	0,55	0,49	4,833	3,361
Cibiyuk	0,74	0,53	2,801	1,959
Karang Tengah	0,88	0,20	2,785	2,995
Wonogiri	0,55	0,36	3,536	1,571
Karang Brai	0,63	0,56	4,556	1,381

Source: The same as Table 1

Table 3 shows the villages from north to south: Pesantren Village (*Desa* Pesantren), which faces the Java Sea, is located along the Comal River, and has expanded because of alluvial deposits from the river. This expansion of land promoted new businesses such as shrimp farms since 1990’s. The village could be called a frontier of the region, which is why its population growth during 1961–1990 was highest among the six.

In the villages near the main road (the Dandels)—Cibiyuk and Karang Tengah—population density was high, but population growth had fallen rapidly, especially at Karang Tengah.

On the other hand, the villages in the south near the hilly area—Karang Brai and Wonogiri, where there was a large-scale landholding according to van Moll at the beginning of 20th century—population density was relatively low (although the number was quite high compared to the general population density as rural area).

OVERVIEW OF THE SURVEY IN 2012

The New Comal Project conducted a socio-economic household survey in the six villages where the Fist Comal Project had carried out a similar survey in 1990. When researchers for the New Comal Project decided on the number of households for the survey, they adjusted to changes in the population growth rates among the villages. Some villages recorded relatively high population growth rates; on the other hand, some villages showed lower growth rates. The purpose of the current study is to show the balanced change that has taken place in the research area, and proportional pictures of the surveyed society. Hence the current authors changed the balance of the number of sample household among six surveyed villages.

Table 4. Number of samples in the 1990 and 2012 surveys

	1990	2012
Pesantren	125	315
Susukan	80	175
Cibiyuk	60	140
Karang Tengah	75	120
Wonogiri	70	112
Karang Brai	90	138
Total	500	1,000

Source: Authors' field survey

The authors conducted the survey from around 20 July 2012 to the end of September 2012—approximately two months—except during the Idul Fitri holidays around the middle of August 2012. During the fieldwork, 20 students of Gadjah Mada University, along with Dr. Pujo Semedi and Dr. Agung Wicaksono, stayed in the field. The Japanese team consisting of Profs. Mizuno and Hiroyoshi Kano, Mr. Yako Kozano, and Dr. Endo tried to stay in the field for as long as

possible. Ms. Naoko Kawasaki, a student of Kyoto University, did fieldwork from December 2014 to August 2015 at Pesantren using the data collected by team mentioned above. Dr. Agung Wicaksono also did a follow-up study in the area in 2015–2018. Prof. Mizuno conducted follow-up research in 2015.

From the Netherlands, Ms. Louella de Graaf followed the team, staying in Karang Brai Village. Dr. Gerben Nooteboom did fieldwork from January to March 2014, after receiving the data collected by the team.

This New Comal Project intended to show the development of Comal society and economy relating to the findings of the Old Comal Project.

First is the trend of differentiation in the Comal society relating to the population growth and increase in the number of landless households. Van Moll had shown that an egalitarian distribution of incomes among villagers was gradually giving way to greater differentiation and concluded that therein was the nucleus of a capitalistic development in the village community, which will possibly generate a more or less well-to-do middle class (Moll et al., 1913: 79–98; Hüsken, 2001: 107).

Along with population growth and stagnation in arable landholdings, the number of landless households increased. Total population in the old Comal area was 84,000 in 1904, which increased to 251,000 in 1988. It had been estimated that in 1854 some 73% of households owned agricultural lands, about 56% in 1890, and around 40% in 1903 (Schaik, 2001: 65). In the 6 villages that the Comal project surveyed, 67% of households owned agricultural lands in 1904, while 45% owned the same in 1990 (Kano, 2001a: 215). The average size of agricultural land held decreased from 0.66 hectare per household in 1903 to 0.17 hectare in 1990. The Gini coefficient increased from 0.544 in 1903 to 0.783 in 1990 for land-owning distribution, which included landless households in the calculation. From these data Tanaka and Kano concluded that in the Comal area a real differentiation occurred involving social stratification based on land control during the 85-year period (Tanaka and Kano, 2001: 120–21). Social stratification based on land control meant the persistence of an upper-class group that consisted of village and government officers, and rich farmers, and growing numbers of lower-class groups comprising the landless,

agricultural laborers, and impoverished *sikep* (former owners of ricefields, dry agricultural land, and home gardens). This shift was supported by the erasing of former communal land rights by the Basic Agrarian Act (UUPA) in 1960, and the subsequent promotion of land markets.

This differentiation was also promoted by the development of a nonagricultural sector. The villages closer to the trunk road tended to have a higher ratio of nonagricultural workers, thus making the income distribution indifferent to the distribution of agricultural landholdings. On the other hand, villages at some distance from the trunk road showed an income distribution more closely related to the distribution of agricultural landholdings (Kano, 2001a: 212–228).

The phenomenon of differentiation was discussed based on Hüsken's study of *trah* (kin-based social organization) among village heads or secretaries. Hüsken showed that in all sample villages, descent and affinity have been primary determinants of village leadership. Since the beginning of the 20th century, nearly all *lurah* (village head) and *carik* (village secretary) have been related in one way or another. In some villages (Susukan, Karang Tengah, and Wonogiri) there have been two competing *trah*, while in the other three villages (Pesantren, Cibiyuk, and Karagbrai) it has been one line of descendants and other members of one *trah* who have been in power during the 20th century. During most of this century, being part of the *pamong desa* (village officers) was essential to elite families, both because of salary lands (*bengkok*) and other income sources, and the political power and leverage it gave them. Socio-economic changes since the 1970s, however, have brought about a situation in which the elite no longer needs to engage in cumbersome and time-consuming local politics. Their economic base has broadened, especially among the younger generation of the *trah* who have gone through secondary and tertiary education, which makes them less likely to return to the villages; many younger members of these families are also engaged in lucrative commercial activities. Because of these changes, candidates for village leadership positions now tend to be much younger than before, and often come from the village "new middle class"; in particular, teachers and civil servants tend to become candidates (Hüsken, 2001: 259–261).

Because of BIMAS/INMAS/INSUS, since the mid-‘60s, land productivity of ricefields increased significantly, but the development of rice production made use of labor-saving technology, hence labor absorption did not increase. This is why many nonagricultural sectors developed over the decade. During that time, the real wage of agricultural labor increased slightly in the rice-farming sector, but that of sugarcane laborers did not. A more dynamic expansion occurred in the middle and upper social strata of the village community—among other things, expansion in employment in the formal sector in Karang Tengah, and the development of aquaculture in Pesantren. In particular, in Pesantren, saw an increase in informal economic activities handled by skilled workers or enterprises with sizeable capital (Mizuno, 2001: 199–202).

This book intends to study the changes in socio-economic characteristics found during 1905–1990 in the development of the same study area during 1990–2012.

This book also intends to study ecological changes that have taken place since the 19th century. Geertz (1963) quite famously examined the ecological characteristics of the *sawah* and the swidden ecosystem. He argued that *sawah*, or the ricefield ecosystem, absorbs additional labor almost limitlessly, and showed the characteristics of “agricultural involution”—the phenomenon of long-term constant population increases without any clear improvement in the people’s welfare as expressed by the average production of a staple food per capita.

This book examines the changes in the ecological aspects of forest and irrigation, and a formation delta area at Comal River especially changes in the forest and the formation of delta area since the end of the 18th century, and how these reflect in the historical and current socio-economic realities.

This book attempts to answer these questions based on our 2012–2015 survey.

For these purposes, the authors gathered satellite and aircraft images of the research area, as well as annual reports from the *kabupaten* and *kecamatan* in the surveyed area. *Monograf desa* (village monograph reports) were also collected.

The household surveys collected data on the composition of household members, genealogy, cattle holdings, home gardens, houses, agricultural tools,

agricultural production inputs, production, production relations, economic activities of the nonagricultural sector, migration, savings, loans, and trees planted.

From these data can be drawn an analysis of the ownership and usufruct of agricultural land, productivity of land and labor, economic activities of the nonagricultural sector, relationship between *trah* and the rural elite such as village heads, and labor migration. There are also data on changes in land use, forest, irrigation, drainage, and ecological changes from GIS, archives, and anecdotes from formal and informal leaders.

AN OVERVIEW

Chapter 1 of this book by Pujo Semedi discusses the coastal expansion caused by the serious erosion and deforestation in the hilly area of Comal and surrounding districts, and social dynamics, especially with regard to the competition in the estuary, or growth of lands in the Comal River during 1850–2010 and impacts on landless people. Chapter 2 by Arthur van Schaik discusses the social ecology of the old Comal District, focusing on the deforestation brought about expansion of arable land and development of government coffee plantations, erosion brought about deforestation, control of water by the sugar company, and the development of colonial-era irrigation in the 19th and 20th centuries. Chapter 3 by Hiroyoshi Kano discusses deagrarianization and the shift to a service-based economy, social economic changes in Comal since 1990 based on the 1,000-household survey conducted by the research team in 2012 and compares these with conditions in 1990. Chapter 4 by Louella de Graaf, Gerben Nooteboom, and Pande Made Kutaneegara discusses rural transformation and afforestation in Java, and the factors promoting afforestation and their implications on society, especially the landless. Chapter 5 by Agung Wicaksono discusses on the history of sugar industry and cultivation in Comal from the colonial era until today and characterizes the present sugar cultivation as niche planting among farmers and shows why a formerly prosperous and highly productive sugar industry switched to niche planting. Chapter 6 by Hiroyoshi Kano discusses

the household income and migration among the households surveyed in 2012 in comparison with the results in 1990 focusing on income distribution and landholdings. Chapter 7 by Merel van Andel and Gerben Nooteboom discusses the historical trajectories of rural changes relating to land, labor, gender, education, and migration in Comal during 1904–2012. Chapter 8 by Kosuke Mizuno and Mahawan Karuniasa discusses the forestation boom in rural Java and afforestation in nonstate forests in rural Java. Chapter 9 by Yako Kozano discusses the tradition of rural elite relating to *trah* and village heads, with focus on the revolution following independence in 1945, the *reformasi* era since 1998, and thereafter. Chapter 10 by Nao Endo discusses household livelihood and food consumption in Susukan Village focusing on the food consumption patterns among various strata. Chapter 11 by Naoko Kawasaki discusses people’s organizations with focus on the jasmine tea farmers’ group (*kelompok tani*) and shows the organization’s success factors. Chapter 12 by Kosuke Mizuno and Zuli Laili Isnaini discusses the long-term changes in agricultural production, land productivity, labor use, labor productivity, and wages. This chapter discusses the macroeconomic changes focusing on CPO (crude palm oil) production and export, and its implications on the economies of the served areas. The last chapter by Kosuke Mizuno concludes the book.

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