

Feudal Culture in the Ijen Highlands' Poor Society

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Abstract:

This study aims to respond the problems on: Why Indonesia which is merely independent but there still exists the feudal culture in the society, especially people around the Ijen highlands? The problem is investigated along several questions, elaborated as: 1) What causes PT. Nusantara Plantation XII (PTPN XII) gains HGU (Cultivation Right on Land) from the government to manage the coffee plantations in the Ijen highlands?; 2) Why people around the Ijen highlands only became workers in their own homes? This research combines the historical and anthropological political methods, particularly the use of agricultural involution theory and the theory of hegemony to examine why the feudal culture still exist among the already independent society, especially in the Ijen highlands. The results of this study are: (1) PTPN XII got HGU of the government to manage the coffee plantations in the Ijen highlands is not merely without a reason, but it has gone along a careful government consideration. PTPN XII is a state-owned company managed by a professional so that the government benefited from a big share of profit in every single year. (2) the society of the Ijen Highland became laborer in their own homes is because the large number of people work for PTPN XII, particularly in Blawan and Kalisat Jampit plantations, as laborers not as skilled employees.

Keywords:

Feudal culture, the poor society, the Ijen Highlands, PTPN XII, HGU

Abstrak:

Penelitian ini hendak menjawab permasalahan mengenai: mengapa Indonesia sudah merdeka tapi masih ada budaya feodal pada masyarakatnya, khususnya masyarakat di kawasan dataran tinggi Ijen? Persoalan tersebut ditelusuri dengan beberapa pertanyaan antara lain: 1) Apa yang menyebabkan PT. Perkebunan Nusantara XII (PTPN XII) mendapat HGU (Hak Guna Usaha) dari pemerintah untuk mengelola perkebunan kopi yang ada di dataran tinggi Ijen?; 2) Mengapa masyarakat sekitar dataran tinggi Ijen hanya menjadi buruh di rumahnya sendiri? Penelitian ini menggabungkan metode historis dan antropologi-politik, khususnya penggunaan teori involusi pertanian dan teori hegemoni untuk membedah mengapa budaya feodal masih tetap hidup dalam masyarakat yang sudah merdeka, khususnya di dataran tinggi Ijen. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah: (1) PTPN XII mendapat HGU dari pemerintah untuk mengelola perkebunan kopi di dataran tinggi Ijen bukan tanpa alasan, tetapi telah didasarkan pada pertimbangan yang matang, di mana PTPN XII adalah perusahaan milik negara yang dikelola secara profesional, sehingga pemerintah diuntungkan dari laba yang besar setiap tahun. (2) masyarakat dataran tinggi

Ijen menjadi buruh di rumahnya sendiri adalah karena sebagian besar mereka bekerja untuk PTPN XII, khususnya di perkebunan Blawan dan Kalisat Jampit, merupakan buruh karyawan tidak terampil.

Kata Kunci:

Budaya feodal, masyarakat miskin, dataran tinggi Ijen, PTPN XII, HGU

Introduction

At the time of governor general Johannes van Den Bosch lord over Indonesia in 1830-1840, he implemented a policy namely *cultuurstelsel* to Javanese in growing the agro-industry plants (coffee, sugar cane, etc.) that were selling well in the European market at that time. Forced cultivation obligated farmers to allocate one fifth of the land for the European plants, such as coffee, sugar, indigo, tea, and tobacco (agro-industry plants). Javanese farmers were not accustomed to plant the agro-industry plants, it was due to they were used to plant grains and tubers to fulfill their subsistence needs. The feudal kings of Javanese were used to indoctrinate people from various tales telling to plant grains and tubers for the sake of peoples' prosperity, so then as Van Den Bosch tried to force farmers to grow agro-industry plants, it gave such tremendous impact for many Javanese farmers. The farmers were to walk for couple of kilometers from their village to the coffee plantation, and they sometimes had to leave the village over months, stayed in the temporary shelters which are close to the area of coffee plantations. The impact of that policy we can feel right now is that the coffee plants in which are forcibly grown in the highlands have a high-selling value compared with the subsistence crops, it is simply because of the coffee selling price corresponds with the dollar value. But the problem now is, whether the people can gain benefits from

the coffee-growing of the Dutch heritage or even they become farm laborers in their own home.

Large plantation area with good coffee commodity is in East Java, particularly in the former Besuki and Malang residencies.¹ According to the type organizations, coffee plants are afforded by smallholder, government, and private. The people plantation is commonly operated by people in which the large amount of the result is for selling with the limited scale of cultivation area. The government and private large plantations process the plantation crops until it is ready to export. While most farmers in peoples' coffee plantation still cultivate the coffee beans in a simple way and sell it to collectors who move from village to village and accommodate the coffee farmers' processing result in the genuine form (unprocessed/*glondongan*).

One of the government plantations in East Java is PTPN XII that is located in a mountainous area of Ijen, Sempol sub-district, Bondowoso regency. PTPN XII is the biggest producer of Robusta and Arabica (Java Coffee) in Indonesia. The great measure production of Indonesia's coffee at around 50-90% are exported. Indonesian exports are almost entirely exported still in form of dry seeds and only a small portion in already processed

¹ James J. Spillane, *Komoditi Kopi: Peranannya dalam Perekonomian Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Kanius, 1990), 62.

products. The main destination for Indonesia's coffee exports are Germany, Japan, United States, South Korea, and Italy known as the Java Coffee.²

The plantation economy is one of the very important factors in the development of Bondowoso regency which are still mainly dominated by the agricultural sector since the grown plants is the export commodity at a persistent market and in a relatively competitive quality. Coffee commodity is expected to play a long-term role as the development source that can pop the economic growth up in Bondowoso regency.

Sempol subdistrict, as this research study area, is located in a mountainous area of Ijen in the south part of Bondowoso regency, with 74 km long distanced from Bondowoso town. The Ijen mountain itself is at the east end of Java island goes along Bali Strait to Bondowoso regency with an area of 500 km², is composed by volcanic deposits containing volcanic ashes, lapilli, and molten lava. Ijen and its surrounding area consist of plateaus, hills volcano caldera, slopes, and plains that are the alluvial area.³

Sempol subdistrict is a hilly area as it goes along the slopes of Mount Ijen with the height between 1,050 meters up to 1550 meters above the sea level and the average temperature is 18 degrees Celsius. The Ijen mountain rocks are composed of pyroxene and esite rocks, bazalt and a bit horblende and as it is located on

a plateau, the land is mostly affected by the eruptions of Mount Merapi, therefore, the land shape becomes gray, and dark caused by the high level of charcoal humus and content of nutrients. Sempol subdistrict with an area of 217.20 km² consisting of 6 villages, they are: Sempol, Kalianyar, Kalisat, Jampit, Kaligedang, and Sumber Rejo Villages.⁴

Ecologically, Sempol region is very potential for coffee growing, so then most of its territory is used for a coffee plantation. Historically, the position of PTPN XII is much benefited. How it is not, when Indonesia is independent the Dutch-owned plantations were nationalized. As the result, PTPN XII is then successful to get the Cultivation Right on Land (HGU) of the government, means that the Dutch-owned coffee plantations in the Ijen highlands of Sempol subdistrict was taken over by PTPN XII in terms of the management right.

This study aims to answer the problem why Indonesia which is merely independent but there still exists the feudal culture in the society, especially people in around the Ijen highlands. To ease in conducting the research, so the problem is investigated through several questions. First, what causes PT. Nusantara Plantation XII (PTPN XII) gains HGU from the government to manage the coffee plantations in the Ijen highlands. Second, why people around the Ijen highlands only become workers in their own home.

² Indah Suhartini, *Perubahan Sosial Ekonomi Masyarakat Ekologi di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Bharatara Karya Aksara, 2011), 53.

³ "Kabupaten Bondowoso", Wikipedia Bahasa Indonesia, accessed on April 2, 2015 https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabupaten_Bondowoso

⁴ Badan Pusat Statistik, *Kabupaten Bondowoso dalam Angka Tahun 2000* (Bondowoso: Badan Pusat Statistik, 2000)

Research Design

This study is a historical research. Therefore, it will apply the research design on the basis of historical method. In the historical research method, the stages of research will cover the topic determination (object of study), heuristics (source searching/research data collection), source criticism (data verification), the selection and categorization, data analysis, and writing up of history (historiography).

Theoretical Review

This study uses the theory of agriculture involution coined by Clifford Geertz and the theory of hegemony coined by Antonio Gramsci. Geertz's work can be traced in *Agricultural Involution: The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia* (1963). The thesis can be described briefly as follows: *first*, the colonial policy of the Dutch East Indies (1619-1942) is taking agricultural products from the fertile Java land to the world market, where the products are strongly essentials and well-selling without changing the fundamental structure of the indigenous economy. However, the colonial government never be successful in developing the export economy more broadly on the world market as well as British at the same time, so the Dutch government main interest still relies on its colony: the Dutch East Indies.

Second, the effort from colonial government to reach the international market is to maintain the indigenous remains indigenous, and keep on encouraging them to do production only to fulfill the world market needs. This situation embodies the economic structure that intrinsically is imbalance.

Third, in the domestic sector, there are family farm units, home industries, and small trades. As the world commodity prices trigger the increasing of the export sector, on the contrary, the domestic sector declines and deteriorates. Land and farmers are gradually pulled over into the commercial agricultural sector needed by the Dutch East Indies government in world trade.

Fourth, the impact is the more population of farmers who attempt to compensate the money earnings, the steadier is the habit with the intensification of subsistence agricultural production. In this context, Geertz described this as the process of impoverishment in rural Java. Poverty in Java is a result of interaction between the indigenous population (farmers in Java) and the colonial structure at national level in political and economic context.

The association between the process of impoverishment and the thesis of agricultural involution in Java is described by Geertz as a cultural pattern that has a definitive shape which time by time develops into the more complex one. Agriculture and Java farmers particularly and generally the social life of Javanese must keep on standing to face the reality of increasing population and colonial pressure through a process of internal complexity. Geertz's theory is used to look in depth on how the passive attitude of the farming community in Ijen highlands.

The theory of agricultural involution is formulated with the theory of hegemony. What is meant by hegemony theory is the dominant way of life and way of thinking within which there is a concept of reality spread out in society

both institutional and individual; (ideology) that dictates the whole sense, moral customs, religious principles and politics, and the entire social relations, especially in the intellectual and moral meanings.

Based on Gramsci's idea, it can be fairly explained that hegemony is a power or domination over life values, norms, and cultures of a society that at the end turns into the doctrine towards other communities where the dominated group is consciously following them. The group that is dominated by another group (ruler) does not even feel suppressed and considers it as something that is supposed to happen.⁵ This such condition occurs in the Ijen highlands. PTPN XII as the holder of HGU dominates community life. In other side, the society voluntarily and consciously accept it.

PTPN XII Got HGU of the Government

Plantation in Sempol subdistrict, well known as Kalisat Jampit plantations, was first built at the time of the Dutch East Indies governed the country in around 1890s by Gerhard David Birnie, in which it was managed under the supervision of David Birnie Administrate Kantoor. In the 1950s, this plantation was shifted under the supervision of *Landbouw Matschappij Oud Djember*. Then, in 1958, the plantation was taken over by the Republic of Indonesia Government that later became the VAT of East Java VII union. On 11st March 1996 it turned into a limited company PTPN XII (Government-owned Corporation) or abbreviated

as PTPN XII which is the amalgamation of PT. Plantation XIII, PT. Plantation XXVI, and PT. Plantation XXIX, as administered in Government Regulation No. 17 of 1996, dated 14 February 1996.

The establishment of PTPN XII is set forth in the notarial deed No. 45 dated March 11, 1996 by Notary Harul Kamil, SH. in Jakarta. There is a change on the Articles of Association Certificate No. 62 dated May 24, 2000 by Notary Justisia Soetandio, SH. and later in accordance to the adjustment with the new Act of Government-owned Company (Act No. 40 of 2007) there is a renewal of the Certificate No. 30 Notary Habib Adjie, SH., M. Hum. dated August 16, 2008.⁶

The organization of Ijen highlands conducted by PTPN XII according to HGU No. 70/HGU/BPN RI/2011 issued by the National Land Agency (BPN) of the Republic of Indonesia. The concession will expire on December 31, 2006. The government choice that hands over to PTPN XII is not merely without a reason, but it has gone along a careful government consideration. PTPN XII is a state-owned company managed by a professional so that the government benefited from a big share of profit in every single year. It is proven that in 2013 the government got a profit of 1.159 trillion rupiahs from PTPN XII.⁷

PTPN XII located in the Ijen highlands consists of Blawan Plantation and Kalisat Jampit Plantation that extend over area of 83 090 ha. The Ijen highlands lies on an altitude of 1100-1550 meters above sea level. The variety of this height level

⁵ Nezar Patria, *Antonio Gramsci Negara dan Hegemoni* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1999), 103.

⁶ Annual Report PT. Perkebunan Nusantara (Persero) XII, (2013)

⁷ Irwan Basri, Laporan Direktur Utama tahun (2013)

that is actually the reason behind the variation and specialty of every taste of different types of coffee. The villages under the management of Blawan plantation are Kalianyar, Kaligedang, and Sumber Rejo villages while the villages under the management of Kalisat Jampit plantation include Kalisat, Jampit, and Sempol villages. The majority plant grown in Blawan and Kalisat Jampit plantations is Arabica coffee later well-known as Java Coffee. Java Coffee as a main product of PTPN XII is exported to Europe.

Historically noticing, the position of PTPN XII is much benefited. How it is not, since Indonesia was independent Dutch-owned plantations were nationalized. PTPN XII was very successful in gaining HGU (leasehold) from the government, in other words, the Dutch-owned coffee plantations lie on the Ijen highlands of the Sempol subdistrict, Bondowoso regency were taken over by PTPN XII in terms of the management rights. As the result, 6 villages spread out in Sempol subdistrict (Sempol Village, Kalianyar Village, Kalisat Village, Jampit Village, Kaligedang Village, and Sumber Rejo Village) in around the Ijen highlands are automatically becoming a part within the area of PTPN XII.

The impact after PTPN XII obtains HGU, thus, the whole land harnessed by the Sempol people as their settlements becomes the land under the ownership of PTPN XII plantation. This settled land is freed from the yearly government taxes, but PTPN XII Kalisat that takes over the payment for earth and building taxes.

Looking at what is happening, how great the government hegemony represented by PTPN XII over the area around the Ijen highlands and the sur-

roundings with 6 villages spread out in the Sempol subdistrict, Bondowoso regency. It is a subdistrict in the Ijen highlands with a high elevation level and a fertile land for Arabica Coffee plantations (Java Coffee). Metaphorically, it is a piece of heaven land for Java Coffee that has been already popular in Europe since the time of Dutch colonial government.

The Preservation of Feudal Culture

Feudalism, in this sense, is an economy doing or a system of economy where the king, his family, and the nobility as well as the local rulers are the lord and the common farmers are the servant. So, in a way of doing feudalism economy, the production equipment such as land is basically the king and nobles' property. Even, the people also belong to the king in that they can be exploited only for the sake of rulers' business. These conditions establishes the patron-client relationship. Patron-client relationship is the exchange in relationship between the two roles that can be manifested as a special case of ties involving instrumental friendship where an individual with the higher socio-economic status (patron) uses its power and resources to give protections and take advantages from anyone with lower status (clients).

The client then gives the response by offering the general supports and assistances, including personal services to its patron. As a pattern of exchanges spreads, the services and goods which are exchanged by the patron and clients will reflect the arising needs and resources owned by every single party. The flow of the patron to the client relationship detected by James Scott relates to the farmers live are: (1) Basic subsistence living, is

providing permanent jobs or land for farming; (2) Subsistence crisis assurance, patron guarantees the basic subsistence for the client to absorb losses caused by agricultural problems (drought, etc.) which would disrupt the client's life; (3) Protection. Protection from outside pressure; (4) Broker and influence. Patron besides uses his power to protect the client, he is also able to use his power to grab the profit/gift from the client as the pay off for his protection; (5) Collective patron services. Internally, patron as a group can perform his economic function collectively, that is managing any kinds of assistance for his client collectively.⁸

The authority of feudal kings was continued as the Dutch exploited the lands in Indonesia. A weak bargaining position of the Indonesian kings made the broad of traditional elite became the representative of the Dutch to mobilize farmers in order to grow agro industrial crops (coffee, tobacco, Nila, sugar cane, etc.).

As the time passed, the farmers were accustomed to be mentally established by the feudal lords as a servant who must obey the rulers. And this what happens in the Ijen highlands up to now. Initially, the Erfpacht right of the Ijen highlands in the colonial period fell into the hands of Birnie's family in which later the land was cropped with a type of Arabica coffee. In fact, the Ijen highlands was very suitable for Arabica coffee cropping, the well-selling coffee in the European market at that era.

⁸ Adi Prasetijo, "Hubungan Patron Klien", accessed on April 2, 2015, www.etnobudaya.net/2008/07/31/hubungan-patron-klien.

As Indonesia got its independence and nationalization of foreign companies occurred, the Ijen highlands that consists of the factories and the coffee plantations either in Blawan or in Kalisat Jampit, Sempol subdistrict, Bondowoso regency were under the ownership of Indonesian government.

The control of Blawan and Kalisat Jampit plantations fall into the hands of PTPN XII and is completed with obtaining the legal power from the government through the provision of HGU. Awarding HGU is principally the same as giving the Erfpacht right (leasehold) by the Dutch colonial government to the Birnie's family.

The society of the Ijen highlands will remain be a laborer in his own house forever, because they who are spread out in 6 villages in the Ijen highlands are mostly the freelancer with monthly salary of 750,000 rupiahs only.

These conditions are no different from the colonial era. The much benefited position is their masters, they are the commissioners, directors and their staffs. The main Board of Directors salary is 69.896 million rupiahs/month plus the other allowances, it is inversely proportional to the workers' salary which is in fact very low. It is so ironic considering that the workers play a very important role in the PTPN XII production process. This such illustration is linear with the experts' views stated that the characteristic of large plantations is in fact anti-development and causes "chronic poverty" (persistent poverty) in the country side. On the micro level, this system does not give a balance prosperity with the gained benefits, especially for the workers and their families.

Even on a macro level, large plantations are unable to push the local economy development as it is characteristically a self-contained enclave shaped. More ironically, there is an attempt to perpetuate and the same time conserve the feudal culture to remain existing in the Ijen highlands society. It is proven that people there only become the workers who must be submissive to the boss (PTPN XII) without any resistance. The fulfillment of all subsistence needs for the Ijen highlands society by PTPN XII is only a tool to spoil the people in order to remain submissive and do not do the resistance.

In accordance with the farmers living following James Scott remarked that the patron-client relationship occurs within the framework of subsistence life, that is the provision of permanent jobs or land for cropping, and it happens to 6 villages in the Ijen highlands (Sempol Village, Kaliyanyar Village, Kalisat Village, Jampit Village, Kaligedang and Sumber Rejo Villages). PTPN XII as a ruler gives permanent jobs and land for cropping to the people in these villages. The society works voluntarily for PTPN XII without any resistance. The life depiction in Ijen highlands fits with the thesis of Geertz, as follows: *first*, the colonial policy of the Dutch East Indies (1619-1942) is taking agricultural products from the fertile Java land to the world market, where the products are strongly essentials and well-selling without changing the fundamental structure of the indigenous economy. However, the colonial government never be successful in developing the export economy more broadly on the world market as well as British at the same time, so the Dutch government main interest still re-

lies on its colony: the Dutch East Indies. The products of agro industrial crops (coffee, sugar cane, nila, etc.) exploited from Indonesia were becoming the best-selling in the European market. The Dutch need not change the economic structure of the indigenous simply, because the Indonesian farmers' mindset was already constructed by the rulers to be submissive and *nrimo* (accept) towards existing conditions. The most important thing for the indigenous is that their subsistence life has been accomplished, so then it is not necessary to do the resistance against the rulers. This condition occurs in 6 villages in the Ijen highlands determined as the HGU regions of PTPN XII. PTPN XII accomplishes the society subsistence needs by employing them in Blawan plantation and Kalisat Jampit plantation and also providing health facilities, housings, educations, places of worship etc. The fulfillment of the subsistence needs and protection for the society is a weapon for PTPN XII to keep its position as a patron to the society in the Ijen highlands.

Second, one attempt from colonial government to reach the international market is to maintain the indigenous remains indigenous, and keep on encouraging them to continuously do production only to fulfill the world market needs. This situation embodies the economic structure that intrinsically is imbalance, which JH Boeke termed this as economic dualism. Economic dualism occurs as people are no longer interested to become the self-reliance indigenous, they who work their own advancement, instead of being submissive indigenous. This such condition is still maintained by the colonial government in which PTPN XII

now has taken the lead, so that it becomes a piece of cake to push the farmers to fulfill the needs of PTPN XII (before the colonial government) export market without worrying that their position as the exporter of main agro-industrial plants will be replaced by the farmers. At this time PTPN XII will never be worry that the people in the Ijen highlands could replace its position to produce its own Arabica coffee (Java Coffee), considering they are only the labor whose power is exploited only to fulfill the Java Coffee needs in European market. The society is never given a space to think being a self-reliance farmers.

The association between the process of impoverishment and the thesis of agricultural involution in Java is described by Geertz as a cultural pattern that has a definitive shape which time by time develops into the more complex one. Agriculture and Java farmers particularly and generally the social life of Javanese must keep on standing to face the reality of increasing population and colonial pressure through a process of internal complexity. Geertz's theory is used to look in depth on how the passive attitude of the farming community in Ijen highlands. This Passivity emerges for some reasons: low human resources, simple way of thinking just to satisfy the family subsistence needs, equipped facilities by patrons, that is, PTPN XII (including houses, lands for farming, the lands for cropping, educational facilities, medical facilities, worship facilities, etc.), far away from the shopping center (e.g. Matahari Department Store etc.) so it can reduce the society's excessive consumptive behavior. The response so far is only *nrimo* (accept) the existing situation or they are

indeed typically lazy people who are reluctant to think critically to advance themselves.

The theory of agricultural involution is formulated with the theory of hegemony. What is meant by hegemony theory is the dominant way of life and way of thinking within which there is a concept of reality spread out in society both institutional and individual; (ideology) that dictates the whole sense, moral customs, religious principles and politics, and the entire social relations, especially in the intellectual and moral meanings. Based on Gramsci's idea, it can be fairly explained that hegemony is a power or domination over life values, norms, and cultures of a society that at the end turns into the doctrine towards other communities where the dominated group is consciously following them. The group that is dominated by another group (ruler) does not even feel suppressed and considers it as something that is supposed to happen.⁹ This such condition occurs in the Ijen highlands. PTPN XII as the holder of HGU dominates community life. In other side, as all their needs have been already accomplished, the society voluntarily and consciously accept it.

Being Labors in Their Own Homes

Being labors in their own homes is an ironic statement. But it is what is now happening to the life of society life in the Ijen highlands. The beauty of the Ijen highlands is more than only the landscape, it is a piece of a heaven land for Java Coffee (Arabica) since the Dutch colonial era, but unfortunately, with all these excess it is still unable to raise the pe-

⁹ Patria, Antonio Gramsci, 106.

ople's economy simply due to the status of its people no more than only laborers in Blawan and Kalisat Jampit plantations of PTPN XII. The production of Java Coffee cannot be executed elsewhere even at the same elevation degree between 1000-1550 m. above sea level. The special taste of the Ijen highlands Java Coffee (Arabica) is irreplaceable, even for the same Arabica though. European market up to now still needs the Ijen highlands Java Coffee. These potential opportunities of course is too worthy to be ignored by PTPN XII, so then Java Coffee is determined as the main product. The 90% of Java Coffee crops is spread to European market, while 10% of it for the local Indonesian market.

The society's life spread out throughout 6 villages of the Ijen highlands (Sempol Village, Jampit Village, Kaliyanyar Village, Kaligedang Village, Sumber Rejo Village, and Kalisat Village) in Sempol subdistrict as it has been to be their destiny. The large number of people work for PTPN XII, particularly in Blawan and Kalisat Jampit plantations, as laborers not as skilled employees. People in the Sempol subdistrict inhabit the plantation lands for their domiciles, common infrastructures etc. People who live there are compelled to work in the plantations. The social structure of plantations society can be clearly distinguished between superiors and inferiors, those two social structures are the casual laborer (KHL) and the regular employee (KHT). The freelancer's working hour starts from 05:30 am until 13:00 pm paid of 25,000 rupiahs/day. The job description of the casual laborer comprises the coffee tree care, *mipil* (small stalk cleaning), fertilizing, coffee picking at harvest time, etc.

The home casual laborer is somewhat different from the regular employee in ways that land and houses for the regular employee have been provided by the companies located along the road, while the houses for the casual laborers are side by side in the outback housings (not along the road) have been also provided by PTPN XII.

For the casual laborers, the company provide land only for residential area while the house itself must be built on their own. Those houses are very modest and there is no significant difference among houses, they are alike. It is due to the land they use is merely a plantation land and if in a time they want to build or fix the house, there must be a permission from the plantations broad of party by following several procedures that must be done.

According to local residents and what is happening on the ground since the inception of reformation, some people dare to build the house walls which are previously made of bamboo and planks. It can be seen that there are some houses with full wall standing on the plantations land. After the reformation is established, the people domiciled in Sempol subdistrict are given a bit freedom and spoiled by the plantation party. It is proven that now there are range facilities of public infrastructures from schools, places of worship, health facilities (Local government clinic), road infrastructure, farm land, and freed building tax.

The board of subdistrict government, village government, and plantations are very systematic integral system. Those three governments becomes the inseparable institution among another. All these institution activities are intert-

wined, in other words, if one institution conducts an event either in subdistrict level or village level so those three institutions will facilitate and support other institutions make the event successful.

The facilities given by PTPN XII are not only schools, places of worship, health facilities (local government clinic), road infrastructure, and freed building tax. Beside the above mentioned facilities, plantation party also provide land for livestock. One of the people's farming land is centralized in one spot. The land given in the Sempol village reaches an area of approximately 1-2 ha. It is not surprising then to increase the income besides working in plantation, the people in Sempol subdistrict choose to work in an animal husbandry. In addition to providing the land for animal husbandry, the plantation party also free people to feed their livestock in the plantation area (PTP) as long as it does not damage the coffee plants. The easiness in gaining the fodder is in fact successful in attracting people to grow and cultivate livestock. Some of livestock raised by people are any kinds of cows, horses, goats, chickens etc. The most grown animal there is goat, various



Goat houses belong to the people, its land is provided by PTPN XII

types of goats ranging from ordinary goat, sheep, etawa, kali gesing, kacang goats etc. For cattle raised by people

consist of ordinary cows, dairy cows, semental cows, limousine cows etc. Particularly for goat farming land is arranged neatly as "housing for goats".



The roof of goat houses found in every village of the Ijen highlands

Any facilities given in the farming land and the easiness in gaining the fodder make it very logical that 90% of people in Sempol district work in animal husbandry. If it is calculated, one family can possess 5, 10 to 25 goats on average. According to a resident of Sempol village raising livestock, especially goats, is a promising business. If we have 6 goats with a fund of 5,000,000 rupiahs and they are grown for around 3 months long, we will receive net profit of 4,000,000 rupiahs. Doing a farming is one way to increase the income besides working in the plantations. The income earned from raising livestock is bit higher compared to salary given by the plantation party.

The economic conditions of people in Sempol subdistrict is considered much dependent on the plantation (PTP) and forestry. This dependency is characterized by the obligation for the whole people living on the plantation land to work under the provision of the plantation.

Conclusion

Conclusion of this study are as follows: 1) Feudal culture remains existing on the society in the Ijen highlands as the result of the high dependence of the society economic subsistence towards PTPN XII; 2) The government still control the society as they who *nrimo* (accept) and are submissive to the patron, that is PTPN XII; 3) The government keeps its position as if they are such colonizers in the Dutch colonial era that give HGU of Blawan and Kalisat Jampit plantations to PTPN XII; 4) The characteristic of large plantations represented by PTPN XII is in fact antidevelopment and causes "chronic poverty" (persistent poverty) in the countryside. On the micro level, this system does not give a balance prosperity with the gained benefits, especially for the workers and their families; 5) The government relies more on PTPN XII as a professionally managed state-owned enterprises to manage the Ijen highlands by a huge profit to the government; 6) The fulfillment of all subsistence needs for the society in the Ijen highlands by PTPN XII is only a tool to spoil the people in order to remain submissive and do not do the resistance; and 7) At all time, the fact will never change that the society in the Ijen highlands will become workers in their own home as long as the government does not change its mindset to create the self-employed people. []

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