

6

Part-Time Farming and Income Distribution

Let us look at the relationship of the village cloth-weaving industry and the rest of the nonfarm sector to the development of part-time farming. To begin with, there is the question of how the evolution of the village weaving industry influenced the productivity of cultivable land and agricultural mechanization; and there is the question of to what extent weaving improved the distribution of income in the village. In the present chapter, we will take up how wet-rice cultivation carried on as a part-time occupation by weavers and textile traders differs from that of other cultivators in the survey kampong. Then we will attempt to clarify (1) the circumstances under which part-time farming is carried on by families engaged in the nonfarm sector, including the weavers; and (2) whether or not the weaving industry has helped improve income distribution among the kampong's various social strata. This will be followed by an investigation of occupational opportunities available in other nonfarm sectors and a description of how labor migration has affected the stratification and income distribution in the survey kampong in relation to its elite stratum.

Village Weaving and Part-Time Farming

Wet-Rice Cultivation and Weaving in the Survey Kampong

As indicated in Chapter 2, the survey kampong is an area marked by *sawah* and fish-raising ponds, on which the most important product is wet rice. In this chapter we will focus on wet-rice cultivation and analyze the kampong in terms of three groups: part-time weaver farm households, part-time textile-trader farm households, and other, non-textile, farm households.

First, looking at the average amount of *sawah* under cultivation by members of the three groups, the weaver farm households enjoyed the least amount of land, 0.133 ha

per household during the 1985/86 rainy and 1986 dry seasons. The trader farm household farmed 0.284 ha on the average during the 1985/86 rainy season and 0.203 ha during the 1986 dry season, while non-textile farm households worked 0.367 ha during the 1985/86 rainy season and 0.324 ha during the 1986 dry season.

The survey kampong is characterized by the comparatively wide use of high-yielding rice varieties. Table 6-1 shows the percentages of the kampong's total *sawah* cultivated by the three groups of households surveyed according to rice varieties during the two seasons in question.

According to the table, the most widely utilized (74.2 per cent) variety by the households surveyed during the 1986 dry season was IR-24, a type-2 brown planthopper high-resistance (VUTW-2) variety. Another VUTW-2 type *cipunegara* was planted on 11.7 per cent of the *sawah*, while other non-VUTW-type IR varieties occupied 7.1 per cent of the *sawah*. The village's local varieties, *bereum** and *belis bodas**, were still being planted on 7.0 per cent of the area. With respect to the part-time farm households, all the textile traders planted IR-24, while the weavers used non-VUTW types on 34.5 per cent of their *sawah* and planted *bereum** on 6.9 per cent of their *sawah*.

Of the farm households who farmed land during the 1985/86 rainy season, a larger portion (35.9 per cent) planted local *bereum** compared with the following dry season. Although IR-24 was the predominant type cultivated during the rainy season, its use (53.1 per cent) was smaller than that during the following dry season. The highest percentage of IR-24 cultivators are found among the textile traders, while the weavers used *bereum** on 88.0 per cent of their *sawah*. The total percentage occupied by *bereum** among non-textile farm households was 31.4 per cent, but the textile traders used this local variety on only 16.9 per cent of their *sawah*. *Bereum** varies from the high-yielding types in that it requires a longer time to mature (130-45 days). The yield is also not as much as the newer types, but it continues in popularity among the villagers, because they think that it is more filling than the other varieties.¹

Next, we must consider another widely used production input, fertilizer. The major types used in the village are the chemicals urea and triple superphosphate (TSP). Table 6-2 shows fertilizer use by the three occupational groups surveyed, together with gross yield, area cultivated, and farm costs/returns data for the 1985/86 rainy season.

Generally speaking, farm size in the survey kampong is small. Such conditions tend to result in fertilizer use that is comparatively high per unit of land on such small area operated. This was indeed the case during 1985-86. In particular, the amount of chemical fertilizer used during the rainy season by the smallest land-holding group, the weavers, came to 450 kg/ha. Next came the textile traders at 391 kg/ha, then the non-textile farm households using 298 kg/ha.

Table 6-3 shows similar data as Table 6-2 for the 1986 dry season. This table shows that during the dry season also the weaver farm households used most input of chemical fertilizer per unit of *sawah*, i.e., 382 kg/ha, followed by the textile traders at 380 kg/ha.

Incidentally, up until 1984 a village unit cooperative (KUD) of the local sub-

TABLE 6-1
RICE VARIETIES IN THE SURVEY VILLAGE AND THEIR USE BY PART-TIME FARM HOUSEHOLDS
DURING 1985/86 MONSOON AND 1986 DRY SEASONS

(Tumbak)

	No. of Households		VUTW-2 ^a			Non-VUTW ^b : IR Varieties	Local Types		Total
			IR-24	<i>Cipunegara</i>	<i>Cisadane</i>		<i>Bereum</i>	<i>Belis bodas</i>	
A. 1985/86 rainy season									
Non-textile farm households	9	Planted area	1,038 (50.3)	280 (13.5)	100 (4.8)	0 0	650 (31.4)	0 0	2,068 (100)
Weaver farm households	6	Planted area	60 (12.0)	0 0	0 0	0 0	440 (88.0)	0 0	500 (100)
Textile-trader farm households	5	Planted area	738 (83.1)	0 0	0 0	0 0	150 (16.9)	0 0	888 (100)
Total	20	Planted area	1,836 (53.1)	280 (8.1)	100 (2.9)	0 0	1,240 (35.9)	0 0	3,456 (100)
B. 1986 dry season									
Non-textile farm households	8	Planted area	1,358 (83.9)	100 (6.2)	0 0	0 0	100 (6.2)	60 (3.7)	1,618 (100)
Weaver farm households	6	Planted area	110 (19.0)	230 (39.6)	0 0	200 (34.5)	40 (6.9)	0 0	580 (100)
Textile-trader farm households	5	Planted area	633 (100)	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	633 (100)
Total	19	Planted area	2,101 (74.2)	330 (11.7)	0 0	200 (7.1)	140 (4.9)	60 (2.1)	2,831 (100)

Source: Fieldwork done by the author.

Notes: 1. The table deals only with farm families for which the necessary data is available.

2. 1 *tumbak* = 16 m².

3. Figures in parentheses are percentages.

^a Indicates type-2 brown planthopper high-resistance variety.

^b A high-yielding variety without brown planthopper resistance properties.

TABLE 6-2
AVERAGE COST AND RETURNS FOR NON-TEXTILE, WEAVER, AND TEXTILE-TRADER FARM HOUSEHOLDS
DURING THE 1985/86 RAINY SEASON

(Rp.)

	Non-Textile Farm Households			Weaver Farm Households			Textile-Trader Farm Households		
	Survey Household Average	Per Ha Average	% of Income	Survey Household Average	Per Ha Average	% of Income	Survey Household Average	Per Ha Average	% of Income
Gross income ^a	250,536	749,610	100	84,046	630,341	100	211,646	744,814	100
Expenses	169,136	506,059	67.5	41,552	311,630	49.4	123,723	438,941	58.9
Seed/seedlings	2,471	7,393	1.0	1,527	11,450	1.8	2,633	9,264	1.2
Fertilizer	9,828	29,406	3.9	6,188	46,406	7.4	11,300	39,766	5.3
Pesticide	939	2,809	0.4	417	3,125	0.5	300	1,056	0.1
Wages	91,703	274,379	36.6	28,595	214,462	34.0	92,490	325,485	43.7
Harvest/transport	34,399	102,923	13.7	11,312	84,837	13.5	29,020	102,127	13.7
Other ^b	57,304	171,456	22.9	17,283	129,625	20.5	63,470	223,358	30.0
Rental paid	63,386	189,651	25.3	3,934	29,506	4.7	16,109	56,689	7.6
Taxes	809	2,421	0.3	891	6,681	1.1	891	6,681	0.9
Net income	81,400	243,551	32.5	42,494	318,711	50.6	87,923	305,873	41.1
Supplementary data:									
Gross yield ^c (kg)	1,806	5,403		606	4,543		16,109	5,368	
Area operated (ha)	0.367	1.0		0.133	1.0		0.284	1.0	
Chemical fertilizer used (kg)	99	298		60	450		111	391	
Sample number		9			6			5	

Source: Fieldwork done by the author.

^a Gross income is estimated on the basis of unhulled rice sale prices. Rice for family consumption was estimated based on the average producer price of unhulled rice during March and July of 1986 (av. Rp.150/kg). Weight of rice for family consumption was estimated based on the average weight between dried unhulled rice at the level of farm household's residence (*gabah kering panen*) and dried unhulled rice at the level of rice-milling plant (*gabah kering giling*). Conversion rate between the weight of two level is 100 : 85. For details, see Mizuno (1993a: 144).

^b Includes wages for water-buffalo-use plowing.

^c Measured in terms of dried unhulled rice at the level of farm household's residence.

TABLE 6-3
 AVERAGE COST AND RETURNS FOR NON-TEXTILE, WEAVER, AND TEXTILE-TRADER FARM HOUSEHOLDS
 DURING THE 1986 DRY SEASON

(Rp.)

	Non-Textile Farm Households			Weaver Farm Households			Textile-Trader Farm Households		
	Survey Household Average	Per Ha Average	% of Income	Survey Household Average	Per Ha Average	% of Income	Survey Household Average	Per Ha Average	% of Income
Gross income ^a	207,071	639,896	100	91,803	642,619	100	173,239	855,246	100
Expenses	75,864	499,830	78.1	18,542	129,795	57.5	89,362	441,157	51.6
Seed/seedlings	1,889	5,838	0.9	1,294	9,060	1.4	500	2,468	0.3
Fertilizer	12,663	39,130	6.1	6,254	43,777	6.8	7,700	38,013	4.4
Pesticide	781	2,412	0.4	154	1,078	0.2	0	0	0
Wages	85,883	265,397	41.5	34,245	239,714	37.3	69,379	342,508	40.0
Harvest/transport	28,242	87,274	13.7	13,841	96,884	15.1	25,374	125,266	14.6
Other	57,641	178,123	27.8	20,404	142,830	22.2	44,005	217,242	25.4
Rental paid	60,242	186,161	29.1	9,807	68,649	10.7	11,283	55,700	6.5
Taxes	289	892	0.1	1,033	7,231	1.1	500	2,468	0.3
Net income	45,324	140,066	21.9	39,016	273,110	42.5	83,877	414,089	48.4
Supplementary data:									
Gross yield (kg)	1,279	3,953		567	3,970		1,070	5,283	
Area operated (ha)	0.324	1.0		0.133	1.0		0.203	1.0	
Chemical fertilizer used (kg)	115	355		55	382		77	380	
Sample number		8			6			5	

Source: Fieldwork done by the author.

Note: See notes for Table 6-2.

^a Gross income is estimated according to the method for Table 6-2. Average producer price of unhulled rice during August and December 1986 was Rp.175/kg.

district was located in the survey kampong, but went bankrupt as the result of a bad debt incurred by a poor tea plantation investment in the village's mountain area. Today the KUD is located in Tanjunglaya and acts almost solely as the local bill collector for the State Electric Power Company (PLN—Perusahaan Listrik Negara). Therefore, the issuance of credit and sale of chemical pesticide and fertilizer is not carried out in the survey kampong through KUD.

Despite the small scale of farm size in the survey village, there is a great deal of reliance on hired labor. Weeding (*ngarambet**) is carried out three times per crop, and such precision work as plastering of balk (*mopok**), and mowing *sawah* levees (*nyacalang galeng**) is done, resulting in relatively large amount of labor input. Quite a large portion of this labor input is supplied by hired labor. Moreover, there are those weaver farm households who do not feel that the bodily physique resulting from many years of hand-weaving is conducive to the rigors of agriculture. In this case, most cultivation is carried out by hired labor.

However, it is the textile-trader farm households who are the most dependent on hired agricultural labor. For example, Mr. J., the large-scale textile trader mentioned in the previous chapter, leaves all the cultivation of his *sawah* to his father, Mr. S., during both the rainy and dry seasons. According to the rainy-season farm-costs/return data in Table 6-2, textile-trader farm households paid out Rp. 223,000 to hire labor for work other than harvest and crop transport, an amount that came to 30 per cent of gross income. Weaver farm households paid out 20.5 per cent of their farm incomes for the same kind of work, while non-textile farm households paid out 22.9 per cent of their income to hire labor. During the dry season, non-textile farm households expended a larger amount for hired labor, but both textile-trader and weaver farm households outlays were also quite large.

The mechanization of agriculture has not progressed in the survey area. Machinery is not even used in harvesting or threshing, and there are almost no hand-tractors for land preparation. Plowing in the survey kampong is usually done by a water buffalo herder in the neighboring village to the north. The initial plowing (*nyingkar**) is done by this herder, while the second plowing (*malik**) is sometimes carried out by hand.

The hoeing labor (*macul**) tends to be done by a group of robust male villagers who work for wages. The transplanting (*tandur**) is mostly done by female wage workers. The weeding is in many cases also done by the same female wage workers. These female workers are also given priority among agricultural workers to participate in the harvesting work (*dibuat**). They are paid for both planting and weeding according to the usual rate, although harvesters in some areas of West Java are obliged to weed without wages (the *ceblokan* system). Therefore, there is a tendency for the village's farm families to hire the same men for plowing/hoeing and the same women for transplanting/weeding and harvesting year in and year out, resulting in what can be called rather perpetual farm-labor relationships. Wet-rice cultivation in the survey kampong tends strongly towards self-sufficiency. While the weaving industry, another major industry of the survey kampong, is totally geared towards commodity production, only a small part of the wet-rice crop is sold at the market. In-

deed, the small scale of farming in the survey kampong does not enable farm households to obtain a sufficient amount of rice for their own domestic consumption. According to Table 6-2, during the 1985/86 rainy season textile-trader farm households harvested a relatively large crop totaling 5,368 kg of rice per hectare.² The average crop harvested by weaver farm households came to 4,543 kg per hectare, while that of non-textile farm households 5,403 kg.

The crop harvested by both weaver farm households and non-textile farm households during the 1986 dry season (see Table 6-3) was only about 3,950 kg per hectare, but the textile trader farm households harvested an average of 5,283 kg, matching their rainy season performance and staying well above the national average.

This data shows that the largest crops in the survey kampong are harvested by textile-trader farm households, while the smallest are harvested by the weaver farm families. The reasons for this situation are as follows. First, textile traders use the greatest amount of VUTW-2 seed varieties and chemical fertilizer. Secondly, textile traders also employ a lot of hired labor, like Mr. J. leaving all the cultivation work to permanent hired farm laborers. This insures that farm management does not suffer due to trading activities. Even though rice cultivation is for self-sufficiency, any monetary expenses incurred can be covered by the cash proceeds from trading. In the case of medium-scale traders like Mssrs. V. and T., despite recent slumps in business, their weaving factory management successes in the past enabled them to purchase *sawah* with excellent irrigation conditions.

Turning to the weaver farm households, despite the use of large amounts of fertilizer on their narrow plots, they reap smaller harvests because they prefer the taste of rice grown from traditional seed varieties. Being members of the village's lower socioeconomic stratum, their *sawah* is probably not very well irrigated. As a result, their harvests are relatively small. However, given the investment they make in both fertilizer and wage labor, it cannot be said that farm management suffers due to their weaving businesses. Even though they are able to purchase part of their fertilizer on credit, they probably cover wages and input costs with cash earned in the nonfarm sectors of weaving and *becak* driving.

What we can conclude from the agricultural management of textile traders and weavers is that despite the absence of agricultural mechanization in the development of the village textile industry and the fact that rice cultivation is both a secondary occupation and for self-sufficiency, the use of high-yielding rice varieties, large amounts of commercial fertilizer, and hired labor has clearly resulted in fairly good yields, especially in the case of textile-trader farm households.

Part-Time Farm Households and the Nonfarm Sector

How did part-time farming develop in the survey kampong? Let us consider the relationship between farm and nonfarm sectors from the standpoint of the village's farm households.³

From Table 5-1 we know that there are eleven households in the survey sample whose heads are primarily involved in farming and nineteen households whose heads have secondary occupations of farming. These thirty households have *sawah* and dry

fields under cultivation totaling 6.40 ha and 2.64 ha respectively. The per household average is therefore 0.30 ha of agricultural land under cultivation.

If we add 1.19 ha of land operated for fish raising by the sample households, we come up with thirty-two households “farming” 10.23 ha of operated land. Classifying these households into full-time and part-time farm families,⁴ we come up with a full-time group, and two types of part-time farm-household group. A full-time farming household (including fish raisers) is defined as one in which all employed family members are engaged in farming as a primary occupation. A part-time farm household is defined as one in which at least one member is employed in the off-farm sector as a primary occupation. A type-1 part-time farm household receives more income from the on-farm sector than the off-farm sector; a type-2 part-time farm household receives more income from the off-farm sector. There are only three full-time farm households in the sample, and they have land under cultivation averaging 1.36 ha. Of the remaining twenty-nine part-time farm households, only one can be classified as type 1. It cultivates 0.48 ha. That leaves us with twenty-eight type-2 part-time households, which average 0.20 ha of farm land.

Most farm households follow the wet-rice cultivation work schedule designated by the sub-district agricultural extension office (BPP—Balai Penyuluhan Pertanian). A different dry-field schedule also exists, and in fish-fry raising, hatching requires about forty days from balk plastering (*naplok**) to harvesting (*ngala lauk**). Because the labor demand curve is different from the wet-rice cultivation curve and both wet-rice cultivation and fish raising depend heavily on wage labor, demand from each occupation is distributed relatively constant over the work year. This relatively constant distribution of labor demand over time and the fact that plots of agricultural land are spatially narrow means that the number of laborers that can be allocated to *sawah* during the harvest season is not large. This situation lies in sharp contrast to the northern plain, where the harvest season occurs at one time and where plots of *sawah* are wide and demand large work forces from a broader region to spend over a month harvesting crops.

Therefore, the tendency of residents of the survey kampong toward part-time farming, or the abandonment of farming altogether, coincides with the equal distribution of agricultural labor demand over time, and has not been caused by any progress of mechanized agriculture in the area. Rather, the move toward part-time farming or the abandonment of farming has been caused by (1) a scarcity of cultivable land and inability to earn sufficient farm income; (2) limited opportunities of agricultural wage labor, a flattening of Choe’s M cycle (Choe 1986) and a lot of “absolute underemployment”; and (3) the presence of ample opportunities in the nonfarm sector.

Table 6–4 was constructed in order to discern the amounts of income that off-farm occupational opportunities and farming (including fish raising) earn for farm households. The table shows income earned by farm households over the past year according to full-time and part-time farm households and the contribution to total income (percentage) made by all occupations engaged in by all members of sample households. Relevant poverty-line indices have also been included.

TABLE 6-4
FARM-HOUSEHOLD INCOME SOURCE AND POVERTY-LINE INDICES
ACCORDING TO FULL/PART-TIME CATEGORIES

	Full Time			Type-1 Part Time			Type-2 Part Time		
	Household Average (Rp.)	% of Total Income	Poverty-Line Indices (%)	Household Average (Rp.)	% of Total Income	Poverty-Line Indices (%)	Household Average (Rp.)	% of Total Income	Poverty-Line Indices (%)
No. of households	3			1			28		
Farming	300,461	35.4	77.0	358,009	55.3	30.6	85,534	10.2	16.0
Fish raising	390,780	46.0	100.2	0	0	0	6,918	0.8	1.3
Agricultural wage labor	1,667	0.2	0.4	0	0	0	28,863	3.5	5.5
Weaving	0	0	0	0	0	0	84,398	10.2	16.0
Textile trading	0	0	0	289,925	44.7	24.8	313,001	37.8	59.4
Textile-related home work	0	0	0	0	0	0	55,138	6.7	10.5
Textile-related wage labor	0	0	0	0	0	0	12,172	1.5	2.3
Other (non-textile) trading	0	0	0	0	0	0	123,227	14.9	23.4
<i>Becak</i> driving	0	0	0	0	0	0	15,893	1.9	2.0
Village administration	2,667	0.3	0.7	0	0	0	571	0.1	0.1
Assistance/remittances	100,000	11.8	25.6	0	0	0	17,143	2.1	3.3
Tenant rent	54,167	6.4	13.3	0	0	0	11,379	1.4	2.2
Pensions	0	0	0	0	0	0	29,143	3.5	5.5
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,000	0.5	0.8
Total	849,741	100	217.9	647,934	100	55.4	828,024	100	157.1

Source: Field work done by the author.

Notes: 1. For details on poverty-line indices, see note to Table 5-2.

2. For definitions of full-time, type-1 part-time, and type-2 part-time farm households, see the text.

PART-TIME FARMING

The table shows that farming and fish-raising income was able to keep a household at or above the poverty line only in the case of full-time farm households. Income from farming in type-1 part-time households left the family well below the poverty line, while similar income in type-2 part-time households made up only 11 per cent of the household's income and brought the household only 17.3 per cent of the way to the poverty line.

The table shows in general that the strong tendency towards off-farm occupations in the survey kampong (1) is the result of almost all the households not being able to earn the income necessary to sustain daily life from farming the small, narrow plots that characterize the survey area,⁵ and (2) features self-employed family businesses (ten weaving households, five textile-trading households, and four other trading households), the use of family labor (textile-related home workers are found in ten households), and a large amount of wage labor, like agricultural wage labor (ten households), accompanying petty commodity production. There were, however, two households that had employees of large companies.

The average income earned by type-2 part-time farm households was almost as much as full-time households, meaning that in the case of these families their participation in the off-farm sector has greatly narrowed the gap between the village's various social strata. A check of the composition of off-farm income earned by type-2 part-time households reveals that a large portion comes from weaving and weaving-related occupations. As related in Chapter 4, despite being part of the same industry, there are great social and income differences between the weavers, who earn less than the wage rate for agricultural wage labor, and the large and medium-scale textile traders, who occupy the village's middle and upper strata. The following explanation (in conjunction with the discussion on textile traders in Chapters 4 and 5) will reveal that certain type-2 part-time farm households have been able to earn fairly large incomes. Therefore, it is necessary to classify these households further according to the off-farm occupations in which they are involved. In the next section, we will try to determine whether the village weaving industry and other off-farm occupations have been able to improve the intra-village distribution of income.

Intra-Village Income Distribution and the Nonfarm Sector

The Weaving Industry and Village Income Distribution

Let us first look at the survey kampong's social stratification in terms of the scale of landownership. Although it has been made sufficiently clear that farming income occupies only a small portion of total income earned by the households surveyed—meaning that landownership could not be the sole indicator of social position in the kampong—it is also apparent that this has not deterred influential families in the village, like textile traders, from continuing to obtain land (especially agricultural land), which suggests that landownership continues to constitute an important indicator of social status in the minds of the villagers. The attempt to own land by villagers, like merchants, arises not only from their need for collateral in obtaining bank

loans, but also as a source of wealth to fall back on in the case of business recession; and we cannot ignore the desire to show higher socioeconomic status through landownership.⁶

Table 6–5 lists income by occupation and its share of total income for all households surveyed according to scale of agricultural landownership (including fish-raising ponds). Then similar data is presented for non-landowner households with members engaged in sharecropping. Non-landowner households with members engaged in agricultural wage labor without members engaged in sharecropping are also presented in the table. Non-landowner households without members engaged in sharecropping or in agricultural wage labor indicate abandonment of agriculture for all practical purposes.⁷ Table 6–6 contains poverty-line indices for each household occupation according to landownership scale. There are also sections here for sharecroppers, agricultural wage labor, and nonfarm households.

From Table 6–5, we see a strong tendency for household income to increase in proportion to the scale of landownership; however, we observe one exception in the 0.25–0.5 ha group earning more than the 0.5–1 ha group. This is due to the fact that the 0.25–0.5 ha contains an influential textile trading family, while the 0.5–1 ha group does not. However, Table 6–6 shows that the poverty-line attainment performance of the 0.5–1 ha group is better than the 0.25–0.50 ha; and the per capita income figure for the 0.5–1 ha group is also higher. This table shows that both of these groups earn incomes quite higher than the poverty line. In order to examine the influence exerted by the weaving industry on village income distribution, let us first investigate the textile traders. We have already seen how the income of larger-scale textile traders caused the per household income of the 0.25–0.50 ha landowning strata to top the village. Textile traders have also pushed up the per household income of the less than 0.1 ha landowning strata. As related in Chapter 5, there is one medium-scale trader who owned no land during the survey period, but expected to inherit the land of his fathers, the large-scale gauze trader, in the future. This data show that medium- and larger-scale textile traders occupy the middle landowning strata, partly due to their need for collateral in financing trading activities.

Turning to the village's weaving businesses, there are some weavers in the 0.5–1 ha stratum, but there is a tendency among the sample households that the smaller the scale of agricultural landownership, the more crucial role played by weaving for the household income. This fact is shown clearly in Table 5–4. Of the households who do not own land, especially those households with agricultural wage laborers (the most in number) or tenants, weaving is the major source of income. In contrast, landless weavers separated from farm completely do not receive as high a percentage of their income from weaving.

Those who are employed as home workers in textile-related tasks like hem stitching, gauze packaging, and warp-pirn winding are observed in all strata, except those owning 1.0 ha or more. In order to avoid over-complicating the table, details concerning these workers have not been included, but we should mention here that hem stitchers, who require sewing machines (foot-pedal driven devices for stitching dish-cloth hems; all hem stitchers households own sewing machines), are concentrated in

TABLE 6-5
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY OCCUPATION (SOURCE) AND SHARE OF TOTAL INCOME
ACCORDING TO LANDOWNERSHIP (ALL HOUSEHOLDS SURVEYED)

(Rp.)

	Landowners (Ha)					Non-Landowners			Grand Total
	1.00–	0.50–1.00	0.25–0.50	0.10–0.25	–0.10	Share-croppers ^a	Farm Laborers ^b	“Nonfarm” Household ^c	
No. of households	2	3	6	7	9	8	19	17	71
Farming	292,896 (6.3)	161,350 (14.5)	203,246 (12.7)	72,522 (9.9)	37,650 (6.7)	57,565 (12.7)	0	1,765 (0.3)	51,075 (7.1)
Fish raising	228,982 (4.9)	238,125 (21.3)	0	22,964 (3.1)	3,662 (0.7)	0	0	0	19,240 (2.7)
Agricultural wage labor ^d	0	0	3,500 (0.2)	44,750 (6.1)	33,808 (6.1)	22,326 (4.9)	42,247 (13.0)	0	22,815 (3.2)
Weaving	0	76,666 (6.9)	0	87,053 (11.8)	65,125 (11.7)	117,205 (25.8)	130,189 (40.3)	41,900 (8.3)	78,156 (10.9)
Textile-related homework	0	51,200 (4.6)	22,152 (1.4)	87,050 (11.8)	18,433 (3.3)	99,125 (21.8)	15,063 (4.6)	8,629 (1.7)	32,221 (4.5)
Textile-related wage labor	0	0	29,117 (1.8)	10,285 (1.4)	0	11,762 (2.6)	10,847 (3.3)	4,000 (0.8)	8,661 (1.2)
Textile trading	0	0	1,172,364 (73.2)	0	316,643 (56.6)	0	20,716 (6.4)	206,652 (41.0)	194,235 (27.4)
Other (non-textile) trading	0	521,661 (46.7)	157,688 (9.9)	134,180 (18.3)	0	0	25,263 (7.8)	20,924 (4.1)	60,367 (8.4)
<i>Becak</i> driving	0	0	0	63,570 (8.6)	0	0	56,973 (17.6)	0	21,514 (3.0)
Factory labor/ clerical work	0	0	0	70,571 (9.6)	74,666 (13.4)	75,000 (16.5)	0	161,480 (32.0)	63,538 (8.9)
Construction labor	0	0	0	0	0	0	6,526 (2.0)	0	1,746 (0.2)
Village administration	4,000 (0.1)	0	0	1,143 (0.2)	0	1,000 (0.2)	5,789 (1.8)	1,176 (0.2)	2,169 (0.3)

TABLE 6-5 (Continued)

	Landowners (Ha)					Non-Landowners			Grand Total
	1.00–	0.50–1.00	0.25–0.50	0.10–0.25	–0.10	Share-croppers ^a	Farm Laborers ^b	“Nonfarm” Household ^c	
Service and finance	2,500,000 (54.1)	0	0	4,286 (0.6)	0	23,750 (5.2)	4,211 (1.3)	0	74,648 (10.4)
Assistance and remittances	125,000 (2.7)	0	3,333 (0.2)	8,571 (1.2)	1,667 (0.3)	44,375 (9.8)	6,316 (1.9)	27,647 (5.5)	18,451 (2.6)
Pensions	0	0	0	116,571 (15.9)	0	0	0	14,705 (2.9)	15,014 (2.1)
Tenant rent	976,685 (21.1)	66,714 (6.0)	9,455 (0.6)	6,964 (0.9)	6,419 (1.2)	0	0	16,235 (3.2)	36,518 (5.1)
Other	500,000 (10.8)	0	0	4,571 (0.6)	0	2,500 (0.5)	0	0	14,535 (2.0)
Total	4,627,563 (100)	1,115,718 (100)	1,600,858 (100)	735,057 (100)	558,075 (100)	454,609 (100)	324,143 (100)	505,116 (100)	714,902 (100)

Source: Fieldwork done by the author.

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages.

^a At least one member of the household is engaged in sharecropping.

^b At least one member of the household is engaged in agricultural wage labor and no member of the household is engaged in sharecropping.

^c There is no member of the household who engages in agricultural wage labor or in sharecropping. There are households in this category who produce agricultural products around their residences, meaning that their farm income is not exactly zero.

^d Including fish-raising wage labor.

TABLE 6-6
POVERTY-LINE INDICES FOR AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY OCCUPATION (SOURCE)
ACCORDING TO LANDOWNERSHIP CATEGORIES

(%)

	Landowners (Ha)					Non-Landowners			Total
	1.00–	0.50–1.00	0.25–0.50	0.10–0.25	–0.10	Share- croppers	Farm Laborers	“Nonfarm” Household	
No. of households	2	3	6	7	9	8	19	17	71
Farming	65.1	38.4	28.2	12.5	8.4	13.5	0	0.5	11.4
Fish raising	50.9	56.7	0	4.0	7.5	0	0	0	4.3
Agricultural wage labor ^a	0	0	0.5	7.7	0.8	5.2	10.1	0	5.1
Weaving	0	18.3	0	15.0	14.5	27.4	31.2	12.2	17.5
Textile-related homework	0	12.2	3.1	15.0	4.1	23.2	3.6	2.5	7.2
Textile-related wage labor	0	0	4.0	1.8	0	2.8	2.6	1.2	1.9
Textile trading	0	0	162.8	0	70.4	0	5.0	60.1	43.4
Other (non-textile) trading	0	124.2	21.9	23.2	0	0	6.1	6.1	13.5
<i>Becak</i> driving	0	0	0	11.0	0	0	13.7	0	4.8
Factory labor/clerical work	0	0	0	12.2	16.6	17.5	0	46.9	14.2
Construction labor	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.6	0	0.4
Village administration	0.9	0	0	0.2	0	0.2	1.4	0.3	0.5
Service and finance	555.6	0	0	0.7	0	5.6	1.0	0	16.7
Assistance and remittances	27.8	0	0.5	1.4	0.4	10.4	1.5	8.0	4.1
Pensions	0	0	0	20.1	0	0	0	4.3	3.4
Tenant rent	217.0	15.9	1.3	1.2	1.4	0	0	4.7	8.2
Other	111.1	0	0	0.8	0	0.6	0	0	3.2
Total	1,028.3	265.6	222.3	127.0	124.0	106.3	77.8	146.8	159.8

Source: Fieldwork done by the author.

Notes: 1. See note to Table 6-5 for landownership category definitions.

2. See note to Table 5-2 for poverty-line indices.

^a Including fish-raising wage labor.

the village's middle strata, while those doing pirn winding, which requires a simple reel and can be done by widowed people and the children of weavers, tend to fall in the village's lower strata.

In order to find out the influence exerted by the weaving industry on income distribution among the sample households, we will create an income category for the village sector that includes all occupations related to textiles (including textile and yarn traders). For contrast, the income figures in Tables 6-5 and 6-6 from farming and fish raising (including agricultural/fish-raising wage labor, tenant rent, and also livestock breeding classified in the item of "other") will be classified into a "farm income" category. A third category will be constructed for the income from occupations other than the above defined textile-related and farm categories. This category, which is based on related figures in Table 6-5, appears along with the above two categories in Table 6-7. What this table tells about "textile-related income" is that this kind of income is important for middle-strata sample households, but even more important for the sample households' lower strata.

The "farm income" that appears in Table 6-7 is quite unequally distributed. That is to say, this category has a Gini coefficient of 0.735. When "farm income" is com-

TABLE 6-7
HOUSEHOLD INCOME FROM "FARM," TEXTILE-RELATED, AND OTHER
NONFARM OCCUPATIONS ACCORDING TO LANDOWNERSHIP

(Rp.)

	No. of Households	"Farm"	Textile-Related	Other Nonfarm	Total
Landowners (ha)					
1.00-	2	1,498,564 (32.4)	0 (0)	3,128,999 (67.6)	4,627,563 (100)
0.50-1.00	3	466,190 (41.8)	127,867 (11.5)	521,661 (46.7)	1,115,718 (100)
0.25-0.50	6	216,202 (13.5)	1,223,634 (76.4)	161,022 (10.1)	1,600,858 (100)
0.10-0.25	7	147,202 (20.0)	184,389 (25.1)	403,466 (74.9)	735,057 (100)
-0.10	9	81,539 (14.6)	400,202 (71.7)	76,334 (13.7)	558,075 (100)
Non-landowners					
Sharecroppers	8	79,891 (17.6)	228,093 (50.2)	146,625 (32.2)	454,609 (100)
Farm laborers	19	42,247 (13.0)	176,816 (54.5)	105,080 (45.5)	324,143 (100)
"Nonfarm" households	17	18,000 (3.6)	261,182 (51.7)	225,934 (44.7)	505,116 (100)
Grand total	71	129,648 (18.1)	313,272 (43.8)	271,982 (38.1)	714,902 (100)

Source: Fieldwork done by the author.

Notes: 1. Figures in parentheses are percentages.

2. For definitions of "farm," textile-related, and other nonfarm occupations, see the text.

bined with “textile-related income,” the Gini coefficient falls to 0.599, which indicates that “textile-related income” has a definite income distribution equalization effect.

As related in the previous two chapters, the survey kampong’s textile industry established a production area and proceeded to develop a division of labor within it. This division of labor has been involved by entrepreneurs who can procure abundant initial capital funds and those who can manage to obtain only very little. Therefore, it can be said that this division of labor was established on the precondition of village stratification strongly determined by the ownership of real estate assets. As discussed in Chapter 4, the fact that local wholesalers and medium-scale traders, for example, purchased land with the profits from successful enterprises, also reflects landownership determining stratification within the village’s textile industry. Therefore, fairly large differences in income levels do exist among the members of this industry; but, on the village level, participation in this industry by lower-strata weavers and home workers has certain income-distribution equalization effects. The poverty-line indices presented in Table 6–8 shows that average income from “farm” and “textile-related” sectors in the 0.25–0.5 ha ownership strata surpasses the poverty-line indices of the higher 0.5–1.0 ha strata. Furthermore, the average income from the two sectors of the 0.1–0.25 ha strata rate is lower than that of the less than 0.1 ha strata. Here we begin to detect an irregular pattern in the order of stratification not seen when considering just the “farm sector.” However, such irregularities are not sufficiently strong to change a village stratification scheme strongly determined by landownership.

The Influence of Other Nonfarm Occupations on Village Income Distribution

What about the role of nonfarm occupations other than textile-related? From Table 6–7 we find that the “other nonfarm income” sector is an important source for all village strata. This is especially true for the over 0.5 ha strata. Even though “other nonfarm income” is not as important for non-landowner villagers as “textile-related income,” its share of total income is still fairly high. As to the influence of “other nonfarm income” on the village’s income distribution framework, when added to the income from the other two sectors, the Gini coefficient drops from 0.599 to 0.535, indicating a further income distribution equalization effect.

Nevertheless, it is clear from Table 6–8 that marked income differences among the sample households exist in terms of all three income categories. The larger the scale of landownership, the larger the household’s total income. The only exception to this rule is among the strata completely removed from farm activities, whose income level is higher than the 0.1–0.25 ha ownership strata.

And so, while nonfarm income sources as a whole have equalizing effects on income distribution, these effects are not strong enough to change a stratified village structure determined by the ownership of farm land. In order to examine the reasons for this situation, let us look more closely at the occupations within our “other nonfarm” category. There are some “other nonfarm” occupations in Tables 6–5 and

TABLE 6-8
POVERTY-LINE INDICES RELATED TO HOUSEHOLD INCOME FROM "FARM,"
TEXTILE-RELATED, AND OTHER NONFARM OCCUPATIONS

(%)

	No. of Households	"Farm"	Textile-Related	Other Nonfarm	Total
Landowners (ha)					
1.00-	2	333.0	0	695.3	1,028.3
0.50-1.00	3	111.0	30.4	124.2	265.6
0.25-0.50	6	30.0	169.9	22.4	222.3
0.10-0.25	7	25.4	31.9	69.7	127.0
-0.10	9	18.1	88.9	17.0	124.0
Non-landowners					
Sharecroppers	8	18.7	53.4	34.2	106.3
Farm laborers	19	10.1	42.4	25.3	77.8
"Nonfarm" households	17	5.2	75.9	65.7	146.8
Grand total	71	29.0	70.0	60.8	159.8

Source: Fieldwork done by the author.

Note: See p. 85 for categories of occupation groups.

6-6 that increase income differences among village strata and others that reduce such differences.

The first set of occupations that tend to increase income differences is the "other (non-textile) trading" occupations, which include daily-goods stores, fry middlemen, noodle soup hawkers, a *bajigur* (coconut milk and spices drink) stand owner, and an auto-parts stand in Bandung. The income-unbalancing effect of the daily-goods store business is especially strong. There are both large and small stores doing business in the village, and their size depends on the amount of initial capital funds (*modal*). An ability to procure the funds is closely related to the ownership of assets. A similar effect on income differences is caused by the "service and finance" industry, which will be discussed later in detail.

On the other hand, the most important "other nonfarm" occupation helping to equalize village income distribution is "factory labor and clerical work," followed by "becak driving." "Assistance and remittances" is also an important income source for the village's non-landowner strata. The factory and clerical work is done outside of the village by two residents who commute to Majalaya and six who work in a government office, textile mill (two persons), tile-making factory, and junkyard company around Bandung. This large number of workers who require a two-hour daily commute to Bandung is partly due to their employment there prior to marriage (Mizuno 1993b: 93-95). None of the work has any entrepreneurial or independent character to it.

There are many villagers involved in such income-distribution equalizing nonfarm occupations as factory wage labor and clerical work. In contrast, because the large amount of initial capital funds make business larger scale in such self-em-

ployed occupations as non-textile trading and service and finance, there are entrepreneurial endeavors that tend to push this income category towards unbalanced income distribution. As a result, although the whole nonfarm sector displays a Gini coefficient favoring income-distribution equalization, this sector is still not capable of the changing the village stratified structure based on landownership scale. This situation is proven by the data in Table 6–7 showing the larger a household's landholdings, the larger its total income. In addition, while not as income distribution unbalancing as the "farm" sector, the "other nonfarm" sector is still characterized by a stratified structure.

Labor Migration and Rural Stratification

Worker migration and commuting for *becak* driving and factory and clerical work, in addition to cash remittances from family members living outside the village, are very important sources for equalizing the village's distribution of income. We should consider these movements of labor not only in terms of income, but also ownership of wealth (land). The movement of labor among the middle and upper strata of the survey kampong took place in response to a stagnating textile industry. Of the migrants who were successful in their endeavors, there are those who purchased land in or around the survey village, thus significantly changing its landowning structure.

Migration of Members of the Kampong's Upper Strata: The Response of the Rural Elite

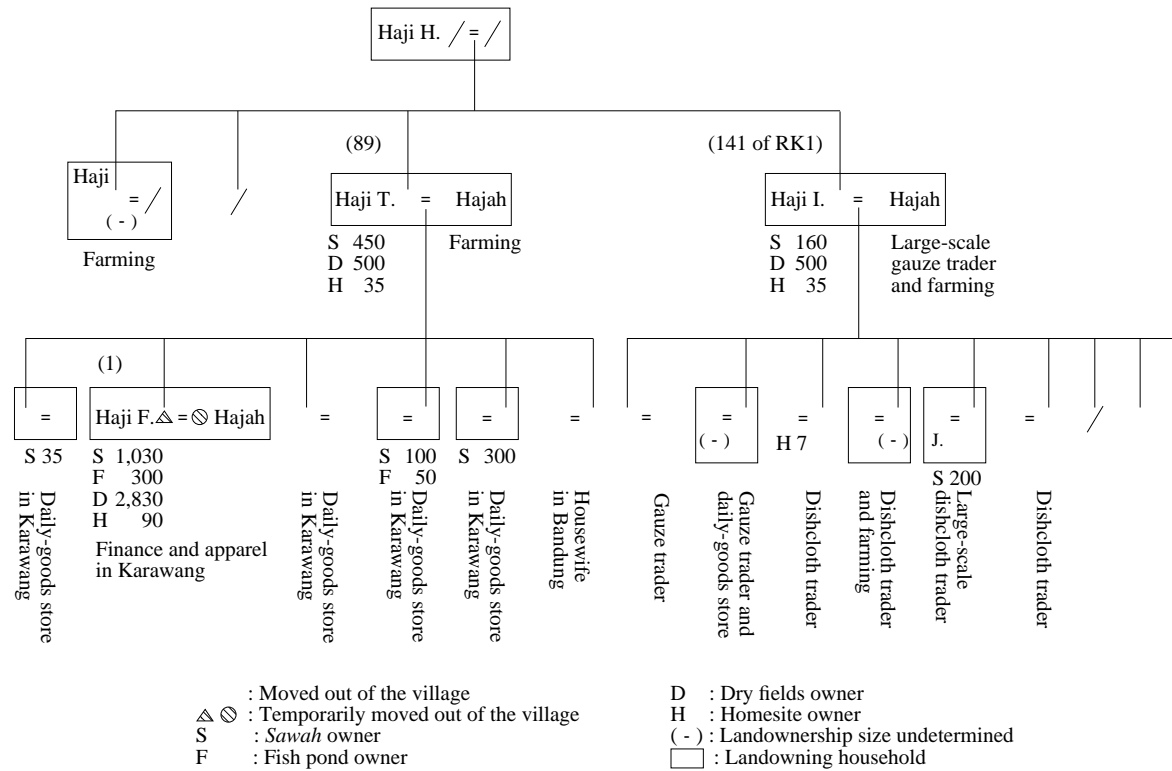
Let us consider one upper strata family whose genealogy appears in Figure 6–1. The figure shows the kinship relationships in the family (survey household No. 89 of RK2) headed by Mr. Haji T., its migratory patterns and landownership.

Haji T.'s parents had large landholdings and distributed them among their children. Haji T. ran a textile-weaving factory during the 1960s, but during the following decade he began textile trading also. In the early 1980s he quit his textile activities and returned to agriculture. By then all of his children had moved away from the village.

The figure shows that his youngest daughter moved to Bandung after her marriage, while the rest of his siblings, two sons and the two oldest daughters moved to locations in the District of Karawang; but they own agricultural land in and around the survey village. The eldest son's land was sold to him by his father, while his brother and sisters purchased their land on their own after they moved out of village.

Special mention should be given to the younger son, Haji F. (survey household No. 1 of RK2), who runs a financial cooperative (money-lending business) in Karawang. He had helped his father market pique until the business slumped, then moved to Bandung in 1976, where he started the financial cooperative. He eventually expanded his operations to Karawang and also entered the apparel industry. With the success of these enterprises, he began purchasing land in and around the survey village. At the time of the survey, he owned in his own name 1.65 ha of *sawah*, 0.48 ha of fish pond and 4.56 ha of dry fields. He leaves the management of most of this land

Fig. 6-1 Genealogy of an Upper-Strata Family Showing Landownership, Occupation, and Migration



Notes : 1. Figures indicate land area in *tumbak* (=16 m²) owned in and around the survey village.
 2. Figures in parentheses () indicates survey-household number in RK2.

to his father.⁸ In 1983 Haji F. built a lavish home in the village and began living off and on there and in Karawang, so his household was included in the sample households. At the time of the survey, he was living in Karawang. We should emphasize that Haji F. bought his land in the village with money earned outside the village after he moved away.⁹

In contrast, Haji T.'s younger brother, Haji I. (survey household No. 141 of RK1), who managed a textile factory in the 1960s, became a gauze wholesaler in the 1970s, obtaining his goods from the *hirkup* wage weavers he organized. Today he is the largest gauze trader in the survey village. His children have not left the village and, with the exception of the youngest, are engaged as dishcloth or gauze traders. His fourth daughter's husband is the large-scale dishcloth trader, Mr. J., discussed in Chapter 4.

The members of the family, which can be called the rural elite, display a number of different responses to the stagnation that has occurred in the cloth-weaving industry since the 1960s. Haji I., his sons and his son-in-law turned to dishcloth and gauze selling, Mr. J. becoming a large-scale trader in the industry. On the other hand, Haji T. returned to agriculture, while his son Haji F. left the village and succeeded in business, but maintained ties to the village by purchasing land there with his earnings. Through these activities Haji T.'s family has been able to maintain its elite status. When asked why he left the gauze selling business and has no intention of returning, Haji F. replied, "The hand-weaving business does not pay."

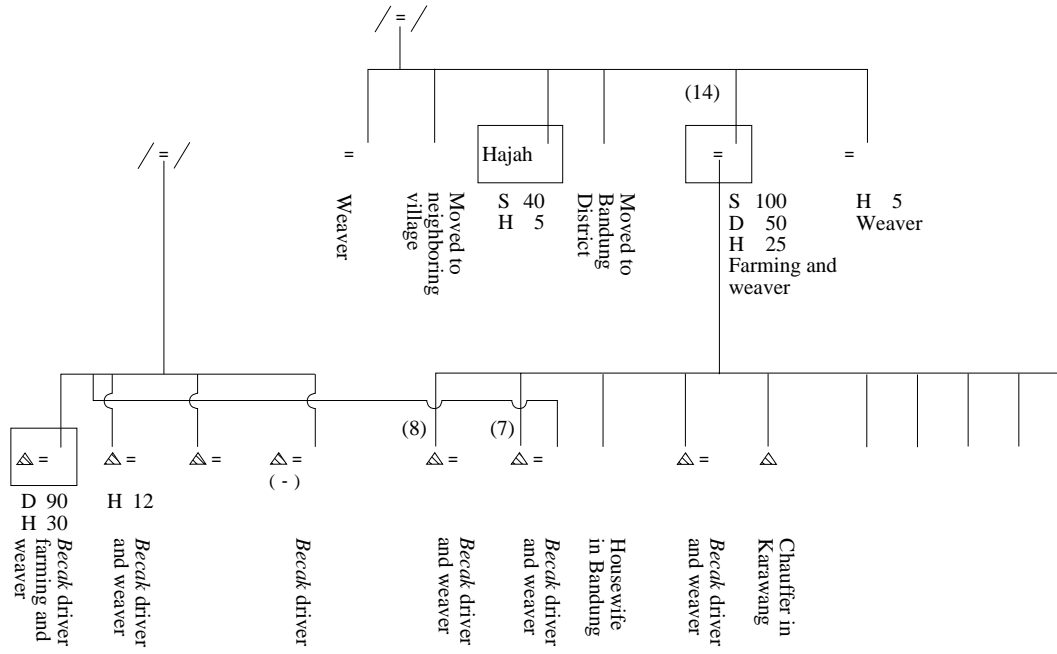
In other words, despite that Haji J. has more funds to expand his textile business to a scale greater than the case of local dishcloth wholesaler Mr. P. (see Chapter 4) or wholesaler Mr. J. mentioned above, from Haji F.'s point of view, better opportunities exist outside the survey village, like the enterprises he has pursued. Actually he has succeeded to expand his business. The problem of whether or not village elites can bring about rural industrialization depends on whether or not rural industry, including trading, is attractive to investors.

Migration and Commuting by the Kampong's Lower Strata

We have already established that factory and clerical work are conducive to equalizing income distribution in the village. This might be considered as one effect of industrialization in Indonesia. However, when examining the process by which villagers have moved out of the village, the practices of *ngumbara** (moving away to work in remote regions for long periods of time before returning to the village) and *ngalalana** (gaining experience in remote regions and foreign countries) seem to have resulted in many cases of factory and clerical work, as well as rural-urban migration brought about by industrialization (Mizuno 1993b: 95–97).¹⁰ What follows is an example of a family (see Figure 6–2) whose members were formerly factory workers, but now continue to live in the survey kampong by means of weaving, *becak* driving, and part-time farming.

The household (survey No. 14 of RK2) head, Mr. D., was born two villages away to the north. He quit elementary school in the first grade. In 1952, at the age of twenty-four, he moved to Bandung and began working as a weaving wage worker

Fig. 6-2 Genealogy of an Lower-Strata Family Showing Landownership, Occupation, and Migration



(first hand-loom, then power-loom operating) in a weaving factory there. That same year he married a woman from the survey village, and the couple continued to earn a living in Bandung. His father died in 1962, leaving him 0.16 ha of *sawah* in the survey village. In 1964, Mr. D. and his wife returned to his home village and became peasants. In 1974 he and his family moved to the survey kampong, continued farming, and began weaving with a loom that he already owned. Today, Mr. D. engages mainly in agriculture. The weaving is done mostly by their unmarried children.

After graduating from primary school in his father's home village, Mr. D.'s first-born son (survey household No. 8 of RK2) worked as a helper in the weaving business; then in 1971, at the age of eighteen, he moved to Bandung, where he operated a power-loom weaving sarong in a Chinese-run weaving factory. In 1974, he went to work in another weaving factory, then married a survey-kampong woman the following year. In 1976 he and his wife moved to the survey kampong to do *hirkup* wage weaving with his father's loom. He began *becak* driving back in Bandung in 1983, which enabled him to buy his own loom. From that time he has continued both weaving and *becak* driving. At present, he has no land and lives on his father's homestead.

Mr. D.'s second son (survey household No. 7 of RK2) was born in Bandung and returned to his father's village with his parents in 1964. He also accompanied them when they moved to the survey kampong. He quit middle school during his second year. In 1974, at the age of eighteen, he left for Bandung to weave sarong at the factory where his brother worked. He married a survey-kampong woman in 1977. In 1979 he quit his factory job for *becak* driving, which he continued for about a year, before returning to weaving at the second factory where his brother had worked. In 1983 he returned along with his wife to the survey kampong and began weaving dishcloth with a loom given to him by his father-in-law. In addition to his weaving work, Mr. D.'s second son went to Bandung to drive *becaks* for three or four days a week. In 1984 he purchased a homesite from his father and lives there at present. He owns no cultivable land.

Mr. D.'s fifth son, a primary-school graduate, is nineteen years old and still unmarried. In January 1986 he went to work for Haji F. in Karawang as a driver. After Haji F. sold his car, the boy went to work as a driver for another businessman in Karawang. He was involved in a collision with a motorcycle and had his driver's license and identification taken away by the police. At the time of the survey, he hung around the house, doing some weaving now and then.

The above cases show that many members of the village's lower-strata households, including the parents, move to Bandung, and in some instances go to work in the factories there. After returning to the kampong, they tend to fall into a pattern of weaving and *becak* driving. The land which they are able to buy in the kampong with the money earned in the city seldom exceeds a lot for building a home. The possibility of obtaining cultivable land is left up to whether or not they are in line for an inheritance. In the case of the D.'s, the family head owned 0.24 ha of agricultural land and had ten children to whom he could leave it. However, given the possibility of future changes in patrilineal kinship or the economic conditions of Mr. D.'s house-

hold, just which siblings will inherit that land remains unclear. Despite the low level of income to be earned while living in the village, these families continue to live in the same residential compound and continue to migrate temporally to the city. As the Sundanese saying goes, “as long as the family is together everything is good—no matter what their economic circumstances” (*bengkung ngariung bongkok ngaronyok**).

These lower-strata kampong households, who continue to weave while migrating temporally to the city for work, move side-by-side with small-scale textile traders heading in the same direction looking for new marketing routes. These members of the kampong’s middle and lower social strata keep the kampong’s weaving industry alive in combination with the city’s lower classes through labor and products.

These kampong weavers, whether starting operations before marriage or on their return from the city, are free to interrupt and free to start operations at any time, and the division of labor in the production area permits these decisions. These villagers, who depend mainly on family labor, earn a livelihood by combining a certain level of petty commodity production and wage labor. What Geertz (1963b: 28–47) refers to as a very large number of participants being diffused to the limits of profit and risk, preventing any rise in either per capita income (or labor productivity) is very difficult to deny totally; but the fact that the continuing existence of such occupations enables the lower strata of villages to earn a living cannot be ignored or underestimated. As a matter of fact, this occupational pattern has actually helped to improve the kampong’s overall income distribution.

Isolated small-scale weavers seem very small indeed, and we can find the shared poverty in which they are caught up also in their credit sale relationships with similarly impoverished petty textile traders and their labor relationships with numerous home workers and wage workers. However, small-scale weavers have not yet been formed into an immobile strata of the kampong. Changes in the amount of necessary initial capital (*modal*) does not lead to an expansion of operations, but rather a transition to small-scale textile trading. Another change in the amount of necessary initial capital leads small-scale traders to become medium-scale traders. While initial capital needs differ between these occupations, there continue to be not much differences in initial capital cost between lower- and middle-strata villagers among their occupations. However, viewing the village as a whole, great socioeconomic differences continue to exist. Given such differences, there exists a division of labor at the point of production characterized by differing rates of return (or wages) reflecting the amount of initial capital funds. The level of profit/initial capital ratios enjoyed by local wholesalers is determined by the *hirkup* wage weaving they organize and the working capital they mobilize. This stratification starkly contrasts with the shared poverty by all the parties concerned. Local wholesalers who accumulated capital by means of cloth trading—a flexible response to the difficulties inherent to small-scale industry—also began to go into factory production, an endeavor requiring larger fixed costs.

However, the difficulties plaguing the village weaving industry continue to exist

as before. From the standpoint of small-scale weavers, the conditions determining their production area, a space that makes their present existence possible and provides a possible continuum into the future, go on as before, especially with respect to village-level finance. Within the division of labor that characterizes this production area, new products have been tested. A bottom-up cooperative was organized in this community, but failed to function because it was opened only to get production order from the government. At present, those who can effectively utilize loans for small business financed by state-run banks are limited to local wholesalers. Smaller-scale loans and *candak kulak* funds cannot be accessed in the survey kampong due to weak KUD connections. There is a strata in the kampong who can mobilize more capital funds than local wholesalers; however, they aim at higher initial-capital outlays and higher operating profit and decide to invest in outside enterprises and merely purchase village land with the profits.

Notes

- 1 In 1987, the agricultural extension office, fearing possible stagnation in the spread of brown planthopper, participated in an active campaign against *bereum*,* which resulted in a significant reduction in its use.
- 2 This figure is the weight of dried unhulled rice at the level of farm-household residence (*gabah kering panen*). This comes to an estimated 3,103 kg of milled rice. The average yield for all households surveyed came to 4,974.9 kg (2,875.5 kg milled) per hectare, and the 1986 dry-season yield averaged 4,260.9 kg (2,462.8 kg. milled) per hectare. Incidentally, the average yield per crop in Indonesia during 1985 was 2,680 kg of milled rice and during 1986 2,706 kg per hectare (Mizuno 1987: 62). The yield of the survey kampong is by no means lower than the national average.
- 3 A “farm household” (*rumah tangga petani*), according to the *Sensus Pertanian 1983* [1983 agricultural census], exists if at least one member is involved in crop farming, fish breeding, fish catching, or livestock breeding. There is no land-holding criteria.
- 4 Neither Indonesia’s Central Bureau of Statistics nor its agricultural statisticians use full-time and part-time cultivation classifications.
- 5 This situation has been aggravated, in part, by the low level of rice prices. The survey year 1985–86 was the second straight year that Indonesia achieved complete self-sufficiency in rice production and experienced large drops in the price of rice for producers. For more details see Mizuno (1987).
- 6 In a *t*-distribution test, the correlation between estimated yearly income and size of cultivable land owned was measured at 0.755, and the null hypothesis was rejected at the 1 per cent level of significance.
- 7 However, there are households in this last category who produce agricultural products around their residences (*pekarangan*), meaning that their farm income is not exactly zero.
- 8 Haji T. has been in control over all of the land purchased by his migrated children. He operates a portion of it directly and rents a portion to other villagers who are hired by the year. The relationships of Haji T. to his absentee children and the tenants cultivating their land have been formed in order to keep his family’s wealth in tact, not to expand his own business (Mizuno 1993a: 155–60). Hardjono (1987: 61–133) describes how upper-strata

villagers maintain their social position by keeping the land assets of their kin intact.

- 9 There is a similar case of another villager who runs a hat factory in Bogor. He, too, has purchased land (0.16 ha of *sawah*) in the kampong with money he earned and leaves its management to his younger brother in the kampong, who does not pay rent in return for supporting their mother. The purchase of land in and around the kampong by villagers who have moved away with earnings at their place of residence is an important means for accumulating land in the kampong (Mizuno 1993b: 98–99).
- 10 One female survey-household member who was working as an apparel factory seamstress in Bandung quit her job and returned to the kampong, because “returning home at night was too dangerous and scary.” This type of frequent turnover by female textile workers in Bandung (Yusuf 1990: 47–67) has increased the mobility of labor between town and country.