

【パネル1 12月6日 9:45-11:40 A会場 511教室】

Two Centuries of Agrarian, Economic and Ecological Shifts in the North Coast of Java, 1812-2012.

(First Panel) Comal- Land Tenure, Rural Stratification- Trah Genealogical Study- and Welfare of Local People

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What is the impact of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, *Reformasi*, or democratization since 1998 and constant economic development in 1990-1997 and 2004-2012 on rural Javanese society? This panel will attempt to answer these questions by conducting a 1,000 household socioeconomic survey of six villages in Comal, in the north-coastal area of Java island in 2012. This panel also seeks to locate findings of these fieldworks in the long historical context in the same area by comparing a 500-household survey in 1990 in the same villages, as well as data from a household survey conducted in the same area from 1903-1905 by the General Syndicate of Sugar-mill Owners of the Dutch Indies.

The sugar industry at Comal used to be an engine of the Dutch East Indies economy at the beginning of 20th century. After the Letter of Intent with the IMF to scrap the government program (TRI) that mobilized land and labor for sugar production in 1998, the industry ceased to be main drive of the regional economy. No other prominent industry has since emerged in the area, which then saw a decline in population growth. But amidst such stagnation, tremendous changes took place in Comal in 1990-2012.

Notably, as much as 79.6% of the households surveyed were landless. The number in 1903-1905 was 31.6%, and in 1990 was 56.7%. This phenomenon of deagrarianization is also evident in the composition of the occupations of household heads and members. Ecologically serious deforestation took place in 19th century in the region, which led to tight competition for water.

This panel presents the findings of an international Research Project that was organized among three institutions—the Faculty of Cultural Science, Gadjah Mada University in Indonesia; the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University in Japan; and the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands. Research activities were carried out during a period of four years, from 2012 up to 2015.

First panel is “Comal- Land Tenure, Rural Stratification- Trah Genealogical Study- and Welfare of Local People” discusses “Deagrarianization, Household Income and Labor Migration” (Kano Hiroyoshi), “Seventy Years in Comal: The Enduring Javanese Village Leadership (Kozano Yako) and “Household Livelihood and Food Consumption in Susukan Village” (Endo Nao).

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De-agrarianization, Household Income and Labor Migration

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In the six villages of the former Comal District in 1905, 68% of all households owned farmland (paddy fields and dry fields), while 32% were landless households. The average farmland area owned per landholding household was 1.06 hectares. In the six villages surveyed in 1990, the proportion of landless households had risen to 57%, and the average farmland holding had decreased to 0.41 hectares. Furthermore, by 2012 the percentage of landless households had sharply increased to 82%, and the average farmland holding had further shrunk to 0.33 hectares. Over nearly a century, the total population of the six villages expanded more than fourfold. This population growth is the principal factor behind the reduction in farmland holding size and the increase in landless households.

Next, when the working population of the surveyed households in the six villages in 1990 and 2012 is aggregated by industrial sector, agriculture shows a sharp decline from 62% to 33%, while commerce and various service industries rise dramatically from 19% to 31%. This clearly indicates a shift in economic activities toward de-agrarianization and an increased emphasis on commerce and service industries.

There are two types of labor migration: temporary migration and permanent migration, and in both cases, many people moved to the Greater Jakarta metropolitan area. In addition, nearly half of the permanent migrants were sending remittances to their households of origin.

When pension income and family remittances are included and the specified annual income is totaled and broken down by industrial sector, the primary sector accounts for 14.5%, the secondary sector 20.7%, the tertiary sector 57.6%, and pensions and remittances together 7.2%. From the perspective of income as well, it is evident that the economy is undergoing de-agrarianization and a shift toward a stronger emphasis on the commercial and service industries.

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Seventy Years in Comal

The Enduring Javanese Village Leadership

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The authority of the village headman's leadership in Comal District has been challenged since the end of World War II, such that large-scale local social disturbances had since broken out—among them the social revolution following Japanese surrender in August 1945, and the reformation period following the collapse of Soeharto's New Order regime in 1998.

In the village headman (*lurah*) elections of 1946–1947, most of *lurachs* of the six villages were replaced by new younger *lurachs* who had no kinship relations with traditional *trah* of their respective villages or were only distant relatives. More than half of such *lurachs* were replaced by *lurachs* from each village's *trah* after a few years, but some of them would mature into full-fledged *lurachs*. In the Soeharto regime after 1965, *lurah* candidates who could provide political inducements to promote their villages' economic growth tended to be elected. Most of them were close relatives of their predecessors.

After Soeharto resigned in 1998, most of the *lurachs* of the six villages were again replaced by new and younger *lurachs* who had no kinship relation with the traditional *trah* or were only distant relatives. But in the *lurah* elections of 2007 and 2012, most of them were replaced by *lurachs* from each village's *trah*.

The village-level leadership in Comal District had had to deal with major social unrest twice in the 20th century—the first being several years following the Japanese surrender in August 1945, and the second being several years after the collapse of the Soeharto regime in 1998. In such a highly charged atmosphere, the villagers tended to elect a new type of village leader who had little or no relation to the traditional power-holding clans.

But the villagers' preferences changed yet again as their communities stabilized and village economy improved. The headman who was able to spur village economic growth was elected in the Orde Baru period under Soeharto's developmental dictatorship, and in the economic boom after 2005. It was likely that the village leaders best suited for this demand was one who hailed from the traditional prominent *trah*, and had acceptable savings, ample agricultural knowledge, and good commercial connections outside the village.

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Household Livelihood and Food Consumption in Susukan Village

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Susukan Village, located near major transportation routes with good urban accessibility, has undergone dramatic changes since 1990. Paddy field ownership declined from 23.8% to 9.7% of households. Households operating paddy fields, including tenant households, comprised only 12.6%. Households engaged in single nonagricultural occupations increased to 57.1%, the highest among the six studied villages. The agricultural workforce aged significantly, with 92.3% of farming household heads now in their 50s or older, compared to 46.7% in 1990.

Employment patterns reveal widespread instability. Daily employment and contract work account for 50.5% of all household heads engaged in nonagricultural activities, exceeding 60% among drivers and construction workers. It is inferred that an unstable employment status was partly due to a shortage in human capital, such as education, which, at a higher level, enables access to more stable and higher-income jobs. In more than half of the total households, the educational level of the head was still below SD (primary school), although the educational level of younger household heads has increased. Human capital has become as unevenly distributed as land ownership historically was, with spousal employment functioning to moderate household instability.

Food consumption patterns strongly correlate with livelihood stability. Households whose heads are engaged in unstable work show higher proportions (24.7%) of expenditure on staple foods (cereals) than the average of 19.6% for all households. In contrast, households with heads who were stable employees spend more on instant foods and drinks. Lower educational levels are associated with higher cereal expenditure. Households under demographic stress—those with many children or large families—also depend more heavily on staples. Most non-farming households now purchase virtually all food.

The study concludes that de-agrarianization reduced risks associated with agricultural income seasonality, but did not necessarily increase livelihood stability due to human capital deficiencies. This situation influences food expenditure patterns and suggests growing risks to human capital from deteriorating food consumption amid economic changes, including rising food prices. The findings reveal widening human capital disparities in de-agrarianized rural Central Java.